

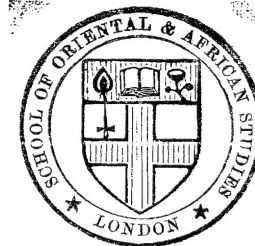
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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY
OF EDUCATION IN MODERN EGYPT

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AN
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HISTORY OF EDUCATION
IN MODERN EGYPT

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I DEDICATE THIS WORK
TO MY WIFE
FĀṬIMAH
WITHOUT WHOSE INSPIRATION
AND LOYALTY IT WOULD NOT
HAVE BEEN WRITTEN

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PREFACE

My connections with Egypt go back as far as 1919, but it was not until 1933 when I was offered an Arabic Studentship in the School of Oriental Studies that I began to collect the materials for this work. It was originally intended to make a study of the language and literature of the Modern Egyptians, but it was soon realised that, before any serious work could be done in this field, it would be essential to investigate the channels through which the Egyptians received European education and culture. This volume begins with the education of the Egyptians before the French Occupation and goes on to show the effects of the French Invasion and the work done by Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors up to the accession of Taufīk Pasha and the British Occupation. An attempt has been made to collect all available sources, Eastern and Western, printed and manuscript, in order to give as full an account as possible of all the education reforms undertaken in Egypt.

This is but the first volume of a series of four on the History of Culture in Modern Egypt; the second volume will continue the study of education from the British Occupation to the present day, while the third and fourth volumes will deal with the language, literature and music for the whole of the period covered by the study of Education.

A remark must be made about the transliteration used in this work. The accepted Arabic transliteration, with one or two minor modifications, has been used throughout for the sake of uniformity and convenience, in spite of the fact that many of the names mentioned are those of Turks.

My sincere thanks are due to many friends both in Egypt and elsewhere who have helped and encouraged me in my research work, particularly to Muṣṭafā Bey Rif'at, a generous host during my many visits to Cairo; also to Professors H. H. Dodwell, H. A. R. Gibb, D. M. Margoliouth, A. S. Tritton, R. L. Turner, Sir Denison Ross and Mr. J. R. Firth. I should like to express my appreciation of the librarians of the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo for their services and kindness, especially Khalīfah Efendī Kāndīl

PREFACE

and Shaikh 'Abdar-Rasūl. I must also thank Gallād Bey of the European Department of 'Abdīn Palace for having helped me gain access to the Royal Archives preserved there.

I owe a great debt of gratitude both to the University of London Publication Committee and to the Trustees of the Forlong Bequest Fund for their generosity in providing me with the opportunity of publishing this work.

LONDON,
September, 1938.

CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND ARABIC LITERATURE IN EGYPT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1700-1798)

In this chapter an attempt will be made to show as far as possible the intellectual and cultural state of Egypt during the eighteenth century to serve as the background for a similar study of the nineteenth century.

The eighteenth century gives an Egypt predominantly Islamic in culture and at the tail end of a period where Islamic thought had gradually become stagnant through the fact that it was in the hands of a body of scholars still with the mediæval outlook on life, practically isolated from the rest of the civilised world, and out of touch with the new cultural developments of the West. Whatever intellectual activity existed in Egypt was almost their own monopoly, unquestioned by the rest of the community, and it was from this body of scholars that the rest drew their intellectual and spiritual requirements.

A study of the eighteenth century is essential in order to understand the following century as it is in the nineteenth that we get, not exactly a complete change in the social and intellectual life of Egypt, but the introduction of another culture, quite new to Egypt, the growth of which was encouraged at the expense of the old system. The methods and ideas of the old intellectual world were not only still used, however, but largely determined the new methods and the conflict between the two cultures became the dominant feature of the nineteenth century, especially from the reign of Ismā'il Pasha.

The new century started with the occupation by the French, a momentous event, the results of which will be discussed in their proper place. This was followed up almost immediately by the period of innovations effected by Muḥammad 'Alī.

Most of Muḥammad 'Alī's reforms were inspired, either directly or indirectly, by influences derived from the West.

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but in order to understand how these changes affected education and other intellectual aspects of social life and their results on the language and literature, we must endeavour to give as clear a picture of Egypt as possible before the arrival of the French, so that subsequent changes may be thoroughly analysed and judgment passed on their relative merits and demerits.

Education in Egypt was centred upon Cairo, since it was the college-mosque of al-Azhar, the cultural home of Islam, that served as a guide to the Moslem community, who formed the major part of the population of Egypt. The reputation enjoyed by the college-mosque of al-Azhar in all parts of the Moslem world gave Cairo an outstanding position as an educational centre. But although al-Azhar was undoubtedly at the centre of, and dominated the entire educational organisation, it was by no means—as is still frequently asserted—the only institution, for the majority of the Moslem population received such education as it had from other institutions, namely, the *kuttāb*, the mosque, the *madrasah* and the religious orders.

The Kuttāb System.¹

In the *kuttāb*, the young pupil learnt the orthography of the Arabic language mainly through memorising the *Ḳor'ān*, the whole task taking two or three years; it meant the learning of the text by heart, no mean ambition, the ideal being the recitation of the sacred verses without a single mistake in pronunciation. The shorter chapters were committed to memory first and then the longer ones. The meaning of the text and its grammatical analysis were definitely not included in the syllabus; it is to be doubted whether many of the *kuttāb* masters, called *ḡikīs*, could venture to discuss the meaning of the sacred words, the function of the *ḡikī* was merely to perform a task handed down to him by tradition, namely, teaching the young student how to recite the *Ḳor'ān*—*ḡifz-al-Ḳor'ān*—in return for a very meagre pecuniary consideration and some payment in kind from the parents of the pupils in the nature of a turban, a *ḡuṣṭān* and a pair of shoes (*markūb*) at the time of the festivals which generally coincided with the *ḡhatmah* or completion of the course of a part of his

¹ Or *Ḳor'ān* School. The term *kuttāb* is used here but the word *maktab*, pl. *makātib*, is also very commonly used, see al-Jab. II/6-III/241, II/100-IV/166-II/213-V/133, II/263-V/219; also 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Ḳhiṭat at-Taufīkiyah*, *passim*.

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class of young followers when they would recite the text they had acquired by heart through the care and rod of their teacher.¹ *ḡikīs* attached to *kuttābs* that formed a part of a public building (mosque, *sabīl*, *ḡauḡ*), received articles of clothing and cloth annually from its *wakf* funds² while parents who sent their children to such schools and who could afford it, paid the *ḡikī* from ten to sixty medins (paras) a month.³

The *ḡikī* was assisted by an '*arīf*' or monitor who probably did a fair share of the work, the final touches being left to the *ḡikī* who drew the rewards for the services rendered at his *kuttāb*. It is not clear what the '*arīf*'s share of the rewards was but it was undoubtedly determined by traditional usage, the means and liberality of the *ḡikī* and the class of students that attended the school. Often the '*arīf*' took the *ḡikī*'s place after the latter's death or became *ḡikī* at another *kuttāb* when he had gained sufficient experience.

Elementary ideas of arithmetic were not taught at the *kuttāb* by the *ḡikī* but the student was sent to the *ḡabbānī*⁴ or public weigher in the market-place at the termination of his Koranic studies. He was most likely taught something of weights and measures, mental arithmetic and a knowledge of currency which seems to have been quite a complicated business from the references in al-Jabarti.⁵

The *kuttāb* was either an institution functioning under the auspices of the *wakf* of some generous or pious donor, in which case it was sometimes part and parcel of a mosque, *sabīl* (public fountain), or *ḡauḡ* (drinking place for cattle), or it was a kind of schoolroom set up by some *ḡikī* if there were sufficient demand for such an enterprise. During the eighteenth century, however, the *kuttābs* owed their existence mainly to the *wakf*-system.⁶ Sometimes the schools were added to public buildings by later benefactors.⁶

As regards the number of *kuttābs* in Egypt at this period, it is impossible to give anything like exact figures especially for the towns and villages outside Cairo. There were many in

¹ See E. W. Lane's *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1923, pp. 60-64; also T. Husain's *Kitāb-al-Ayyām*, Cairo, 1929, tr. by E. H. Paxton and called *An Egyptian Childhood*, London, 1932; also S. Lane-Poole, *Social Life in Egypt*, pp. 79/82.

² Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³ *Descr. de l'Égypte*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 682.

⁴ Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵ There were two kinds of *wakf* endowments, the *riṣḡah sulṭāniyah* and those set up by private individuals.

⁶ See al-Jabarti's account of '*Abdar-Raḡmān Kathḡudā*', Vol. II/7-III/244.

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Cairo¹ and they were to be found in other towns and villages. In this connection, Chabrol,² while admitting that the *kuttābs* owed their existence to charity, gives the impression that the villages lacked such schools and states that parents who desired to send their children to school had to have recourse to the shaikh of the local mosque; he overlooks the fact that the mosque itself is the result of some charitable donation and that teaching the Kor'an and the elements of the Islamic faith was one of the reasons for such pious foundations. The function of the mosque in the national culture, however, is discussed below.

The equipment of the *kuttāb* was very limited and much depended on the status of the foundation. The teacher and students sat on the floor of the room, the latter forming a rough semi-circle round their master. The boys used a kind of tablet for writing out the alphabet³; the master may have had a copy of the Kor'an, but as copies of the holy text were in manuscript form and consequently expensive, and the method was one of memorising, most *kuttābs* in all probability did not possess a copy. An essential part of the school equipment was a palm-stick which the master used fairly frequently to facilitate his task.⁴

The hours of attendance were from dawn to midday; Friday was a holiday, while there was no work during the month of Ramaḍān, the month of the fast, although the *fikīs* were generally occupied elsewhere. As to regularity of attendance, there is no evidence for no registers were kept.

The *kuttāb* was liable to the inspection by the local *kāḍī*

¹ See *Descr. de l'Égypte*, ed. Paris, 1829, Vol. XVIII, Pt. 2, p. 336. Jomard actually visited 245 *sabils* and gives another estimate of 300 of these fountains and remarks that "assez souvent les citernes sont surmontées d'un étage où se trouve une école gratuite (kouttab) fondée par le même bienfaiteur qui a fait bâtir la fontaine, et portant aussi son nom," and further, p. 339, note, "D'après un relevé général des écoles de la ville, leur nombre monterait à plus de cent." Jomard apparently includes *madrasahs* as well as *kuttābs*. See *Le Progrès égyptien: Revue Hebdomadaire d'Égypte*, No. 13, 26th September, 1868. Regarding these *kuttābs*, it states, "Ces écoles sont fort nombreuses en Égypte et il n'est pas de village un peu peuplé qui n'ait son kouttab," and further, "Jadis de sous-professeurs avaient été attachés à quelques kouttābs, dont un certain nombre avaient été richement dotés, afin de propager autant que possible, la connaissance de la langue arabe. Mais les diverses vicissitudes qu'a subies le pays, jointes à l'avarice et à la cupidité des régisseurs des biens Wakfs, ont fait succéder, presque partout, la pénurie à leur aisance primitive."

² Chabrol, *Essai sur les mœurs des habitants modernes de l'Égypte: Descr. de l'Égypte*, p. 65.

³ These tablets were little wooden boards, about the size of ordinary school slates, painted white, the lessons being written upon them in ink by the school-master and renewed from time to time. See *Art Journal*, London, 1880, Vol. XIX, p. 341, article by E. T. Rogers, "Education in Egypt."

⁴ See V. Denon, *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, London, 1803, Vol. III, p. 242, note to Plate XLVII.

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but his inspection seems to have been limited to the scrutiny of the *wakf* accounts and funds in order to see that there was no misappropriation or other irregularities that would not be in accordance with the proper working and application of the *wakf* conditions; it is doubtful whether the judge ever interfered with the actual teaching of the *fikī*.¹

The social status of the *fikī* was much higher than it is at the present day. He was held in great respect by the people chiefly on account of his possessing the Kor'an by heart. He may have acquired his experience as *'arif* or have learnt the profession from his father; it is to be doubted if the *fikī* at this period ever obtained a diploma from the collegiate-mosque of al-Azhar although there may have been cases of the *fikī* having belonged to one of the *riwāks* before finally entering upon his career. He probably attended lessons at local mosques for his own enlightenment but not for the benefit of his pupils whose studies would not be affected by his doing so. The standard of the *fikī*'s general learning seems to have been so low that cases of illiteracy have been reported.²

In addition to his ordinary *kuttāb* work, the *fikī* fulfilled many other duties all bound up with the religious, social and educational practices of the Egyptians. Amongst these duties was that of private teaching when parents could afford such a luxury. The private student was not only taught the Kor'an but also the correct method of reciting his prayers, performing ablutions and elementary calligraphy.

The *fikī* was also called upon to recite the Kor'an during festivals, at *mūlids*, at wedding, funeral and circumcision ceremonies, at graves and in mausoleums, remuneration being given according to the quality of the reciter's voice as great value was and is still placed on good chanting.³ Provision was generally made from *wakf* funds for the payment of *fikīs* who recited in mausoleums and mosques and during *mūlids*. The Kor'an was also recited at private houses and in shops such recitations being looked upon as bringing *barakah* (blessing). Ramaḍān was the best month for the *fikī* as he was engaged by private individuals to lead the prayers and to recite the Kor'an during

¹ Chabrol, op. cit., p. 66.

² Lane, op. cit., p. 63, and S. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 82.

³ al-Jab. constantly refers to shaikhs in his biographies who had beautiful voices. There was a tradition among the *'ulamā'* of Constantinople that the Turkish readers of the Kor'an recited with more understanding of the text while the Egyptians had the reputation for beautiful recitations.

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the evenings; for this he was not only well paid but well fed. The *fikr*'s advice was sought in many ways; he supplied amulets in order to keep away the evil eye and to avert bad luck in all kinds of dealings and enterprises; his advice was and is still sought by women seeking husbands or by those who had either lost or were afraid of losing their husband's affections¹; he also gave advice in cases of sterility. There were also women who were *fikiyahs*² but the position of women in the sphere of education will be discussed under a separate heading.

The *fikr* thus occupied a rank in Egyptian society which made him important for two main reasons, firstly, because he had the monopoly of the education of the younger members of the community and, secondly, because of the numerous social services which he performed and which kept him in constant contact with the people.

Kuttāb-education, including that of elementary private education, fulfilled the task demanded of it by the people. According to the eighteenth century Egyptian standard of requirements for an elementary education, this system gave the young student all he was expected to know, namely, the recitation of the *Qor'ān* by heart, the recitation of prayers and the correct performance of the movements that went with them. The method of memorising the *Qor'ān* introduced the student to the system in use in the more advanced circles of education, the basis of which was the memorising of certain compendiums (*matn—pl. mutūn*); it also familiarised him with the classical tongue without, of course, giving him any working knowledge of that language. The *kuttāb*-discipline brought the student into line with the rest of the Moslem community, the main ideal was moral and religious, preparing him for good citizenship in accordance with Moslem ethics and making him part of the religious system which controlled almost every act of life.

The student having completed his *kuttāb* studies was considered ready to enter on his career; if he belonged to the shaikh class, he would go to al-Azhar and in due course become a shaikh and would probably take over his father's charges; if he intended joining some trade or was destined for commerce, he would become an apprentice to a member of the particular corporation (*hurfah* or *shinf*) which had control of his calling. The whole system was

¹ See the account of Sh. Ahmad Šādūmah and his relations with a concubine of the Amīr Yūsuf Bey al-Kabīr in al-Jab., II/17-III/267.

² See al-Jab., IV/161, line two from bottom; also translation Vol. VIII/364, regarding a *fikiyah* who used to attend Sh. Šarkāwī's lessons in al-Azhar.

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settled according to traditional usage, in most cases the son followed his father's trade or profession and very often went through the period of apprenticeship under his father.

The Place of the Mosque in Education

During the young boy's apprenticeship, he seems not to have attended the mosques as young boys were not allowed in them¹; apparently from the beginning of his apprenticeship until the day of his initiation² into a guild, there was no kind of school training. It was with manhood that he began to attend the mosque, the importance of which as an educational centre cannot be neglected.

One of the most important institutions in Islam is the Friday prayer in the mosque. Every Moslem is expected to share in these, as prayers recited with the community have more credit than those recited alone. The Friday congregational prayer gave an opportunity of social gathering³; whereas in the guilds and religious orders the fraternising was more exclusive, in the mosques all Moslems met on common ground. It also enabled the authorities to keep in close touch with the people; the latter were kept informed of local and other news especially during troublous times, the congregational prayers thus fulfilling the task of the press of modern times.⁴ It was at the mosque gatherings that the social leaders were able to mould public opinion, and in this connection, it is worth noting that it has nearly always been the mosque that has been the centre of any reactionary movement.

The *khutbah* or Friday sermon used to be a more serious affair than it appears to have been during the eighteenth century, though there are no collections of sermons for this period as far as can be ascertained. In addition to the *khutbah*, there were the preachings of the *wā'iz* or preacher between the midday and afternoon prayers on Fridays and other special days when he would admonish the congregation on all kinds of subjects connected with the faith.⁵ The endowments settled on large mosques

¹ See Lane, op. cit., p. 83.

² Called *shadd-al-walad*; ibid., pp. 515-6, and article in *Encycl. of Islam* on *shadd* and *shinf*.

³ See Ahmed Emin, *The Development of Modern Turkey as measured by its Press*, New York, 1914, p. 17.

⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

⁵ The *wā'iz* must of necessity have spoken to a great extent in the colloquial in order to adapt his matter to his hearers. Lessons would be given in colloquial with frequent quotations from the *Qor'ān* and *ḥadīth*.

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provided for a *khaṭīb* whose main function was the Friday sermon, for an *imām*¹ who conducted the prayers at all times and for a *wā'iz* or preacher, a *kāri* or reader of the *Qur'ān* and a *mu'adhḥin* or caller to prayers, and servants. In the smaller mosques, one shaiikh would fill the joint offices of *khaṭīb* and *imām*. In the larger and richer mosques, in addition to the usual offices, provision was made for the foundation of one or more lectureships, the lecturers generally being '*ulamā*' from al-Azhar²; the lectures were usually given after the afternoon ('*aṣr*') prayers and on Friday mornings.³ In the smaller mosques, the *imām* gave lessons daily after prayer times, especially after the *aṣr* prayers to those of the congregation who desired enlightenment; these lessons took the form of simple explanations of the *Qur'ān*, the *ḥadīth* and ethics and were an essential part of mosque life. Ramaḍān being set aside for the fast and extra religious devotions, the Moslem community did very little work, and it was the habit to rest during a part of the day and to attend at the mosques to listen to the shaiikhs' lessons.

The mosque thus formed a common rallying point for the Moslems irrespective of class or religious order from which they acquired, besides spiritual consolation, moral education and instruction according to the accepted ideas of the Moslem community.

The Religious Orders

In addition to the mosque, however, the people had the religious orders which were very strongly supported and through which the shaiikhs were able to exert still greater influence.

The local mosque cannot be compared with the parish church as the member of any locality did not feel any particular tie with the local mosque,⁴ the choice, subject to habit⁵ and environment, being his to pray where he liked. But with the *ṭarīkah*,⁶ it was different; here there was a very strong bond as a man could not belong to a *ṭarīkah* unless he had been properly admitted and

¹ *Imām rātib*, Lane, op. cit., p. 84.

² This will be dealt with under higher education.

³ See Arminjon, *L'Enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les Universités Musulmanes d'Égypte*, Paris, 1907, pp. 52/4.

⁴ See MacDonald, *Aspects of Islam*, New York, 1911, p. 178.

⁵ Certain mosques are used more than others during religious feasts and *mūlids*. The prayers recited at the Imām ash-Shāfi'i Mosque on the last Friday of the month of Ramaḍān were sure to be answered (*al-Juma'ah al-Yatimah*).

⁶ Pl. *ṭurukh*. Called also *ṭā'ifah*, pl. *ṭawā'if*; see al-Jabartī *passim*.

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initiated into it; his membership of a religious order meant loyalty to his leaders and close brotherhood with other members.

During the eighteenth century, there were several important religious orders represented in Egypt, the most influential being the *Khalwatiyah*, the *Qarbāshiliyah* group of which seems to have been a preserve of the '*ulamā*' and shaiikhs¹; the *Qādiriyyah* was an important order most of the members of which were fishermen²; the *Shādhiliyyah*, *Bakriyyah*, *Aḥmadiyyah* (or *Badawiyah*), and *Barāhimah* (or *Burhāmiyyah* or *Dasūkiyyah*) were amongst the more patronised orders that are mentioned in al-Jabartī.³ The *Aḥmadiyyah* had its headquarters in Ṭantā and was patronised by a great many followers while the *Burhāmiyyah* centre was in Dasūḳ and was the order of the celebrated Shaikh Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūḳī.

The orders at this time seemed to have had two distinct classes of members, the *fuḳarā*⁴ who specialised in performing the *dhikrs* at the meetings of the fraternities, and the ordinary lay-members who followed some trade, or craft or perhaps were agriculturists who paid their subscriptions and attended the rites and *dhikrs* but occasionally. Many of the biographies given in the annals of al-Jabartī mention the names of shaiikhs who performed *dhikrs*, but, generally speaking, the orders seem to have been organised by shaiikhs who had been specially trained for that calling and one is under the impression gained from the references given in the above annals is that certain mosques or

¹ See al-Jab., I/294-304-II/289-303. He gives a long account of the *Qarbāshiliyyah* group (not mentioned in *Encycl. of Islam*) of this order together with Sh. al-Hifnī's initiation into it and election as *Khalifah*, and also the names of some thirty '*ulamā*' who were members of the group.

² See Lane, op. cit., p. 249.

³ The following are the names of the *ṭarīkahs* given in al-Jabartī (not all the references are given):—

Aḥmadiyyah. I/84-I/197. I/287-II/281. I/415-III/219. II/94-IV/152.

Ausiyah. I/289-II/284.

Bakriyyah. I/157-II/36. II/69-IV/95. II/72-IV/102. II/251-V/200.

Burhāmiyyah. I/261-II/243. IV/165-VIII/373.

Qādiriyyah. II/89-IV/140. II/150-IV/296. IV/165-VIII/373.

Kāsimiyyah. I/210-II/261.

Khalwatiyyah. I/294-304-II/289-303. II/85-IV/133.

Kusairiyyah. II/62-IV/89.

Maulawiyyah. I/364-III/219.

Naḥshabandiyyah. I/72-I/174. I/89-I/207. II/69-IV/95. I/393-III/183.

Rifā'iyyah. IV/165-VIII/373.

Sa'diyyah. IV/190-IX/49.

Sahrawardiyyah. II/97-IV/159.

Shādhiliyyah. I/220-II/177. I/287-II/281. II/89-IV/140. II/85-IV/133.

II/228-V/160.

Shā'ramiyyah. I/89-I/207. II/213-V/132-3. I/364-III/114.

Shinnāwiyyah. I/89-I/207. I/287-II/281.

Shu'arbiyyah. IV/190-IX/49.

Sūfiyyah. II/62-IV/89.

Waf'iyyah. II/287-IV/24. II/147-IV/290.

⁴ See Lane, op. cit., page 251, and MacDonald, op. cit., p. 159.

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madrasahs were used mainly for the training of shaikhs¹ of *ṭarīkahs* and *munshids*. In the case of family orders such as the *Bakriyah* and *Wafā'iyah* where the *shaikhship* of the order (*sajjādah*) was hereditary, it appears that the shaikh of the order took part in the meetings and *dhikrs* only during the religious feasts and the *mūlids*.²

The relationship of eighteenth century *taṣawwuf* to religion and to all classes of Moslem society cannot be under-rated. By this time, few seem to have been able to call themselves Moslems without belonging to one or more of the religious orders, and, as we have seen, even the orthodox *shāikhs* and '*ulamā*' had their own special order ;/religious life was no longer governed by the simple tenets of Islam but rather by the various *ṣūfī*-interpretations of religious law and texts. / Moral guidance was sought from and given by the shaikhs through the channels of this huge superstructure of *ṣūfism* rather than through direct reference to orthodox Islamic principles. Ritual, prayer, mode of life and general behaviour were governed in the main by the rules of the Islamic faith but in detail by those of the *ṭarīkah*, the authority of which was the shaikh, and it was the detail that mattered. The learned devoted much time and energy to the reading of *ṣūfī* literature and by far the greatest proportion of the literary output consisted of this kind of writing and of *ṣūfī* poetry³ while the rank and file followed the example and guidance of their intellectual and spiritual leaders.

The value of the educational work done through the religious orders is worthy of attention, although the emphasis laid on the physical side through the *dhikrs* and other ecstatic religious exercises may be criticised.

To what extent the people were literate is hard to say; Chabrol⁴ states that from one third to a quarter of the male population of Cairo was literate. A large part of that group was made up of merchants, petty shopkeepers and artisans,⁵ most of

¹ al-Jab., IV/65-VIII/142 regarding *Dasūḳ*; II/260-V/214-5 and II/183-V/79 regarding *Tantā*.

² See for example the biography of *Shams-addīn Muḥ Abū'l-Anwār b. 'Abdar-Rahmān*, al-Jab., IV/185-196-IX/38-64.

³ See G.A.L., II/344-354. The literary output of the '*ulamā*' and shaikhs is discussed in some detail below.

⁴ Chabrol, op. cit., pp. 62-3. Regarding the villages, see *Ibrāhīm Khalīl, Miṣbāḥ as-Sārī wa Nuḥat al-Kārī*, Beyrūt, 1855, p. 22, "... while most of the men do not know how to read and write, and those who do, have only a superficial knowledge." Khalīl was a Syrian who had studied at the Medical School in Cairo in 1835. By this time, the villages were probably drained of their best men for Muḥammad 'Alī's military service.

⁵ *Descrip. de l'Égypte*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, pp. 694/5, gives 3,500 merchants, 4,500 petty shopkeepers and 21,800 artisans out of a male population of 86,000. Lane, op. cit., p. 24, states that there were 30,000 out of 80,000 adult males.

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whom had probably gone through the usual *kuttāb* training and belonged to one of the religious orders. Their reading consisted mostly of *ṣūfī* tracts and literature with some *ṣūfī* colouring obtainable in some kind of manuscript form from the copyists or booksellers, and, judging from the quantity in libraries and still available in the book-markets, the supply must have been fairly extensive. Undoubtedly the religious orders had largely determined popular literary taste, and since the introduction of printing, vast numbers of these *ṣūfī* pamphlets and works have been turned out and abound in the bookshops.¹ The followers also learnt litanies and invocations which were recited at the meetings of the fraternities.²

It must be maintained that the religious orders held the people together and subordinated them to the authority of the shaikh class, who were their leaders. The result was a general stability in all ranks of society and a contentment with one's lot which began to disappear at a later period.

Hand in hand with this side of religious life went the practice of saint-worship, which had a thorough grip of the people and about which our sources of information give plenty of information. It was probably the credulity of the people that encouraged charlatanry and imposture and the poet shaikh Ḥasan al-Badrī al-Ḥijāzī (d. 1718) pillories the charlatans and hypocrites in several bitter poems.³

This popular belief in saints and their miracles and the relationship between superstition and religion are explained in considerable detail by Lane.⁴ The colloquial language also gives endless proof of the important place of all this among the Egyptians, but even in the eighteenth century there were people who were alive to its evils.⁵

¹ A certain class of readers still indulges in this kind of literature alone.

² See articles in *Encycl. of Islam*: *taṣawwuf*, *ṭarīkah*, *wird*, *ḥizb*, *dhikr*, etc.

³ G.A.L., II/280; al-Jab., I/75-83, I/181-195. See also a poem on the impostor of Faiyūm, I/29 - I/67-8.

⁴ Lane, op. cit., 228/282; also *Encycl. of Islam*, articles, *wali*, *sihr*, *djafr*, *fa'l*, *firāsah*.

⁵ See Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, London, 1830, Nos. 139, p. 37, 306, p. 82, 490, p. 142/3, but these proverbs cannot be taken too seriously. Even at the present day, saint-worship and superstition have still a considerable hold on the people. A visit to any of the principal mausoleums during festivals will suffice to prove that all classes of people continue to believe in saints. Regarding charms, for example, I was told by a Maghrabī shaikh who lives in Shārī Darb al-Jamāmiz in Cairo that his clientèle includes fashionable actresses and teachers and even an Egyptian airman who sought a charm from him before he attempted to fly from Europe to Egypt and sent him his thanks when he succeeded.

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In regard to saint-worship, al-Jabartī¹ gives an account of a Turkish preacher who came to Cairo in the month of Ramaḍān 1123 (1711) and began to preach to a congregation which consisted mostly of Turks in the Mosque al-Mu'ayyad against saint-worship, their miracles, beggary and other practices. The sermon was reported to the 'ulamā' and two of them, Shaikhs Aḥmad an-Nafarāwī and Aḥmad al-Khalīfī, issued a *fatwa* declaring, *inter alia*, that saints could perform miracles after death. The outcome was the escape of the preacher and the punishment of those who attended his sermons. The narrative ends with a poem by Ḥasan al-Ḥijāzī who approves of the fate of the preacher probably because he had roused the soldiers against the 'ulamā', for elsewhere² he disapproves of the worship of demented men as "saints" and still more of the 'ulamā' who encouraged it.³

Regarding the literature on saints and occultism, there is an extensive list of the former under the headings of *ṭabaḳāt* (biographies), *karamāt* (miracles) and *manāḳīb* (virtues) much of which is closely connected with *taṣawwuf*, while on the latter, MacDonald gives a long list of works in his article on *siḥr*.⁴ Under this heading there are a series of sciences ('ulūm), the names of which are as follows: 'ilm ar-ramāl (geomancy), 'ilm an-nujūm (astrology), 'ilm al-jafr (divination), this is also known as 'ilm al-ḥurūf, al-kimiyā (alchemy), 'ilm ar-rukkah (the science of the distaff),⁵ ar-rūḥānī (spiritual magic), as-sīmiyā (natural magic), 'ilm al-aufāḳ (magic squares) and ta'bīr ar-ru'yā (interpretation of dreams).⁶ Shaikhs who wrote on these subjects were highly esteemed as scholars.⁷ All these occult sciences were very popular and the various arts connected with them were practised very extensively by many shaikhs.⁸ Those best versed in these sciences were Maghrabīs but every village *fikī* even had some knowledge of them and could provide charms.⁹ As a rule, a shaikh learnt the art from his father or some other relation

¹ al-Jab., I/48-50 — I/116-120.

² See al-Jab., I/78-79 — I/187-8.

³ Ibid., I/79-80 = I/188-189, I/80-81 — I/190-192, but note the long poem I/83-4 — I/194-5.

⁴ See also G.A.L., II/365-6, and *Encycl. of Islam*, mentioned above.

⁵ See Walker, *Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt*, London, 1935.

⁶ See Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, London, 1920, and Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, London, 1927. See also Westernmarck's *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London, 1926, which is also interesting as it also throws some light on the same problems.

⁷ See for example al-Jab., I/159-160 — II/39-42; Sh. Muh. al-Ḥilālī ad-Dānirānkawī, I/161 — II/43; Sh. Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ad-Dairabī.

⁸ al-Jab., *passim*. Lane, op. cit., pp. 228-282.

⁹ Burckhardt, op. cit., pp. 142-3; 216.

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after a long period of apprenticeship; many of them had private collections of writings, formulæ and squares in manuscript form for private use and guarded with the utmost secrecy; the greater the secrecy, the more the shaikh was held in esteem.

Literary Education

Before proceeding to the study of higher education proper some mention should be made of the fact that in certain classes it was still customary to receive a literary education. An education of this kind, which was regarded as essential in higher society, meant an acquaintance with one or two of the favourite poets, and the learning by heart of some verses and proverbs which could be used in polite conversation on appropriate occasions.¹ One of the favourite works read and sometimes learnt by heart was the *Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, which was occasionally taught in the mosques as well.² Most of this teaching however must have been undertaken in private houses.

The works most preferred were the so-called *Romances* which were purely for entertainment; these were not, as a rule, read by the people, but were recited in public by professional narrators.³ There were the *Shu'arā'* or *Hilālīs* who recited the *Sīrat Abī-Zaid*, the *Muḥaddithīn*⁴ who recited the *Sīrat az-Zāhiriyah* which is based on the history of Baibars, and the *'Antariyah* who recited the *Sīrat 'Antar* and also the *Sīrat Dhī'l-Himmah*, *Sīrat Saif Dhī'l-Yazan* and the *Thousand and One Nights*.⁵

The first of these stories was read or recited in the popular manner, that is to say, without inflexion and the metres of the poems were not classical; the second were entirely in colloquial and best suited to the lower classes while the third, which included poetry not understood by the people, were listened to by the educated. There were also numerous other shorter stories some of which have been collected, but a close study of the literature of Egyptian colloquial Arabic has yet to be made.⁶

¹ Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London, 1883, pp. 201-2.

² See below under Sh. Murtaḳa.

³ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 397-431.

⁴ For *Muḥaddithūn*.

⁵ The *Thousand and One Nights* was the least recited. See articles in the *Encycl. of Islam*, 'Antar and Sīrat 'Antar, Baibars, Abū Zaid, Alf Lailah wa Lailah, Egypt, Vol. II, p. 22, ḥikāyah, ḳiṣṣah; see also Maunier, *Bibliographie de l'Égypte Moderne*, Cairo, 1918, pp. 293-5.

⁶ Sh. Iskandarī has made an attempt to write a history of colloquial literature (so far unpublished) but he makes no mention of these stories.

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Women and Education.

So far, practically no reference has been made to the education of the women of the Moslem community and, in fact, the authorities give us very little information on the subject.¹

Girls were admitted in the *kuttābs*² but few seemed to have taken advantage of this privilege.³ Some seem to have been taught by special teachers called *shaikhahs* and probably by old *shaikhs*. In addition to the usual teaching of the prayers, the young girls were also made to learn certain chapters of the *Qur'an* by heart, but tradition forbade the teaching of some *sūrah*s particularly *Sūrat Yūsuf*. Girls did not learn how to read and write as there was (and still is, among certain classes), a very strong prejudice against their learning to do so. The girls of the middle and upper classes were taught the art of embroidery and artistic needlework by a special teacher called the *mu'allimah*⁴ and once they had become proficient in the work, their finished articles were taken to the market by the *dallālah*, a female broker⁵ to be sold. The poorer women used to learn the use of the spindle.

There was probably a number of women who learnt the *Qur'an* by heart and became professional *fikiyahs* or *shaikhahs*. It has been seen above⁶ that Shaikh Shārkāwī had a blind *fikiyah* as one of his students in al-Azhar; there is also mention of a certain Shaikhah Amūnah who became attached to as-Sayyid 'Alī al-Bakrī⁷; Shaikh 'Abdal-Ghanī an-Nābulī relates that while he was visiting the mausoleum of as-Sayyidah Nafisah some time after 1106 (1694), he found a woman *hāfiẓah* reciting the *Qur'an* to a number of her sex.⁸ Women were not forbidden to listen to lectures for we read in al-Jabartī that while Shaikh Murtaḍa was giving a lecture on the *ḥadīth* at the house of a certain amīr, women, girls and children listened to him behind a curtain.⁹

¹ See Yacoub Artin, *L'Instruction Publique en Egypte*, Paris, 1890, pp. 113-138.

² Hasan Ef. 'Abdal-Wahhāb of Cairo informs me that the *wakf* of the *Qalāūn kuttābs* provided for 400 boys and 400 girls.

³ See Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London, 1883, pp. 204-5.

⁴ See Burckhardt, op. cit., Proverb No. 739, p. 216. Used by women who had no children:—"I have neither an 'Alī in the *kuttāb*, nor a Fāṭimah with the *mu'allimah*."

⁵ See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 194. See also *The Englishwoman in Egypt* by E. W. Lane's sister, London, 1844, Vol. II, pp. 28-31.

⁶ al-Jab., IV/161-VIII/364.

⁷ Ibid., II/248-V/192.

⁸ See his "*al-Ḥaḳīkah wa'l-Majāz fī riḥlat ash-Shām wa Miṣr wa'l-Hijās*."

⁹ al-Jab., II/200-V/110.

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Shaikhahs also had special functions such as those connected with the *zār*, a practice which was probably introduced about this time into Egypt.¹

Domestic duties were probably taught to young girls by their mothers and slaves. In the case of the better classes, such duties could not have been irksome on account of the number of slaves in the house.

Slave women were more often than not already educated before they were bought; but the difficulty of training slaves was proverbial.²

The arts of music and singing were not taught to women as they were considered incompatible with decency; these arts were left to the professional *'almahs*.

Higher Education.

Higher education in the Moslem community was reserved for a special class, viz., the *'ulamā* and *shaikhs* who had their seat of learning in the college-mosque of al-Azhar called *Jāmi' al-Azhar* or *Madrasat-al-Azhar*.

Besides this *madrasah*, there were others functioning in Cairo and the provinces during the eighteenth century each with a resident *shaikh*, while the number of students being determined by the extent of the means of the *wakf* endowment at its disposal. The attraction of students to a *madrasah* depended on two things, the material provisions of the school in the first place and the reputation of some teacher or teachers in the second. The chief reasons for the popularity of al-Azhar were that it was rich and supplied the best professors. At one time these other *madrasahs*³ were in a more flourishing state, but even at a much earlier date not all of them were well attended.⁴

That learning in Egypt in the eighteenth century was in a state of decadence cannot be denied, and the decadence had been accelerated by the conquest of the country by the Turks and its reduction to the status of a province. The country had to part with a large amount of money by way of tribute, money

¹ See the article in the *Encycl. of Islam* on the *zār*. See also Zwemer, op. cit., pp. 227-244; Blackman, op. cit., pp. 198-200.

² Burckhardt, op. cit., p. 92, proverb No. 347, "The purchase of a slave, but not the training of him."

³ See Amīn Pasha Sāmī, *al-Ta'lim fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1917, Section 5 of the *Supplements*, where he gives the names of 125 *madrasahs* with a brief history of each.

⁴ See Léon l'Africain, translated by Jean Temporal, 1556, p. 352; quoted by Arminjon, op. cit., pp. 37-8.

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which would otherwise have stayed in the country for the benefit of the people; many of the higher posts were now occupied by Turks and the continual opposition of the Mamlūk Beys to the Turkish Governor and their own mutual jealousies engaged too much of their attention. Many of the *madrasahs* and mosques had possessed libraries which, however, gradually disappeared,¹ but the main reason for the *madrasahs* being no longer used as such was probably that they fell into ruins or, at least, that part where the teachers and students lived and studied. Many of the schools then came to be used simply as mosques, *zāwiyahs* and *takiyahs*.² Whether the *wakf* property of a school was ever confiscated is hard to say, though Arminjon states that it was usurped.³ Lack of funds from badly managed property may have resulted in lack of interest and neglect; teachers and students would soon withdraw from a school the quarters of which were badly kept and which had no proper kitchen arrangements.⁴ Material prosperity and with it intellectual development seemed to have been transferred to Constantinople.⁵

¹ al-Jab., I/6-I/10. The books were lost by the readers, sold by the administrators and transferred to the Maghrib and the Sūdān.

² Amīn Pasha Sāmī gives the names of the schools that were so transformed in the above-mentioned work. *Madrasat ad-Dailam* was eventually called *Jāmi' Kāfūr*; *Madrasat al-Baidariyah* became *Zāwiyat al-Labbān*; *Madrasat Bardāh al-Ashrafī* was called *Jāmi' al-Mahkamah*; *Madrasat Turbat Umm Šālīh* became *Takiyat as-Sayyidah Nafisah*, and many others changed name and function. See also 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Cairo, 1888, *passim*; see article Masjdīd., *Encycl. of Islam*.

³ Arminjon, op. cit., pp. 37-8. Ce déperissement, dont il est difficile de déceler les causes multiples et insaisissables, se manifeste par la dilapidation et l'usurpation des ouakfs, par la dégradation et la ruine des bâtiments, spécialement dans leurs parties consacrées aux logements des maîtres et des étudiants.

⁴ The material side of the *madrasah* system cannot be overlooked. Many of the students were poor and they were more often parasites and joined the schools simply with a view to acquiring some kind of maintenance. In the opinion of the people, it was almost inconceivable that a *madrasah* should be built without arrangements being made for the upkeep of a certain number of students. In this connection, the following anecdote is illustrative of popular opinion on the subject. When the Shaikhūn Mosque was built, no such provision was made, whereupon some wit wrote on one of the walls:—

Gāmi' bilā 'aish buniya-lish?

Why should a mosque be built without the provision of bread?

To which another replied:—

Buniya liš-salāt yā kaḥil al-ḥayā.

It was built for prayer, O shameful one.

Whereupon the bread-seeker added:—

Aš-salāh gā'izah fi'l-khalāh,

Yukhrab al-gāmi' 'ala man banāh.

Prayer can be performed in the open air,

May the mosque fall into ruins upon the founder!

⁵ See Ubicini, *Letters in Turkey*, trans. by Lady Easthope, London, 1865. In the reign of Sultān Mustafā III, there were 275 *madrasahs* in Constantinople, in 1855 there were 300. More attention seemed to have been paid to system and regularity. See also *Encycl. of Islam*, article on Constantinople, Vol. I, p. 872.

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There seem to have been too many schools in Cairo even in earlier times owing to the practice of the Mamlūk Amīrs of building *madrasahs* and mosques in order to perpetuate their names in history. New institutions had a better chance of being more advantageously administered than old ones and schools built and put into use during the founder's life were almost sure to be well-patronised by students.¹

✓ Islamic learning and scholarship have nearly always flourished best under the patronage of the rulers and the great. In spite of the provision of schools, the Beys, on account of the political and economic reasons stated above, had neither the leisure nor the means to offer patronage to any extent; and, with the decadence of intellectual life in Egypt, the schools that were still used lost their personality while that of al-Azhar grew. While the minor institutions were becoming impoverished, al-Azhar gradually became larger and richer on account of the endowments that were settled on it from time to time; it was occasionally renovated and new buildings added to it. Gradually the other schools became as it were annexes or dependencies of this huge college-mosque, at least, for the purposes of teaching.

The centripetal movement, however, was not so pronounced in Cairo as maintained by Arminjon² as al-Jabartī gives us the names of some twenty *madrasahs*³ and as many

¹ As those of 'Abdar-Rahmān Katkhudā and Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab.

² See Arminjon, op. cit., p. 38, and Ilyās al-Ayyūbī, *Ta'rikh Miṣr fi 'Ahd al-Khidwat Ismā'il Bāshā*, Cairo, 1923, p. 169, where he states most emphatically that there was only one school in Cairo before the arrival of the French and that was al-Azhar.

³ See *al-Khiṭaṭ at-Taufiqiyah*, Vol. VI, pp. 8 and 10.

Ainiyah or *Shā'bāniyah*, I/289-II/286, IV/104-VIII/233, IV/261-IX/205.

Aḥbughāwiyah (annexed to al-Azhar), II/5-III/240.

Ashrafīyah, I/220-II/177, II/15-III/263, II/85-IV/133, II/183-V/78,

II/244-V/186, II/252-V/201, III/164-VI/309.

Bardabkiyah, I/416-III/222.

Bulāh, II/60-IV/84, II/85-IV/133.

Habbāniyah, III/203-VII/75 and 76.

Husainiyah, I/259-II/238-9, I/287-II/280, I/288-II/283-4, II/25-IV/16,

II/183-V/78, II/211-V/129, II/244-II/186, II/252-V/201, II/260-

V/213-4, III/61-VI/122, III/115-VI/220, III/166-VI/312, IV/216-

IX/109.

Jauhariyah, III/61-VI/122, IV/162-VIII/365.

**Kurdiyah*, III/61-VI/123.

**Mahmūdiyyah*, I/302-II/139, I/312-III/24, II/35-IV/34, III/354-

VII/426.

Matbūliyah, I/67-I/164, I/317-III/30.

Muḥammadiyah (built by Abu Dhahab), I/418-9 = III/227-230, II/4-

III/237, II/17-III/268, II/19-III/272, II/165-V/41, II/165-V/41,

II/259-V/212-3, III/355-VII/426.

Nizāmiyah, III/159-VI/302.

* Same institution.

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mosques¹ where courses were given and students attended. Some of these schools were by no means insignificant; the Ḥusainiyah is mentioned thirteen times in al-Jabartī with the names of the teachers who taught there and who were often the best that al-Azhar could produce such as Shaikh Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī,² Shaikh Aḥmad al-'Arūsī,³ Shaikh Muḥammad al-Bulaidī,⁴ Shaikh Muḥammad al-Khālidi al-Jauharī⁵ and others. No less a scholar than Shaikh Murtaḍa taught at the Ḥanafī Mosque,⁶ and at the Shaikhūniyah⁷; and we read of one case where a teacher preferred to teach at an institution other than at the mosque of al-Azhar, this was the pious old shaikh Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī⁸ who gave his courses at the mosque of al-Fakahān

- Shaikhūniyah*, II/57-IV/77, II/98-IV/160, II/126-IV/238, II/150-IV/296, II/199-V/109, IV/76-VIII/166, IV/260-IX/204.
Silāhiyah, II/6-III/241, II/148-IV/292.
Sināniyah, I/162-II/46, I/220-II/177, I/390-III/178, I/409-III/204, II/4-III/237, II/60-IV/84, II/85-IV/133, II/164-V/40, II/263-V/219, IV/160-VIII/360.
Ṣirḥatmishiyah, I/312-III/24, I/375-III/142, I/379-III/152, III/354-VII/426, IV/260-IX/204.
Sulaimāniyah, I/265-II/251.
Suyūfiyah, II/4-III/235, II/6-III/242, apparently another name of the mosque of Muḥahhar. See *al-Khiṭaṭ at-Taḥṣīṭiyah*, Vol. VI, p. 8, and below.
Taibarsiyah (annexed to al-Azhar), II/5-III/241, II/6-III/241.
¹ *Abū'l-Hurairah* at al-Gizah, II/221-V/149.
Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, II/57-IV/77.
Almās, II/98-IV/160.
Azbak, II/247-V/190.
Fakahānī, IV/164-VIII/369, IV/294-IX/279.
Gharīb, I/416-III/222.
Ghūrī, I/342-III/70-1.
Ḥanafī, I/211-II/161, II/199-V/110.
Iskandar Pāshā, I/156-II/33.
Khudari (ash-Shaikh al-), I/375-III/142.
Kūsūn, II/263-IV/219, I/304-II/305.
Mirza Shurbajī (at Būlāk), I/416-III/222, II/164-V/40, II/251-V/201, IV/286-IX/261.
Muḥarram, I/211-II/161.
Muḥahhar (ash-Shaikh), II/4-III/235, II/6-III/242, II/15-III/263.
Sidī Sāriyah, I/264-II/250.
Shams-addīn al-Ḥanafī, II/95-IV/155.
Umar Shāh, IV/261-IX/205.
Uḥmān Katkhudā, I/168-II/61, I/288-II/283, III/161-IV/304.
Waṣṭī, II/60-IV/84.
² al-Jab., II/25-IV/16, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.
³ Ibid., II/252-V/201, he also taught at the mosque of Mirza Shurbajī at Būlāk. Became Shaikh of al-Azhar after ad-Damanhūrī, d. 1793.
⁴ Ibid., I/259-II/238-9. See also *Ta'rikh Murādī*, Vol. IV, p. 111. al-Bulaidī was a very important Azharī teacher. He used to teach the *Tafsīr al-Baidāwī* and was attended by more than 200 other teachers, d. 1762. He also taught at the *Ashrāfiyah*.
⁵ al-Jab., III/166-VI/312. See also G.A.L., II/252. He also taught at the *Ashrāfiyah*, d. 1800.
⁶ al-Jab., II/199-V/110.
⁷ al-Jab., II/57-IV/77.
⁸ al-Jab., IV/164-VIII/369 and IV/294-IX/279.

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(or al-Fākihānī), and cleaned the mosque out himself; even after he was made Shaikh of al-Azhar, he still insisted on keeping up his work at his old mosque.

Some schools seemed to have been colleges for dervishes,¹ the shaikhs or teachers of which were appointed either with the knowledge and approval of the local authorities at al-Azhar or by an order from Constantinople.² As in Cairo, there still existed a network of higher teaching establishments around al-Azhar, so in the provinces there was still functioning a number of institutions which were dependent to a certain degree, on al-Azhar for the supply of professors. These institutions were wholly independent as regards administration, but no provincial establishment seems to have a body of 'ulamā' which did not look to al-Azhar as its cultural home. Diplomas enabling shaikhs to teach may have been given locally, but the 'hall-mark' of learning was attendance at al-Azhar and acquisition of diplomas from its 'ulamā', and for this reason the most important shaikhs who held chairs in provincial mosques had passed through al-Azhar as young men.

According to al-Jabartī, the following towns³ had establishments where teaching work was carried on: Asyūt,⁴ Birmā⁵; Damietta,⁶ Dasūḳ,⁷ Faiyūm,⁸ Girgā,⁹ Manṣūrah,¹⁰ Manṣūrah,¹¹ Manūf,¹² Rosetta,¹³ Ṭaḥṭā,¹⁴ Ṭanṭā.¹⁵ One may also add

¹ See *waḳā'i' miṣriyah*, No. 99, 18th Rajab, 1245 (13th Jan., 1830). In the case of the *Habbāniyah* and *Sulaimāniyah* schools, they seem to have been reserved for Turks. The teacher appointed in 1196 (1781) was Hasan Efendi of Ankara and at that time there were twenty-four efendis in the *Habbāniyah* school; the names of four are given which show that they were Turks. Two of them were 80 years of age.

² Hasan Efendi was appointed through Shaikh al-'Arūsī (d. 1793) who came Shaikh of al-Azhar in 1778, the appointment was confirmed by Shaikh Muḥammad al-Amīr and approved by Sulaimān Efendi, Shaikh of the Turkish *riwāḳ* (see *waḳā'i' miṣriyah*, No. 99, 18th Rajab, 1245). Yūsuf Efendi, a Turk, was appointed Nakīb al-Ashraf and also Shaikh of the *Habbāniyah* school by Constantinople in 1801, but the appointment was disapproved of locally (see al-Jab., III/203-VII/75-76).

³ See also the articles in the *Encycl. of Islam* on the following:—Asyūt, Bani Suef, Cairo, Dasuk, Dimyāt, Faiyūm, al-Iskandariya, Djirdja, Qalyūb, Kena, Kūs, Maḥallah, Manūf, Manṣūrah, Ṭanṭā and Zaḳāzīk.

⁴ al-Jab., II/15-III/263.

⁵ Ibid., IV/76-VIII/166.

⁶ Ibid., I/67-I/163, I/72-I/175, I/84-I/197, I/85-I/204, I/262-II/246.

⁷ Ibid., IV/65-VIII/142.

⁸ Ibid., II/71-IV/99.

⁹ Ibid., III/125-IV/235.

¹⁰ Ibid., II/259-V/212, I/157-II/35-6, I/205-II/147-8.

¹¹ Ibid., II/99-IV/163.

¹² Ibid., I/74-I/179.

¹³ Ibid., I/261-II/243, I/374-III/139, IV/215-IX/108-9.

¹⁴ Ibid., IV/260-IX/203.

¹⁵ Ibid., II/260-V/214-5, II/183-V/79.

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Alexandria, Gīzah, Ḳalyūb, Ḳenā, Ḳūṣ and Manfalūt, which all seem to have been provided with educational facilities beyond the *kuttābs*.

Of Alexandria's numerous mosques, that of Sayyidī Abī'l-'Abbās al-Mursī and another called *Masjid al-Madrasah* were college-mosques.¹ At Asyūt, some half dozen mosques are mentioned as being used for teaching,² we have one case in al-Jabartī of a teacher preparing a student before he went to al-Azhar.³ Birmā does not appear to have been so important, but several members of this town became 'ulamā' while Shaikh al-Ma'āsiri taught there.⁴

Damietta was a much greater centre of learning; of its many mosques,⁵ al-Badrī,⁶ al-Matbūliyah,⁷ Shaṭṭā ibn'l-Hāmūk and Abū'l-Ma'āṭi⁸ were college-mosques.

Several important 'ulamā' taught in this town⁹; it appears that the family to which the poet Muṣṭafā al-Laḳīmī belonged had a permanent interest in one of the mosques.¹⁰

Dasūk had three large mosques, the foremost being that of the famous saint ad-Dasūkī,¹¹ the founder of the *Dasūkiyah* (or *Burhāmiyah* or *Barāhimah*) order which had its centre here. This town is only mentioned once in al-Jabartī in connection with schools, the reference being to the students of some mosque

¹ The first was connected with the Shādhilī order, see 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 69; for the second see p. 69. When 'Alī Pasha Mubārak wrote his work, this town had 49 congregational mosques and 97 *zāwiyahs*.

² Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 103-4. Their names are Shaikh Majdhūb, Sayyidī Jalāl-addin as-Suyūṭī, al-'Amrī, al-Yūsufī, al-Mujāhidīn, Muḥammad Kāshif, al-Ḳādī.

³ Shaikh Hasan al-Jadri taught Muḥammad Hāshim as-Suyūṭī before he went to al-Azhar; see al-Jab., II/15-III/263.

⁴ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 34, and al-Jab., IV/76-VIII/166, where Shaikh Aḥmad al-Birmāwī studied in this town under al-Ma'āsiri.

⁵ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XI, pp. 36-57, pp. 52-3, which deal with the mosques and schools.

⁶ al-Jab., I/88-I/204. Shaikh Muḥammad Abū Hāmid al-Badrī taught here.

⁷ al-Jab., I/72-I/175. Also in 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 52.

⁸ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 52.

⁹ Shaikh Abū's-Su'ūd ad-Danjihī who became Shaikh of the *Matbūliyah* school in Cairo learnt the *ilm al-Tajwīd* here, see al-Jab., I/67-I/163. Shaikh Ibn al-Mas'ūdī b. Abī'n-Nūr ad-Dimyāṭī taught here, see al-Jab., I/67-I/163. Shaikh Muḥammad Abū's-Su'ūd b. Abī'n-Nūr studied here under various scholars. Shaikh Muḥammad Abū Hāmid al-Badrī taught at the mosque of al-Badrī, see al-Jab., I/88-I/204. Shaikh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Isā ad-Danjihī also taught at Damietta, see al-Jab., I/262-II/246; see also *Ta'rikh al-Murādi*, Vol. IV/155, which confirms the existence of a school of 'ulamā' at this town.

¹⁰ *Ta'rikh al-Murādi*, Vol. IV/155.

¹¹ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 6-13. It is worth while noting that the *wakf* of the mosque of Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūkī maintained eleven *maktabs* or *kuttābs*.

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who were nearly all blind being badly treated by the soldiery.¹ The institution in question seems to have been devoted to the training of shaikhs, munshids and other servants for the work of the *Dasūkiyah* order.

It is not clear at which mosque at Faiyūm Shaikh Salāmah al-Faiyūmī taught²; in the *Khīṭat at-Taufīkiyah*,³ it is stated that there were Shāfi'i and Mālikī schools probably those founded by Taḳī-addīn 'Umar.

For Girgā there is a reference to Shaikh Muḥammad an-Najjārī who taught there,⁴ and out of the score of mosques in use, two were college-mosques.⁵

There was one college-mosque at Ḳenā⁶; Ḳūṣ no longer had its old reputation as a city of learning though 'Alī Pasha Mubārak gives a long account of some of its scholars.⁷

Al-Maḥallah was another centre of some importance; al-Jabartī gives us the names of several scholars of that town; Muḥammad Hāmūdah al-Labidī⁸ studied *fiḳh*, metaphysics, rhetoric and versification at al-Maḥallah before he went to al-Azhar, he afterwards became a poet and was one of the companions of the Amīr Ruḍwān al-Jalfī.⁹ The Mosques of an-Naṣr and al-Matwallī were collegiate.¹⁰

Al-Manṣūrah had about a score of mosques, many of which were centres of instruction and two of them were very popular, namely, the Mosque of Sayyidī 'Abdallah al-Muwāfi and that of Shaikh Yāsīn which had a yearly fair in the month of *Rabi' I*.¹¹ The *Rifā'iyah* order appeared to have a centre at al-Manṣūrah, al-Jabartī gives the names of 'ulamā' who taught here.¹²

¹ See al-Jab., IV/65-VIII/142.

² See al-Jab., II/71-IV/99.

³ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, Vol. XIV, pp. 84-94, the account of Taḳī-addīn 'Umar is on p. 85. See also Arminjon, op. cit., p. 38.

⁴ See al-Jab., II/125-IV/235.

⁵ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 53. They were called aṣ-Ṣīnī and al-Mu'allak.

⁶ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XIV, p. 121.

⁷ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XIV, pp. 128-140.

⁸ See al-Jab., I/205-II/147-8.

⁹ Some of his panegyrics are included in 'Abdallah al-Idkāwī's *al-Fawā'id al-Jināniyah fi'l Madā'ih ar-Raḍwāniyah*, still in MS. in the Egyptian Library (No. Adab. 1487).

¹⁰ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XV, pp. 18-20. This town had some 40 mosques not including *zāwiyahs*; 25 *kuttābs* were attached to pious foundations. Amongst the scholars who taught there, we may mention Shaikh Shihāb-addīn as-Samannūdī (al-Jab., II/259-V/212), Shaikhs 'Alī al-Maḥallī al-Akra' and Hasan-al-Badawī (al-Jab., I/157-II/35-6), while Shaikh 'Abdar-Rā'ūf al-Bashbishi began his studies there (al-Jab., I/157-II/35-6).

¹¹ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XV, pp. 90-1.

¹² Shaikhs Aḥmad and Muḥammad al-Jālī taught Shaikh 'Abdallah as-Sandūbi ar-Rifā'i at al-Manṣūrah. The latter had a chair of his own at a mosque built by his uncle and was visited by al-Jabartī in 1189 (1775).

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Shaikh Manṣūr al-Manūfī studied several compendiums at Manūf before he went to Cairo¹; most of the mosques seem to have been in a dilapidated state and it is not clear which were collegiate.²

Rosetta had quite a large number of mosques.³ One, called al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, resembled, according to 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, the Mosque of al-Azhar; this, together with the mosques of al-Maḥallāwī and az-Zaghlūl, was used for the purposes of instruction. Shaikh Ḥasan b. Salāmah at-Ṭībī (d. 1763) who belonged to the *Barhāmiyah* taught at the Zaghlūl mosque⁴; Shaikh 'Alī al-Khuḍārī (d. 1772) taught at the Maḥallāwī mosque and was even visited by teachers from Cairo on account of his great reputation⁵; Shaikh Ḥusain ar-Rashīdī, whose father was a *kāshif*, began his studies at Rosetta and afterwards became a teacher at al-Azhar.⁶ The *Barhāmiyah* order seemed to have a strong footing in this town and probably the Zaghlūl mosque was used for its teachings; we read, too, in Lane⁷ that dervishes were sent from Rosetta to the Dasūḳ fair.

Ṭaḥṭā had seven college-mosques,⁸ while Ṭanṭā ranked next in importance after Cairo as an educational centre. The Mosque of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī was the headquarters of the *Aḥmadiyah* (or *Badawiyah*) order and there was held a religious fair bi-annually which was attended by huge crowds from all over Egypt. The mosque must have had a very large number of students and teachers, the shaikh of which was also shaikh of the 'ulamā'.

'Alī Bey al-Kabīr⁹ rebuilt the mosque, schools, *sabīl*, minarets and other offices, but they were again rebuilt by 'Abbās I. Al-Jabartī gives the name of Shaikh 'Alī al-'Aunī who taught at another mosque to begin with (probably that called al-Būṣah¹⁰) but he eventually became chief shaikh of Ṭanṭā.

There is also a reference to Shaikh Aḥmad as-Samālījī¹¹

¹ See al-Jab., I/74-I/179.

² See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XVI, pp. 47-50.

³ Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 75.

⁴ See al-Jab., I/261-II/243.

⁵ See al-Jab., I/374-5 = III/138-141.

⁶ See al-Jab., IV/215-IX/108-9.

⁷ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, op. cit., p. 247.

⁸ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XIII, pp. 51-2. They were the mosques of Abī'l-Kāsim al-Ḥusainī, Shaikh Ṭaha, Ibn ar-Rāḍī, Shaikh Nuṣair, al-Alfī, Shaikh Mūsā, al-Kishkī. The author adds that they were all used for teaching purposes.

⁹ See al-Jab., I/382-3 = III/159-160.

¹⁰ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. XIII, pp. 46-7.

¹¹ al-Jab., II/260-V/214-5.

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who taught at the Mosque of Sayyid al-Badawī and who had a reputation for settling disputes of the whole town.

The above sketch of the distribution of teaching establishments cannot be considered complete as al-Jabartī, our main source for the period, only gives the names of the most important scholars and the names of the various schools or college-mosques *en passant*; their number suffices to show, however, that the Moslem community was not lacking in educational centres and that the system which had been handed down was maintained at a standard compatible with the political and economic standard of the time.

It can be definitely stated at this stage that the general all-round deterioration in the buildings and their disuse did not begin in the eighteenth century and that the Turkish governors and Mamlūk Amīrs can be exonerated for the decay, which was not set in until after the first decade of the nineteenth century and that for reasons which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.¹

It has been stated above that Mamlūk Amīrs and others had the habit of building new schools and mosques; this remark applies equally to the eighteenth century, for right up to the French occupation we have records of new constructions and renovations; in contradiction to the usual opinion, the rulers still gave a considerable amount of attention to the spiritual and intellectual welfare of the people.

In 1695 (1107), Ismā'īl Pasha built a *madrasah* called after his name; it was situated near the Dīwān of Kāitbai and was intended to accommodate twelve students of all four rites²; 'Uṭhmān Katkhudā al-Kāsdughlī built a mosque, school and fountain in al-Azbakiyah near the Raṣīf al-Khashshāb in the year 1734 (1147)³; in 1735 (1148), Aḥmad Katkhudā al-Kharbutlī rebuilt the Zāfir mosque which was renamed al-Fākahānī⁴; Sulṭān Maḥmūd I had a school built in 1750 (1164) in Shārī al-Ḥabbāniyah now known as *Takiyat al-Ḥabbāniyah*⁵; there was also the large school built by Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab in 1774 (1188) opposite al-Azhar.⁶ Mention has been made of 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr's building of schools at Ṭanṭā⁷ but

¹ See Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1924, pp. 298-302.

² 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 2-3.

³ al-Jab., I/168-II/61.

⁴ al-Jab., I/168-II/60-61. 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 30.

⁵ See Amīn Pasha Sāmī, op. cit., Supplement, and 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 55.

⁶ al-Jab., I/418-9-III/227-230.

⁷ al-Jab., I/382-3-III/159-160.

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the greatest builder of all was the famous 'Abdar-Rahmān Katkhudā al-Kāsdughlī¹ (d. 1776-1190) who devoted much of his wealth to the founding, enlarging and rebuilding of *kuttābs*, mosques and schools besides undertaking such social reforms as the closing of the wine-taverns in the Jewish quarter and the relieving of the poor. He built a *kuttāb* and a fountain in Bain al-Ḳaṣrain also the Jāmi' al-Maghāribah complete with *kuttāb*, fountain and ablution place. He built another mosque opposite Bāb al-Futūḥ with a minaret, cistern and a *kuttāb*. He constructed the mausoleum over as-Sayyidah as-Saṭūhiyah. Near the Azbakiyah cemetery, he erected a huge reservoir for the water-carriers, a trough for animals and another *kuttāb*. He set up similar edifices in Shāri' al-Ḥaṭṭābah and near the Dashṭūṭī mosque. This Amīr also rebuilt and enlarged the mosque of al-Azhar, he added fifty columns surmounted with ornamental groins in carved wood and stone, he bestowed on it a new *miḥrāb* and pulpit and completed it by building a huge gateway in Ḥārat Katāmāh over which he opened another *kuttāb* for orphans; to this monument, he added a court, cistern and a fountain for public use and in the court he built his own tomb with a beautiful cupola over it. He had dormitories, studies, libraries, kitchens and other amenities built for the poor students of Upper Egypt. He also renovated the *Taibarsiyah* and *Ākbughāwīyah* schools which were attached to the mosque of al-Azhar.²

Not all 'Abdar-Rahmān's architectural works have been named, nor has any attempt been made to include those *kuttābs* which were always being founded by the lesser lights, the foundation of which used to be a special feature of Islamic society and always ensured sufficient schools for the young. The above picture is ample proof however, that the spirit for building new schools and mosques had by no means disappeared.

¹ al-Jab., II/5-7-III/238-246. See also Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, pp. 298-301. 'Abdar-Rahmān was the son of Ḥasan Jāwish al-Kāsdughlī and not the son of 'Uthmān Katkhudā; see also *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 532, col. 2.

² In the articles on al-Azhar in the *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 533, col. 1, it is stated on the authority of al-Jabartī that most of 'Abdar-Rahmān's pious works had fallen into neglect a generation later. All that al-Jabartī says is that the revenues of the villages Takīnah, Dībī and Ḥiṣṣat Katāmāh were no longer available in 1220 for the supply of food to the poor and the *mujāwarīn* of al-Azhar on account of the bad times. There is no mention of the schools and mosques built by 'Abdar-Rahmān having fallen into neglect (see al-Jabartī, II/7, lines 28-32 = III/244) but it is stated in Vol. III/161 = VI/304 that the Jāmi' 'Abdar-Rahmān Katkhudā opposite Bāb al-Futūḥ was destroyed by the French.

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Madrasah Students

While the activities of the provincial college-mosques were limited to local needs, those of Cairo were considerably wider as they admitted not only local and provincial students, but also students who came from other Islamic countries. The Azharites were arranged according to their place of origin, each province or country having its own *riwāḳ* or *ḥārah*¹ where the students were lodged, fed and taught. The other Cairo *madrasahs* mentioned above were not large enough to admit of any such division.

The number of *riwāḳs* during the eighteenth century seems to have been about twenty-five and there were about nine *ḥārahs*; al-Jabartī does not mention nearly as many as this; he gives references to the *riwāḳs* of the Turks, the Syrians, the North Africans, of Jabart and some of the provincial *riwāḳs*, but it is impossible to make a complete list from his Annals. We find complete lists in later works,² and apart from one or two that were added during Muḥammad 'Alī's³ reign, there was no re-organisation of the *riwāḳ* system between the end of the eighteenth century and the date of the earliest authority to produce a list.

The division into *riwāḳs* and *ḥārahs* was chiefly territorial, two *riwāḳs* alone were deliberately set aside for sects⁴; although,

¹ *Riwāḳ*—Hostel or Loggia. *Ḥārah*—quarter.

² See von Kremer, *Aegypten*, Leipzig, Part II, 1863, pp. 279-281. Dor Bey, *L'Instruction Publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1872, pp. 277-8. *Tableaux Statistiques des Écoles Égyptiennes*, Cairo, 1875. Dor Bey, *Statistiques des Écoles Civiles*, Cairo, 1875 (an official publication), p. 15, deals with al-Azhar. *Essai de Statistique Générale de l'Égypte* for the years 1873 to 1877, Cairo, 1879 (an official publication), pp. 236-8, deal with al-Azhar. 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 20-25. *Projet de Réforme* presented to Muḥammad Pasha Sa'īd by the *Commission de la Réforme de l'Université d'el-Azhar*, Cairo, 1911, pp. 62-4 and p. 98. *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. I, article on Azhar, p. 533/4.

³ The *Riwāḳ as-Sennāriyah* for example, for students from Sennār and probably one or two other small ones for students coming from the Sūdān. See *Encycl. of Islam*, article on Azhar and 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, Vol. IV, p. 22.

⁴ The *Riwāḳ al-Hanafīyah*, mentioned below, and the *Riwāḳ al-Hanābilah*; the number of students of the latter *riwāḳ* was never very great. The names of the *Riwāḳs* are as follows:—*Al-Ākbughāwīyah* (for provinces of Al-Gharbiyah and al-Minūfiyah), *Al-Akrād* (for Kurds), *Al-Atrāk or Ar-Rūm* (for Turks), *Al-Baghādādiyyīn* (for 'Irākīs), *Al-Bahārwah* (for N.W. Delta), *Al-Balābisah* (for Bilbais), *Al-Barābirah* (for Nubians), *Al-Birmīyah* (for Bornu and neighbourhood), *Ad-Dakārīnah* (for Takrūr, etc.), *Dakārnat Salīḥ* (for country round Lake Chad), *Al-Faiyūmiyah* (for Faiyūm Oasis), *Al-Fashniyah* (for Central Egypt), *Al-Jabartiyah* (for Jabart and Somali Coast), *Al-Hanābilah* (for Hanbali sect), *Al-Hanādwah* (for Indians), *Al-Hanafīyah* (for Hanafi sect), *Al-Haramain* (for Makkah and al-Madinah), *Al-Jāwah* (for Java, etc.), *Al-Maghāribah* (for North Africans), *Im Mu'ammār* (for all nationalities), *As-Sa'ā'idah* (for Upper Egypt), *Ash-Shanawāniyah* (for South Delta), *Ash-Sharāḳwah* (for North-East Delta), *Ash-Shawwām* (for Syrians), *As-Sulaimāniyah* (for Afghanistan and Khorasan), *At-Taibarsiyah* (for provinces of Al-Gharbiyah and al-Minūfiyah), *Al-*

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of course, it happened that the students of one district or country and so belonging to one *riwāḥ* were all of the same sect as, for example, the Sa'ā'idah who were Mālikis and the Turks who were Ḥanafīs, but we never find a *riwāḥ* or *ḥarah* created by a single foundation or called by the name of the founder of a pious foundation. Benefactors who endowed al-Azhar with a *wakf* always stipulated the *riwāḥ* to receive the benefit and it is worth noting that it is nearly always the non-Egyptian *riwāḥs* that were the best endowed.¹ One *riwāḥ*, viz., that of Ibn Mu'ammār, was set aside for all nationalities while the Ḥanafīyah *riwāḥ* was reserved for those who belonged to the Ḥanafī rite, but who had no special *riwāḥ* for their place of origin.²

The fact that al-Azhar gathered so many different nationalities within its walls might lead us to believe that there was a considerable amount of mutual contact between the different elements, but actually a closer examination proves almost the contrary. Each *riwāḥ* had its shaiḥ, *naḳīb*, teachers and own living arrangements; the shaiḥ was responsible to the shaiḥs of the four rites and to the Shaikh-'Umūm and acted as a kind of spokesman for the students under his care. Each *riwāḥ* was really a separate college and it is very much to be doubted if there was any mobility on the part of the junior students within the mosque itself in order to attend lessons. It would appear rather that it was the teachers who were mobile for we have the names of several who taught at different *riwāḥs*.³

There was considerable rivalry between some of the *riwāḥs*; the provincial students were very unruly, the faction, for example, between the *Bahārwah* and the *Sharāḳwah* being of very old standing; the Upper Egyptian was noted for his short temper and quarrelsome habits; the Maghrabīs were the most hated on account of their obstinacy, bad manners and pride,⁴ while

¹ *Umyān* (for blind students), *Al-Yamanīyah* (for South Arabia), and the *Ḥārahs*; *Al-'Affīfī*, *Bajarmīyah*, *Bashābshah*, *Dikkah wa'l Manbar*, *Esnāwīyah wa'l Jizāwīyah*, *Jauhariyah*, *Nabārwah*, *Sulaimānīyah*.

² See *Projet de Réforme*, pp. 62-4, which gives an excellent idea of the distribution of the *wakfs* in al-Azhar. The Turkish, Syrian and Maghrabī *riwāḥs* seem to have been the richest when compared with the number of students.

³ Dor Bey, *L'Instruction Publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1872, p. 378 (*Talamas Hanefieh Khalin min gahat, sic.*).

⁴ For example, Shaikh 'Abdallah Ash-Sharḳāwī, b. 1150, d. 1227, used to teach at the *Jabartīyah* and the *Taibarsīyah*, al-Jab., IV/159-VIII/160.

⁵ See Sulaimān Raṣād, *Kanz al-Jawhar*, pp. 175-196; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 26; *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 367, Vol. I, p. 534; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 216. Note also the proverb quoted by Burckhardt, op. cit., No. 507, p. 152: The Moggrebīns said to the people of Cairo, "Why do not ye love us?" "On account of your ill-natured character," they replied.

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the blind students who formed a very large *riwāḥ* were the most fanatical and were very unmanageable.¹ Apart from troubles which occurred on account of differences of nationality and sect, there were also demonstrations against unjust administrators and riots when an unpopular shaiḥ was appointed in a *riwāḥ*.²

Food and money were provided for the students besides their lodgings, provision being made out of the incomes of the *wakf* endowments, some providing bread and money, others only bread.³ There were many poor students who lived in the *riwāḥ*, sleeping in the *ṣahn* (courtyard) of the mosque in summer and in the *maḳṣūrahs* (compartments) in winter, but before a student could enjoy these privileges, he had to have his name inscribed in the register (*daftar*) which was kept by the *naḳīb* of the *riwāḥ*. It would appear that the Upper Egyptians who were in easier circumstances used to bring supplies of food with them from their villages and lived in the houses, *wakālahs*, or *khāns* around al-Azhar and in the quarter of Būlāḳ (where there is still a *Ṣa'ā'idī* quarter with its shaiḥ), but they also enjoyed the bread ration from their *riwāḥ*; so also with the students from Lower Egypt, but these had the advantage of being nearer their villages and so could obtain supplies more regularly.⁴ Many of the poorer students must have added to their modest means by copying short manuscripts and reciting the *Qur'ān* in private houses, shops and mausoleums. Some students were also in receipt of a daily allowance from public funds granted by decree from Constantinople probably as the result of some local recommendation.⁵

No statistics are available for the number of students in al-Azhar during the eighteenth century; Lane in 1835⁶ reckoned the number at 1,500, but states that some put the figure at 1,000, others at 3,000; Rifā'ah⁷ in 1838, states that there were only 1,200 although there had been 12,000 in former

¹ See ¹ above, and Burckhardt, op. cit., Proverb No. 512, p. 154: It was asked, "What is the wish of the blind?" "A basket full of horns," they replied, "if he does not see he may like butting."

² See al-Jab., I/208-9-II/156-7 and II/248-9-V/193-5.

³ *Jarāyah*. Apparently this word was in common use in Egypt meaning the daily allowance of victuals given to soldiers, labourers, servants, etc. See Burckhardt, op. cit., p. 128.

⁴ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 38-9.

⁵ See *Récueil de Firmans Impériaux Ottomans adressés aux Valis et aux Khédives d'Égypte*, Cairo, 1934, p. 13.

⁶ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 217.

⁷ Rifā'ah, *Jughrāfiyah*, ed. Cairo, 1838, p. 226, line 19.

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times. Both these authors were writing at a period when Egypt had had a very hard time as a result of the French occupation and Muḥammad 'Alī's vigorous treatment of the people, and these forty years must have seriously affected student life in al-Azhar, causing a very big drop in the number of students. The figure must have been much higher than in the eighteen thirties; exactly how many were non-Egyptian is also a difficult matter to decide because of the lack of statistics, but in view of the large number of foreign *riwāḳs*, the percentage must have been somewhat higher than a century later. There were certainly a large number of Turks, Syrians and Maghrabīs.¹ Any political troubles or warfare always reacted on the movements of scholars and students and undoubtedly the latter half of the eighteenth century was not favourable to any extensive travelling.

Generally speaking, the type of man that went to al-Azhar was of the shaikh class whether he was an Egyptian or otherwise; this applies especially to those who completed their studies in the mosque.² Some students of al-Azhar were the sons of merchants³; many came to the college for a couple of years and then left in order to learn some trade and eventually joined some corporation.⁴

The 'Ulamā' and Shaikhs

The number of 'ulamā' in al-Azhar during the French occupa-

¹ See *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 13th, Vol. XXVI, p. 104, col. 2 and note 1. The information contained therein is very misleading as to the percentage of foreign students in al-Azhar. Admittedly by the date given (1878) there were less foreigners in al-Azhar, but even then the percentage is still fairly high—the total figure for all students was 7,695 and not 3,707 and the number of foreigners 789 and not 192 as given in the above article. In 1873, out of a total of 10,126 students, there were 1,145 foreigners (see *Annuaire d'Égypte*, 1873, and *Essai de Statistique*); this is approximately 10 per cent. of the total. Von Kremer, op. cit., states that in 1862 the Syrian *riwāḳ* had not less than 1,000 students.

² al-Jabartī gives a statement from another shaikh who is being addressed by Aḥmad Pasha the Governor to the effect that most of the students were poor and a mixture of all sorts from the villages and distant parts, I/187, lines 17–18.

³ The father of Shaikh Ḥasan al-Attār (d. 1835) was an apothecary. Shaikh Aḥmad al-Jauharī (d. 1768) was the son of a jeweller; see al-Jab., I/309–III/17. Shaikh Ḥusain ar-Rashīdī (d. 1813) was the son of a *kāshif*; see al-Jab., IV/215–IX/108. Muṣṭafā aṣ-Ṣāwī (d. 1801) was the son of a water-seller; see al-Jab., III/213–VII/100.

⁴ See al-Jab., IV/238–IX/158. Ismā'īl al-Khashshāb seems to have joined al-Azhar with the express purpose of acquiring the special knowledge that would enable him to work as an expert in the courts (*shāhid*). See also *al-Aḥwām*, No. 17727, dated 17th April, 1934, an article of a series on education in Egypt by Aḥmad 'Izzat 'Abdal-Karīm, p. 13.

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tion according to Chabrol was from forty to fifty¹; Chauvin gives it at 60²; before the French came, the number would appear to have been somewhat greater³ as many of the shaikhs left Cairo as the French were approaching the capital and others left during the occupation⁴; some were executed by the French.⁵ Besides the body of senior 'ulamā' there were many others who were not so important⁶ and who taught both in al-Azhar and in the other mosques and schools. There were also shaikhs in charge of the *riwāḳs*, *naḳīb*s and teachers; and in addition, there were the officials of mosques such as the *khatīb*s, *imāms* and others.⁷

The 'ulamā' and shaikhs of al-Azhar and the other schools were supported by voluntary contributions and the receipts from various pious foundations which provided funds for teaching; only in one case do we read in al-Jabartī of a shaikh who insisted on being paid by his students for the lessons he gave them, a practice which would appear to have been very unusual judging by the tone of the writer.⁸ Some 'ulamā' were in receipt of a daily allowance from public funds granted by decrees from the authorities at Constantinople⁹; others were appointed as administrators (*nāzīr*) or superintendents (*mutawallī*) of *wakf* estates, these appointments being occasionally made by the

¹ Chabrol, op. cit., p. 67.

² Chauvin, *La Légende Égyptienne de Bonaparte*, Mons, 1902, p. 22, quoting *Commentaires de Napoléon*, Tome II, pp. 362–371. On p. 33, however, quoting Ryme, he mentions 100 shaikhs who were present at some ceremony at al-Azhar.

³ The abundance of names of 'ulamā' in the Annals of al-Jabartī leads one to think that their number has been under-rated. He gives nearly 400 biographies; at a party given by Shaikh Murtaḍa (II/196–7–V/104) al-Jabartī gives a long list of the guests and includes some two dozen of the 'ulamā'. See also I/309–III/17, where under the biography of Shaikh Aḥmad al-Jauharī, nine Shāfi'ī and ten Mālikī 'ulamā' amongst his teachers. See also *Murādī* IV/III, where over 200 teachers used to attend al-Bulaidī.

⁴ al-Jab., III/134–5–VI/253–4. See also *Journal d'Abder-Rahman Gabartī pendant l'occupation française en Égypte*, trans. by A. Cardin, Paris, 1838, p. 161.

⁵ al-Jab., III/60–1–VI/122–124.

⁶ Jomard, op. cit., p. 364, states that it is impossible to count the number of 'ulamā', shaikhs, "hommes de loi," *efendīs* and *multazims* separately and gives the figure of 5,000.

⁷ See above, pp. 8–9.

⁸ al-Jab., I/219–220–II/175–6, Shaikh Ḥusain al-Mahallī.

⁹ *Récueil de Firmans*, op. cit., pp. 9–10, 25th *Rajab*, 1216 (1801)—"Ayant été décidé de ne plus pratiquer la réduction de moitié sur les payes journalières de quelques professeurs à la mosquée d'El-Azhar, dont se justifient les titres, il est délivré le présent bérat en faveur de l'un d'eux, le Cheikh Hassan, afin que lui soit versée la paye entière de 33 paras et un tiers sur le gewali d'Égypte." See also p. 10, where Sayyid Muḥammad received 13 paras a day, and p. 22, where Sayyid Muḥammad received a pension of 25 paras a day, also p. 54, regarding Sayyid Muḥammad Kalaiṣī. See also II/200–V/111; at the recommendation of the Governor, Shaikh Murtaḍa was allowed 150 paras a day by the Sublime Porte.

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authorities at Constantinople.¹ There were shaikhs who were not altogether models of uprightness in their charges and their selfishness led them to seek riches for themselves.² Many of the 'ulamā' and shaikhs were poor, but plenty of opportunities of acquiring wealth were offered to some of them in the course of their career. Higher posts as teachers in the *madrasahs* and in al-Azhar, as administrators and superintendents of rich *wakfs*, and other positions of trust brought various kinds of remuneration and as the youth of the average shaikh had been spent in the utmost frugality, any gain was saved and turned into property.³ Poor shaikhs who were considered especially pious and devout often had presents of food, clothing and money made to them by the people⁴; some of them supplemented their meagre allowances in much the same way as the students, viz., by copying manuscripts, reciting the *Qur'ān* and private teaching. We read of one shaikh who was a tailor.⁵ The practice of inheriting teaching posts, the *shaikhship* of a religious order and the administration of *wakf* estates was not at all unusual.⁶ Many of the 'ulamā' and shaikhs sought connections with the ruling Turks or Mamlūk Amīrs,⁷ there are cases of intermarriage with the women of the Mamlūk families⁸;

¹ See *Récueil de Firmans*, op. cit., p. 5. *Firmans* Nos. 12 and 13, dated 27th *Dhū'l-Kādah*, 1200 (1786) and 29th *Ṣafar*, 1204 (1790). Also al-Jab., II/127-IV/239. Shaikh Nijm-addīn at-Timirtāshī came to Cairo at the age of 60, ostensibly to study at al-Azhar, but he seemed to fill in his time "prospecting" for he went back to Constantinople and returned with numerous decrees appointing him as judge of Ibyār and *nāzir* of several *wakfs* which brought him much gain.

² See al-Jab., III/61-VI/123, where Shaikh Sulaimān al-Jausakī (d. 1798), chief of the corporation of the blind, was dishonest in the wheat transactions which should have been administered for the benefit of his charge. See also biography of Shaikh Muḥammad al-Mahdī, al-Jab., IV/233-7-IX/147-156, and *Les Contes de Cheikh el-Mohdy*, trans. by Marcel, Paris, 1833; Vol. II gives a biography of the shaikh. See also article in *As-Siyāsah* (weekly ed.), 17th December, 1927.

³ al-Jab., IV/159-165 = VIII/359-72.

⁴ The Maghāribah used to give Shaikh al-Bulaidī presents and bought him a house in Darb ash-Shishīnī, see al-Jab., I/259-II/238-9. The Syrians in particular used to give presents to Ash-Sharḳāwī during the early part of his career, see al-Jab., IV/160-VIII/361.

⁵ See al-Jab., II/181-V/73, Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Khayyāt (d. 1788) who used to teach in his shop while he was cutting.

⁶ al-Jab., *passim*; the biographies give many such cases.

⁷ See al-Jab., II/84-IV/131. Shaikh 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Labbān (in trans., El Sabbane) was on very good terms with the Amīrs, particularly Ibrāhīm Katkhudā al-Kāsdughlī. See especially the biography of Shaikh Murṭaḍa (al-Jab., II/196-V/102, *seq.*), he also was on very good terms with the Amīrs and Governors. When he came to Cairo first, he was under the patronage of Ismā'il the Katkhudā of the Azabs.

⁸ al-Jab., IV/105-VIII/234-5. Shaikh Sulaimān al-Faiyūmī, for example, began life as donkey-boy to Shaikh aṣ-Ṣa'īdī but became a most useful and influential agent for Amīrs; he married twice, both women belonging to Circassian families of note. See also I/391-III/179, where Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī was connected with Mamlūk families by marriage.

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al-Jabartī occasionally mentions a shaikh who did not seek the favour of the Mamlūk notables,¹ and probably one of the main reasons for seeking the favour of the Mamlūk Amīrs was to obtain some kind of influence when a high post was to be filled.

There was a great deal of petty jealousy among the 'ulamā' and shaikhs and of rivalry for the best and most lucrative posts. The biography of Shaikh ash-Sharḳāwī offers a very detailed picture of life among the senior 'ulamā' during the latter half of the eighteenth century. When ash-Sharḳāwī was trying to press his candidature for the *shaikhship* of al-Azhar, his principal rival was Shaikh Muṣṭafā aṣ-Ṣāwī. The former sought not only the help of the most important shaikhs, but also that of Ayyūb Bey ad-Daftardār, while the latter was supported by the Amīr Raḍwān, the lieutenant of Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr.

As we have cases of shaikhs who sought the company and favour of the Mamlūks, so we have examples of Mamlūks who made friends of shaikhs²; some attended the lectures at al-Azhar³ and held learned discussions at their houses in which shaikhs took part⁴; they were expected to build mosques and other useful monuments if only as an atonement for their sins.⁵

Although we cannot call the Egyptian 'ulamā' leaders in the political sense, yet we occasionally find them stepping outside the fields of learning and religion and playing an important rôle in public affairs especially during the last three decades of the eighteenth century. Both the Mamlūk Amīrs and the people acknowledged that the 'ulamā' were the carriers of the ancient tradition and the exponents of Islamic law. The Mamlūks also appreciated the very strong tie between the 'ulamā' and the people, that they had much in common, and that every part of Egypt had its representatives at the mosque of al-Azhar. This had the effect of acting as a check on their actions and method

¹ See al-Jab., IV/104-5-VIII/232-3, Shaikh 'Abdal-Mun'im al-'Amāwī (d. 1809) and *passim*.

² See al-Jab., I/179-II/88-9. 'Uṭmān Bey Dhū'l-Fikār, As-Sayyid Aḥmad an-Nakhhāl, Shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Idkāwī, Shaikh Yūsuf ad-Dulajī, and others. He read *Tuḥfat al-Mulūk* and *Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* with Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī.

³ See al-Jab., III/64-VI/126, where 'Alī Bey ad-Daftardār attended courses at al-Azhar; also II/65-IV/41, where Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab attended the Ramadān lectures of Shaikh Ḥasan al-Kafrāwī.

⁴ See al-Jab., III/114-5-VI/219-220, where 'Alī Bey ad-Daftardār held discussions at his house and were attended by Shaikh Al-Ḥasan al-Badrī al-'Auḍī and Shaikh Aḥmad Yūnus al-Khalīfī.

⁵ See al-Jab., I/192-II/123, biography of Ibrāhīm Katkhudā al-Kāsdughlī. "Ibrahim ne fit aucune oeuvre pieuse qui put lui servir au jour du jugement dernier, pour atténuer la responsabilité qui lui incombe du fait de l'oppression exercée sur les créatures et les adorateurs de Dieu."

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of governing; it forced their respect and obliged them to maintain friendly relations with the shaikh classes. The people looked up to the shaikhs with the greatest respect and veneration; the shaikhs were indeed the natural leaders of the people, but they had neither the initiative nor the experience required to make use of their position for the sake of political advantage; they could and occasionally did obstruct the policy of the Amirs but they could not evolve a policy of their own. When they did assert themselves, it was always at the request of someone who was oppressed or wronged and they never offered their help of their own free will. The result was that the purely Egyptian community had no political leaders and so were at the mercy of their conquerors.

When the people were oppressed, they always went to their shaikhs¹; al-Jabartī gives us several instances of shaikhs using their influence on behalf of the people in order to regain some lost right or to indemnify some act of violence. Shaikh ad-Dardīr's biography is particularly interesting in this respect; a case is given in al-Jabartī² where the Maghāribah students rioted over a house which had been given as a part of an endowment for their *riwāḥ* and the possession of which was now being disputed by a certain Amīr Yūsuf. The case went to court and the Maghāribah won it much to the annoyance of the Amīr who then tried to use force in order to get the legal decision changed in his favour. Shaikh ad-Dardīr heard of the case and wrote to the Amīr asking him to refrain from interfering with the course of justice; Yūsuf Bey maltreated the messengers and imprisoned them which exasperated the Shaikh to such an extent that he had al-Azhar closed and all prayers and studies in the mosque suspended. The affair, after having involved the governor, the rest of the Amirs, the soldiers, students and the populace, ended in the defeat of the Amīr and the success of the Shaikh.

Another instance is given in the Annals³ where the people gathered in the Ḥusainiyah quarter and then repaired to Shaikh ad-Dardīr in order to protest against Ḥusain Bey's pillages and to claim damages.

Sulaimān Bey once confiscated a boat-load of produce that had come from Upper Egypt for the students of the *riwāḥ*

¹ Note the poem written by al-Khashshāb to Shaikh al-'Arūsī in al-Jab., II/254-V/202-3.

² II/8-9-III/247-249.

³ al-Jab., II/103-IV/174-175, in the year 1785.

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aṣ-Ṣa'ā'idah, on the pretext that the produce belonged to the Wāfi tribe who were in arrears with their taxes. Immediately the students learned of the confiscation, they refused to attend the mosque and complained to ad-Dardīr; joined by al-'Arūsī and al-Muṣailihī, ad-Dardīr, in turn, complained to Ibrāhīm Bey in the presence of Sulaimān Bey who eventually returned a part of the stolen produce.¹

The *kāshif* of the province of Gharbiyah once tried to impose a tax on camels at Tanṭā during a *mūlid*; ad-Dardīr happened to be visiting the town and was asked to intervene. His protest led to a riot during which the *kāshif's katkhudā* was hurt and also one of ad-Dardīr's servants whereupon the shaikh retired. When the trouble ended and ad-Dardīr had returned to Cairo, the Amirs went to his house and apologized.²

The intervention of Shaikhs as-Sādāt, ad-Dardīr, al-Ḥarīrī and al-'Arūsī regarding the selling of free women as slaves by Ḳāpūḍān Ḥasan Pasha is also worthy of notice.³

The most outstanding case of antagonism between the Mamlūks and the shaikhs was that of the Amīr Yūsuf Bey al-Kabīr (d. 1777)⁴ and Shaikh 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī. Yūsuf Bey had objected to a legal decision made by the shaikh according to the Mālikī rite on a question of divorce; a quarrel ensued between the Amīr and several of the shaikhs, and the former, after threatening to break aṣ-Ṣa'īdī's head, was cursed in the following terms by the offended shaikh, "May God curse the slave-dealer who brought you here and sold you, and the person who bought you and who made you an Amīr." The Amīr also had trouble with Shaikh Aḥmad Ṣādūmah⁵ whom he put to death, as well as with Shaikh 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-'Arīshī over the guardianship of some children and with others.

When Ḳāpūḍān Ḥasan Pasha came to Egypt with a Turkish army in 1785, a deputation was sent from Cairo consisting of the three shaikhs al-'Arūsī, Muḥammad al-Amīr and Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī, two Ujaks, Ismā'il Efendī al-Khalwatī and Ibrāhīm Aghā al-Wardānī and a sixth person, by name Sulaimān Bey Ash-Shābūrī.⁶ They were to interview the Pasha, and interrogate him as to his intentions, to assure him of the Amirs' complete submission, of their obedience and of their resolution not to fall into their old errors. The delegates were also to

¹ Ibid., II/103-4-IV/175.

² Ibid., II/117-8-IV/214-6.

³ See above, p. 6, and al-Jab., II/17-III/267.

⁴ Ibid., II/108-9-IV/188-190.

⁵ Ibid., II/104-IV/176-7.

⁶ Ibid., II/17-19-III/266-271.

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describe the situation of the people and to point out the inconveniences that a war might bring about. The Amīrs probably sent the shaikhs to show the Turkish general that the Egyptians were satisfied with their government. Ḥasan Pasha tried to stir them up against the Mamlūk Amīrs,¹ but with no success as they did nothing but confess to their weakness and the strength of the Amīrs. On their return to Cairo, messages were sent from Ḥasan Pasha to the shaikhs which aroused the suspicion of Ibrāhīm Bey, who was afraid there would be a popular movement against the Mamlūk Amīrs, and in order to win them over, he went to each one personally and asked them to maintain order and to prevent the people from rising.²

This is not the only case of the Amīrs using Shaikhs as emissaries; Shaikh 'Umar aṭ-Ṭaḥlāwī (d. 1767) was sent to Constantinople on some business of theirs,³ so also was Shaikh Sulaimān al-Faiyūmī (d. 1809).⁴

In the biography of Shaikh al-Ḥifnāwī, al-Jabartī shows us that he was so influential that no problem connected with the government of the country was deemed solved unless al-Ḥifnāwī had first of all given his consent to the solution. An interesting case is given where the Amīrs decided to turn down his views regarding the expedition of forces against 'Alī Bey and Ṣāliḥ Bey; the eventual defeat of the Amīrs and the success of 'Alī Bey and the latter's tyranny over the Egyptians are attributed to their treatment of al-Ḥifnāwī and regarded as a just punishment from God.⁵

¹ Ibid., II/110-IV/193-4.

² Ibid., II/111-IV/195 (lines 6-10 in Arabic text).

³ al-Jab., I/288-II/203-4.

⁴ Ibid., IV/105-VIII/234-5.

⁵ Ibid., I/303-4-II/304-5. The conclusion of the biography seems so important that it is given here in full from the translation; it not only gives the details of the case in question but also shows in what aspect al-Ḥifnāwī was regarded: "La mort de Cheikh el Hefnaoui permit à la confusion de se glisser dans les affaires de l'Égypte et fit voir la réalité de ces paroles attribuées à Ragheb Pacha: 'Il est indiscutable et évident que l'anarchie et la discorde sont les seules habitantes d'un pays où il ne se trouve pas un homme pour prêcher la bonne conduite et les relations empreintes de cordialité et de loyauté. Il est aussi évident que l'anarchie et la discorde engendrent des malheurs. La bonne conduite d'une nation et sa prospérité dépendent des rois et des savants et les bonnes mœurs des rois sont soumises à la conduite et aux exemples des savants; que ceux-ci dévient du chemin de la morale, les rois les y suivent, car les savants sont ici la cause agissante. La meule ne tourne pas si elle a perdu son axe, le Cheikh el Hefnaoui était l'axe de la meule de l'Égypte et rien des affaires du gouvernement ne recevait une solution quelconque si elle n'était préalablement acceptée par lui. Lorsque les émirs voulurent envoyer des armées contre Aly bey et Saleh bey, ils demandèrent à Cheikh el Hefnaoui l'autorisation de le faire. Celui-ci, non seulement leur refusa cette autorisation, mais leur fit des reproches concernant leur conduite. Voyant que le cheikh les empêchait de mettre à exécution leurs projets, ils l'empoisonnèrent et purent ainsi agir à leur guise."

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Special reference should be made to the number of non-Egyptian shaikhs¹ who took part in the intellectual activities of the country particularly in Cairo. They fitted into their proper places in the *madrasah* life and those who stayed for any length of time had no difficulty in finding the means of livelihood; they could belong to their respective *riwāks* as students, and could be attached to them as teachers, while the shaikhs of the non-Egyptian *riwāks* were always foreigners; some were given posts while others taught in the mosques of the city.² Occasionally a non-Egyptian shaikh acquired fame as a teacher, or a scholar. In this connection, one cannot but refer to the great revivalist, Shaikh Murtaḍa, who was by far the best scholar of his age, not only in Egypt, but in the whole of the Islamic world. These foreigners rarely assimilated the manners and dress of the Egyptians,³ but lived apart in much the same way as they lived in their own countries, so that they formed rather communities within the community.

Ils envoyèrent l'expédition, ils furent battus et disparurent, et leur malheur servit d'exemple au monde. Aly bey devint tout puissant; il tyrannisa l'Égypte sans trouver quelqu'un pour l'arrêter dans cette voie. Les malheurs fondirent sur l'Égypte, la Syrie et le Hedjaz, et se répandirent ensuite sur toute la terre. Tout cela prouve la sainteté du Cheikh el Hefnaoui. Il faut donc toujours suivre en ce monde les conseils des personnes qui représentent les prophètes, qui indiquent la voie du bien, des gens pieux qui sont les drapeaux de l'Islam. Ces gens possèdent en effet la confiance de Dieu et sont les meilleurs des fils d'Adam. Ils hériteront du ciel et ils y séjourneront éternellement."

¹ The following names are worth recording:—

Shaikh 'Abdal-Ghanī an-Nābulī, d. 1730, al-Jab., I/154-56-II/30-33.

Syrian.

Shaikh 'Abdallah b. Ja'far al-Makki, d. 1747, al-Jab., I/163-II/49-51, Makkan.

Shaikh Shams-addīn al-Ḥanafī, d. 1759, al-Jab., I/242-8-II/203-10, Syrian.

Shaikh 'Zain-addīn Abū'l-Ma'ālī, d. 1762, al-Jab., I/261-2-II/243-44, Makkan.

Shaikh Khālīl b. Muḥ. al-Mālikī, d. 1763, al-Jab., I/262-II/244-45, Moroccan.

Shaikh 'Umar al-Fattūḥī at-Tūnisī, d. 1761, al-Jab., I/262-II/245, Tunisian.

Shaikh 'Abdal-Kādir Kadak Zāḍah, d. 1767, al-Jab., I/378-9-III/148-52, Turkish.

Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī, d. 1774, al-Jab., I/385-405-III/167-202, Abyssinian.

Shaikh Muḥ. Murtaḍa, d. 1790, al-Jab., II/196-210-V/102-127, Yamanite.

Shaikh Muṣṭafā b. Ṣādiq Ef. al-Ḥanafī, d. 1791, al-Jab., II/248-9-V/193-5, Turkish.

Shaikh Shāmil Aḥmad b. Ramaḍān, d. 1799, al-Jab., III/114-VI/218, Tripolitan.

Shaikh 'Abdallah al-Mahjūb Abū Siyāḍah, d. 1792, al-Jab., II/240-I-V/182-3, Makkan.

² al-Jab., *passim*.

³ Ibid., II/167-V/45, regarding Sh. Muḥ. at-Tūnisī, who seems to have been an exception.

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The whole body of 'ulamā' and students belonged to a corporation; heredity played a very important part in the circle of the learned and it was rare for a man whose father was not already a shaikh to achieve any high position. A few cases are to be found where outsiders rose to very high rank within al-Azhar, the most extraordinary being that of Shaikh Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who was originally a Copt, but special circumstances and an unusually adaptable personality helped him along.

The Cultivation of Learning

Al-Azhar must occupy the first place in the discussion of the cultivation of learning in Egypt, as it was in this mosque that studies were organised on a wide and comprehensive plan rather than in the other institutions.

The Egyptian student was admitted to al-Azhar when he had attained the age of puberty¹ and was supposed to have learnt at least, a part of the Ḳor'ān by heart, but apparently the Upper Egyptians were rather slack about this rule, while the Lower Egyptians not only had learnt the Ḳor'ān by heart but had also some knowledge of the *ḵirā'āt* (the method of recitation, punctuation and vocalisation of the Ḳor'ān) and of *tajwīd* (the method of chanting of the Ḳor'ān) which they had probably studied at the principal college-mosques in the provinces. This knowledge was put to practical use by the students as they could always add to their allowances by chanting the Ḳor'ān at private houses and in mausoleums.² Some also learnt several *mutūn* by heart before proceeding to al-Azhar (see below, p. 66).

The student joined his appropriate *riwāḳ* and had his name inscribed in the *riwāḳ daftar* or register, to entitle him to draw his allowances. This register was not used for attendance at the classes except in the case of the Upper Egyptians who had to attend two classes (*darsain*) in order to have the right to draw rations,³ but how their attendance was checked is hard to say;

¹ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV/28. But where there were local facilities for higher training, the students from the provinces came rather later. See al-Jab., I/68-I/165, Sh. Nūr-addīn Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-Maknāsī came to al-Azhar at the age of 22; also I/289-II/285, where Sh. Muḥ. al-Hifnāwī came at the age of 14; also I/374-III/139, where Sh. 'Alī b. Shams-addīn ar-Rashīdī al-Khudārī came to al-Azhar at the age of 19; also II/94-IV/152, where Sh. Muḥ. b. Ḥasan as-Samannūdī came at the age of 20. Foreign students usually joined the mosque as students at the age of about 20 or rather more, after they had pursued their studies in their own country, see 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., IV/29.

² Ibid., Vol. IV/29.

³ Ibid., Vol. IV/21.

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probably the reason for this particular regulation was the very large number of students from Upper Egypt and the long list of waiting students who wished to join up immediately there were vacancies.¹

The period of 'amālah (when the mosque was open for study) lasted for about six months; the long vacation (*baṭālah*) began in the month of *Rajab* and ended after the 'Īd as-Ṣaghīr, i.e., during the first week of *Shawwāl*. During this holiday, the students and their masters returned to their villages and many of them used to get married on vacation and on the return to the mosque, they left their wives with their parents who would support them. The Upper Egyptians did not leave al-Azhar during the shorter holidays such as the 'Īd al-Kabīr or the *mūlids*² on account of the distance, but the Lower Egyptians took advantage of these feasts to return home especially during the *mūlid* of Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawī. The foreign students did not, as a rule, leave al-Azhar until they had completed their studies; their long stay was made possible by the more comfortable and more generous arrangements of their *riwāḳs*.³

The course of study was not limited to any defined period although a serious student could read through the general books in about eight or ten years. Once a student had inscribed his name, he could remain at al-Azhar just as long as he wished; but many seemed to have left after a stay of two or three years during which period they acquired just sufficient knowledge to be of use to them in the career they intended to follow.

All four schools (*madhhab*) were represented in al-Azhar; the Shāfi'is were the most numerous, the Mālikis took second place in point of numbers, then the Ḥanafis and last of all the Ḥanbalis of whom there were very few in Egypt. The *shaikhship* of al-Azhar went either to the Shāfi'is or to the Mālikis⁴;

¹ An Upper Egyptian who lived in Cairo was not entitled to join the *riwāḳ as-Ṣa'ā'idah*; departure for Upper Egypt during term was discouraged as absence meant the deletion of the absentee's name and his place filled by another student.

² Ibid., Vol. IV/28, twenty days were allowed for the 'Īd al-Kabīr, and thirty for each of the two *mūlids* of Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawī.

³ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 29, gives a comparison between the Egyptians and the foreigners, the latter are not only cleaner and better off than the Egyptians, but they also come to the college in a far more advanced state of preparation for advanced studies.

⁴ A list is given of the Shaikhs of al-Azhar for reference:—

Sh. Muḥ. al-Khurashī al-Mālikī, d. 1689, al-Jab., I/65-I/157, born Abū Khurāsh, Buḥairah.

Sh. Muḥ. an-Nashartī al-Mālikī, d. 1708, al-Jab., I/70-I/172, b. Nashart, Gharbiyah.

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each *madhhab* had its own *mufti* but the Ḥanafī *mufti* was senior on account of his rite being the official *madhhab* of the Turkish Empire. Up to the eighteenth century a man rarely changed his *madhhab*,¹ but in the nineteenth there seemed to be quite a movement in favour of the Ḥanafī school as there was a great demand for Ḥanafī lawyers and judges who were generally preferred.²

This brings us to the rather important question of inter-*madhhab* teaching in al-Azhar. Although the *riwāḳs*, as we have seen, were mostly designated according to a country or province, yet they could generally be associated with a particular *madhhab* and the following list is an attempt to classify the *riwāḳs* according to the *madhhab* they followed³ :—

- Sh. 'Abdal-Bāki al-Mālikī, b. Kalin, Gharbiyah; al-Jab. does not give a separate biography for this shaiikh but details of the quarrel over his election will be found in the biography of Shaikh 'Abdallah ash-Shubrāwī; see al-Jab., I/208-9-II/155-8.
- Sh. Muḥ. Shanan al-Mālikī, d. 1720, al-Jab., I/73-I/178, b. al-Jiddiyah, Buḥairah.
- Sh. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Faiyūmī al-Mālikī, d. 1724, al-Jab., I/87-I/202, b. Faiyūm.
- Sh. 'Abdallah ash-Shubrāwī, d. 1757, al-Jab., I/208-9-II/155-8, b. Shubrā. The first Shāfi'i to become Shaikh of al-Azhar, see G.A.L., II/281 and Mur., III/107.
- Sh. Muḥ. al-Hifnāwī ash-Shāfi'i, d. 1767, al-Jab., I/289-304-II/284-305, b. Hifnah, Sharḳiyah. See G.A.L., II/208 and 323.
- Sh. 'Abdar-Rā'if as-Sajīnī ash-Shāfi'i, d. 1768, al-Jab., I/316-III/28-9, b. Sajin, Gharbiyah.
- Sh. Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī ash-Shāfi'i, d. 1778, al-Jab., II/25-IV/16, b. Damanhūr.
- Sh. Aḥmad al-'Arūsī ash-Shāfi'i, d. 1793, al-Jab., II/252-V/201, b. Minyat 'Arūs, Minūfiyah. Another serious quarrel happened before the election of al-'Arūsī: Sh. 'Abdar-Rahmān al-'Arīshī al-Ḥanafī managed to get elected and hold the post for seven months (see al-Jab., II/52-IV/65-71); the Shāfi'is held that they were entitled to the *shaiikhship* in the first place and secondly that al-'Arīshī was not of the country.
- Sh. 'Abdallah ash-Sharḳāwī ash-Shāfi'i, d. 1812, al-Jab., IV/159-165-VIII/359-372, b. at-Ṭawīlah, Sharḳiyah, see G.A.L., II/99, 118, 251 and 479.

The birthplaces of the various shaiikhs have been purposely given in order to point out during the whole period not a single Cairene shaiikh was elected to the *shaiikhship*.

¹ See al-Jab., II/15-III/263, Sh. Muḥ. b. Ibrāhīm al-'Aufī al-Mālikī, d. 1777, changed from Shāfi'i to Mālikī, but before he died he changed back again. See also II/125-IV/235, where Sh. Muḥ. al-Janāji was called ash-Shāfi'i although he was a Mālikī.

² See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV/30.

³ Lane gives a very rough idea of the *madhhabs* of the Egyptians, see *Modern Egyptians*, p. 65. The above classification does not imply that every member of each *riwāḳ* followed the *madhhab* given at the head of the list; sometimes the *riwāḳ* has been classified according to the *madhhab* of its shaiikh as for example the Shawwām which included members of all schools but the shaiikh was generally Ḥanafī (see 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, IV/22, al-Jab., I/154-II/30, II/52-IV/25, II/99-IV/164) and the Ḥaramain also (see al-Jab., I/69-70-I/169-170, I/71-2-I/174). *Murādi*, Vol. III/119, gives Sh. 'Abdal-Ṭāfi' b. Aḥmad, d. 1748, a Shāfi'i as shaiikh of the *Riwāḳ ash-Shawwām*.

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Shāfi'i :—	Mālikī :—	Ḥanafī :—
Fashniyah	Aḳbughāwiyah	Hanifiyah
Ibn Mu'ammār	Barābirah	Haramain
Jauhariyah	Bahārwah	Jabartiyah
Sharāḳwah	Birniyah	Shawwām
Shanawāniyah	Dakārnat Ṣalīḥ	Atrāk
Ṭaibarsiyah	Faiyumiyah	
	Maghāribah	Ḥanbalī :—
	Ṣa'a'idah	Ḥanābilah

A student joining up was, in the first instance, concerned only with elementary studies and must have been under the guidance of the teachers of his own *riwāḳ* (this applies mostly to the Egyptian students); as he became more advanced in his studies, he probably extended his choice of teachers to those of his own *madhhab* in other *riwāḳs*. A good teacher would most probably attract every student (and teacher) of his own *madhhab*,¹ but interchange of teaching between the four schools was limited to the very advanced scholars of 'ulamā' only. We read in the biographies of al-Jabartī that 'ulamā' attended the shaiikhs of other *madhhabs*, but rarely do we find an 'ālim who was an expert in all four schools.² The student's choice of teachers would be further restricted by environment and relationship, in fact, everything tended to keep the students within very narrow circles and to reduce mutual contact to the minimum.

The teacher sat on a kind of stool or sheep's skin with his back to a pillar which was reserved for him and which no other teacher dared occupy for fear of causing a riot.³ Certain pillars were looked upon as belonging to certain rites and there the *muftis* were to be found; the *Ṭaibarsiyah madrasah* seemed to have been the Shāfi'i *mufti's* stronghold,⁴ the *Aḳbughāwiyah madrasah* that of the Mālikīs,⁵ while the Syrian *riwāḳ* seemed to have been the home of the Ḥanafī *mufti*,⁶ and the Ḥanābilah

¹ *Murādi*, IV/63, under biography of Sh. Muḥ. al-Khurashī. Al-Jabartī states (I/68, line 7-I/165) that Shaikh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. b. Shihāb-addīn b. Khalīl al-Birmāwī al-Azhārī ash-Shāfi'i, d. 1694, was Shaikh of al-Azhar but this must be a mistake for al-Jabartī himself states that the *shaiikhship* of al-Azhar was not taken over by the Shāfi'is until after the death of Shaikh Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Faiyūmī (I/209, line 13-II/157). See also *Murādi*, IV/122, who states that Shaikh Muḥ. al-Munīr as-Samannūdī, d. 1784, was the first Shāfi'i shaiikh to become Shaikh of al-Azhar but al-Jabartī who gives a fairly long biography of as-Samannūdī makes no mention of this and there seems no doubt about the fact that Shaikh 'Abdallah ash-Shubrāwī, d. 1757, was the first Shāfi'i shaiikh to become head of al-Azhar (see above).

² See al-Jab., II/25-IV/16, biography of Sh. Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī who was authorised to teach all four rites and was called al-Madḥāhibī.

³ 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, Vol. IV/26.

⁴ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV/18.

⁵ See al-Jab., I/208-9-II/155-8, and Sulaimān Raṣād, op. cit., pp. 124-5.

⁶ See al-Jab., II/52-IV/65 seq., Sh. 'Abdar-Rahmān al-'Arīshī.

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riwāḥ that of the Ḥanbalī *muftī*. The practice of separate pillars for the *madhhab*s was abolished by Shaikh al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī in 1872.¹

The lessons were dictated to the students who sat round their teacher and formed a *ḥalkah* (circle) and the class was called *dars*.² The students plied their teacher with all sorts of questions on the subject matter of the lesson and when the lesson was over, they would hasten forward in order to kiss his hand, just as the congregation in a mosque kiss the hand of their *imām* after prayers; even old men who listened to the lesson would do the same thing.

The teacher was in no way responsible for his students; he had simply to give his lessons and a student's diligence or laziness, attendance or absence were no concern of his. No examinations were held either by individual shaikhs or by the institution.

Teachers had *rēpēatērs* (*mu'īds*) whose duty it was to go over the lessons of the master during the shaikh's absence. Some also had readers (*mukri*'s) whose duty it was to read the text while the master explained.³ The *mu'īd* was generally the teacher's best student and selected by himself. A peculiar characteristic of Azharī students was their custom of studying together in pairs, threes and in small groups,⁴ in order to check over their notes and to ask one another questions on the lessons and to listen to one another's recitations of the texts. The shaikh must have spent much time in preparing his lessons and the students in preparation and recapitulation in order to allow for discussion on all sorts of questions mostly dealing with detail.⁵

When the study of a book was completed in class (*khatama al-kitāb*), a kind of ceremony was held in the class; incense

¹ See 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *ibid.*, Vol. IV/27. He set up the rule of giving the shaikhs pillars irrespective of their *madhhab*. This shaikh was the second Ḥanafī shaikh of al-Azhar, the first being 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-'Arīshī (see above); this may have been a move in order to break up the solidarity of the *madhhab*s to the advantage of the Ḥanafīs.

² For example Sh. 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Mālikī al-Azharī's class is described as follows in al-Jab., I/409, line 6 from bottom:—

Wa ḥalkatu darsihī 'azimatun jiddan.

³ Sh. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Faiyūmī was the *mu'īd* of Shaikh Muḥ. al-Khurashī in two specified texts (*ar-Risālah* and *Sharḥ 'alā* 'l-*'Izzīyah*, see below), see al-Jab., I/87-I/202. Sh. Muḥ. al-Janājī ash-Shāfi'ī (see above) was both *mukri* and *mu'īd* to Sh. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī, see al-Jab., II/125-IV/235.

⁴ The terms used for this practice are *ḥakara ma' ba'd* or *ma' fulān*.

⁵ A student *jāwara*, i.e., became a student of the mosque; *lāzama* his teacher or attached himself to him; he *kara'a 'alā* or *ḥadara* (subject) '*alā* or *akhaḍha 'an*, his teacher, i.e., studies under him; the student *takharraja bihi* fi his teacher when he terminates his studies in some particular subject.

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was burnt and perfumes were used; some brought dried fruits and nuts which they offered to their companions and sometimes the teacher invited his students to a meal; during the ceremony, the *Qur'ān* would be recited by some of the students.

When a teacher died, the students absented themselves from his pillar for three days as a sign of mourning.

The Curricula¹

The subjects studied in al-Azhar can be classified under two headings, *al-manḥūl* or *al-'ulūm an-naqliyah*, i.e., the transmitted sciences and *al-ma'kūl* or *al-'ulūm al-'aqliyah*, i.e., the rational sciences. The first group consists of religious sciences which are as follows:—

tajwīd—the art of Koranic recitation.

qirā'āt—the knowledge of the accepted readings of the *Qur'ān*.

tafsīr—Koranic exegesis.

ḥadīth—prophetic traditions.

fiqh—jurisprudence (four schools).

uṣūl al-fiqh—doctrine of fundamental principles.

farā' id (or *mīrāth*)—the laws of inheritance.

tauhīd (or *kalām*)—theology.

taṣawwuf—mysticism.

The second group includes rational and linguistic sciences which are as follows:—

¹ The following works deal with the curricula of al-Azhar:—

Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, op. cit., p. 216.

von Kremer, *Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 283-291.

Der Bey, *L'Instruction Publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1872, pp. 161-3 and p. 373-376.

'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Cairo, 1887, Vol. IV/27.

Yacoub Artin Pacha, *L'Instruction Publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1890, Annexe D.

Muṣṭafā Bairam, *Al-Azhar* (Arabic), Cairo, 1902, p. 30.

Ta'rikh al-Ustādh al-Imām ash-Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh, Cairo, 1906, Vol. III, p. 254.

Arminjon, op. cit., Paris, 1907, pp. 193-235. This is probably the most useful description to be found on the subject.

Projet de Réforme, op. cit., Cairo, 1911, p. 98, and an Arabic edition, p. 87.

Risālat al-Tauhīd by Muḥ. 'Abdou, Paris, 1925. See the introduction by Michel and Sh. Muṣṭafā 'Abdar-Rāzīk, p. xviii.

Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, London, 1933, pp. 28-9.

Mahmūd Muṣṭafā, *Muḍakkharāt al-adab al-'arabī*, Cairo, 1935, pp. 340-344.

Encycl. of Islam, art. Azhar, Vol. I/534, and art. Masjdīd, Vol. III/362.

These works deal with a later period and, with the exception of Lane and von Kremer, deal with the post-reformation period, i.e., after 1872. (See also *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1927-8, *L'Université d'el-Azhar et ses transformations*, by Achille Sekaly). The reforms of the 19th century cannot be discussed here but the differences between the two periods are so great that one can only rely upon the Annals of al-Jabartī and use the above works in order to clear up certain points.

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Linguistic :—

nahw—syntax.
ṣarf—morphology.
balāghah—rhetoric { *ma'ānī*—kinds of sentences and their uses.
 three branches. { *bayān*—similes, metaphors and metonymies.
 badī'—('tropes') embellishment of speech, etc.
luḡah—Lexicography.
waḍ'—translated as "formation of words,"¹ but this science really deals with the theory of grammar. Arminjon describes it as "un mélange assez confus de grammaire, de rhétorique et de logique."²
'arūd—prosody.
kāfiyah—rhyme.

Rational :—

manṭiq—logic.
ḥisāb—arithmetic.
jabr wa'l muḳābalaḥ—algebra.
mīkāṭ—calculation of the calendar, times of prayer, etc.
ḥai'ah or *falak*—astronomy.
ḥikmah—philosophy (sometimes *ḥikmat al-falsafiyah*³
ādāb al-baḥṭh—the art of controversy and discussion.

Religious :—

muṣṭalah al-ḥadīth—the technical terminology of the traditions.

Students who joined up without having had any preparation beyond the *kuttāb* training must have found the beginning rather difficult.⁴ While there appears to have been no special arrangement for the division of the courses into distinct classes, yet we read of shaikhs who specialised in teaching beginners,⁵ and the following were the principal works which were studied during the first years of a student's career in al-Azhar⁶ :—

¹ See *Projet de Réforme*, op. cit., p. 41.

² See Arminjon, op. cit., p. 209.

³ See *Projet de Réforme*, Arabic edition, p. 87, where *al-ḥikmat al-falsafiyah* is included in a list of the subjects studied in al-Azhar (written 19th February, 1867); see al-Jab., I/392, line 3 from bottom—*al-ma'ārif al-ḥikmiyah wa'l falsafiyah*; see trans. III/181; see also II/75, line 8 for the expression *al-ḥikmah* (studies by Sh. Ahmad. as-Sijā'i); cp. also Rifā'ah Bey Rā'i in *Kutāb Manāḥij al-albāb al-miṣriyah*, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1912, p. 10, line 3—*ahlu'l-falsafati wa'l-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyah*.

⁴ See *Kanz al-jawhar*, op. cit., pp. 164-5. 'He (Muh. 'Abduh) stayed at the mosque of al-Aḥmadī for about a year, devoting himself to study but he did not understand anything just as every beginner who studies according to the accepted system in that mosque and in the mosque of al-Azhar.'

⁵ See al-Jab., 'Alī al-Mālikī al-Azhari, I/409-III/206.

⁶ No complete list is given anywhere; the above list has been made up chiefly from references in the Annals of al-Jabarti. See particularly I/409-III/206, I/68-I/165-6, I/289-II/285, I/389-III/173; see also 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV/27-8, Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 373-376, *Encycl. of Islam*, art. Azhar, Vol. I, pp. 537-9.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and Reference
Tajwid.	Tuḥfat al-Aṭfāl	Sh. Sulaimān al-Jamzūrī	written 1783 in verse.
	al-Jazariyah (al-Muḳaddamah)	Muh. b. al-Jazari	d. 1350 (in verse). G.A.L./II/202.
Ḳirā'at.	ash-Shāṭibiyah (Ḥirz al-Amānī wa wajh at-Tahānī).	Abū Muh. al-Ḳāsim b. Firroh al-Andulusī ash-Shāfi'i.	d. 1193. G.A.L./I/409.
Naḥw.	{ al-Ajurrumiyah ¹ with comm. by	Muh. b. Da'ūd as-Sanhājī. Khālid al-Azhari.	d. 1323. G.A.L./II/237. d. 1499. <i>Encycl. of Islam</i> . I/540.
	(towards end of eighteenth century the comm. by Ḥasan al-Kafrāwī came to be used, see al-Jab. II/164-V/41).		
	al-Azhariyah Shudhūr adh-Dhahab.	Khālid al-Azhari. Ibn Hishām.	as above. d. 1360. G.A.L./II/24.
	al-Alfiyah	Ibn Mālik.	d. 1273. G.A.L./I/298.
Fikh-Shāfi'i.	Matn Abī Shujā'.	Abū Shujā' al-Iṣfahānī.	d. 1106.c. G.A.L./I/392.
	al-Ḳaul al-Muḳhtār.	Ibn Ḳāsim al-Ghazzī.	d. 1512. <i>Encycl. Islam</i> .
„ Mālikī.	al-Muḳaddamat al-'Ashmāwiyah	'Abdal-Bārī al-'Ashmāwī.	Sixteenth cent. see 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit. Vol. 14/51.
	with comm. by ar-Risālah	Aḥmad b. Turkī. 'Abdallah b. Abi Zaid al-Ḳairawānī.	d. 1584. d. 998. G.A.L./I/177-8.
	with comm. by	Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī ash-Shādhilī.	d. 1532. G.A.L./I/178.
„ Ḥanafī.	Matn Kanz ad-Dakā'ik. Nūr al-Idāḥ	'Abdallah b. Aḥmad an-Nasafi. Ḥasan ash-Shurunbulālī.	d. 1310. G.A.L./II/196. d. 1658. G.A.L./II/313.
„ Ḥanbalī.	Matn Dalīl aṭ-Ṭālib.	Mar'i b. Yūsuf.	d. 1623. G.A.L./II/369.
Farā'id.	ar-Raḥbiyah (Bughyat al-Bāḥith an-Jumal al-mawāriṭh).	Abū 'Abdallah Muh. ar-Raḥbī.	d. 1181. G.A.L./I/391. On all four rites.

¹ This and other works on *naḥw* were read two or three times in one year, see al-Jab., *passim*, and 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV/27-8.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Mantiq.	as-Sullam al-Muraunaq.	Aṣ-Ṣadr b. 'Abdar-Rahmān b. al-Walī al-Akhḍarī.	d. 1534. G.A.L./II/355-6.
Tauhid.	al-Jauharah.	Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Lakānī.	Urjūzah d. 1631.

The following works seem to have been read by some of the students in addition to the above before proceeding to the more advanced courses:—

Naḥw.	Comm. on the <i>Khu-lāṣah</i> (al-Alfiyah).	Nūr-addīn 'Alī b. M. al-Ashmūnī.	d. 1494. G.A.L./I/299.
Ḳirā'āt.	Ad-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah fi Ḳirā'āt al-a'immah <i>ath-thalāthah</i> al-Marḍīyah. ¹	Shams-addīn Abū'l-Ḳhair Muḥ. b. al-Jazarī.	d. 1429. G.A.L./II/202.
Farā'id.	Manzūmah fi'l (Ḥanafī) Farā'id.	Abū'l-Walīd Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Maḥmūd b. ash-Shihnah.	d. 1412. G.A.L./II/142.
Ḥisāb.	Ar-Risalat al-'Uthmāniyah or as-Sakhāwīyah.	'Abdal-Ḳādir b. 'Alī as-Sakhāwī ash-Shāfi'ī.	S. 1014.

Many of the students probably did not attend all the elementary courses, much depended on inclination and the career a student intended to take up. A very large number of the students studied the *ḳirā'āt* and *tajwīd* in order to belong to the corporation or *Ḳor'ān* reciters (*ḳārī* pl. *ḳurrā'*) which seems to have been very large as there was a great demand for them. We read in the Annals of al-Jabartī of one case for example, where Raḍwān Bey (d. 1790) used to keep one hundred of them in his permanent service to recite the five daily prayers in relays of twenty.² *Tajwīd* seemed to have been taught in al-Azhar generally by the *ḳurrā'* of ³ the mosque who had a special shaikh as their head.⁴ The above courses seemed to have taken anything from three to six years to complete and those who left al-Azhar on terminating them were able to find posts as junior officials and teachers in the mosques of the city (if they were Cairenes) and in the country mosques, especially when the

¹ This work is usually called the *takmilah* of the *Shāfi'biyah*; the *Shāfi'biyah* deals with seven of the readings and the *takmilah* with three more.

² See al-Jab., II/220-1-V/146-7.

³ See al-Jab., II/183-4-V/79, Sh. 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Aḥmad, d. 1789.

⁴ See *Murādī*, IV/35, Sh. Muḥ. ash-Shāfi'ī, d. 1695, was *Shaikh al-Ḳurrā'* at al-Azhar.

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parents of the students held posts in these mosques as such posts were nearly always kept in the family as far as possible. Those who did not continue their stay in al-Azhar rarely settled in any locality other than in their own.

The courts absorbed a number of these students either as *shāhids*, *rasūls* or *kātib*s; these elementary courses seemed to suffice for the needs of such officials.¹ There were no lawyers as understood at the present day, legal decisions (*fatwas*) on cases being sought from the *muftis*.²

The following are the names of the principal works taught in al-Azhar during the advanced courses ³:—

Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Ḳirā'āt.	Sirāj al-Ḳarī' al-Mubtadi' wa Taḍḳirat al-Mukri' al-Muntahī—comm. on the <i>Shātibiyah</i> .	Abū'l-Bakā' 'Alī b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥ. b. A-Ḳāshī.	d. 1398. G.A.L./I/409 and II/165.
	Ṭibat-an-Nashr fi'l Ḳirā'āt al-'Ashr.	Shams-addīn Abū'l-Ḳhair Muḥ. b. al-Jazarī.	d. 1429. G.A.L./II/202. (Verse).
Tafsīr. ⁴	al-Jalālain.	Jalāl-addīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūṭī.	d. 1459. G.A.L./II/114. d. 1505. G.A.L./II/145.
	al-Kashshāf.	Maḥ. b. 'Umar as-Zamakhsharī.	d. 1143. G.A.L./I/290.
	Anwār at-Tanzīl wa Asrār at-Ta'wīl.	'Abdallah b. 'Umar al-Baiḍāwī.	d. 1286. G.A.L./I/417.
	Sirāj al-Munīr fi'l i'ānah 'ala ma'rifat ba'd ma'ānī kalām rabbānā al-Ḥakīm al-Ḳhabīr.	Shams-addīn Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Ḳhaṭīb ash-Shirbīnī.	d. 1569. G.A.L./II/320.

¹ See al-Jab., IV/238-IX/158, mentioned above (p. 28, n. 4).

² A useful handbook throwing some light on the administration of justice has recently been published in Cairo (1934?): *Ta'riḫ al-Ḳaḍā' fi'l-Islām* by Maḥ. b. Muḥ. b. 'Arnūs.

³ The names of these works have been taken from the Annals of al-Jabartī with occasional reference to the other sources mentioned on p. 50 but al-Jabartī gives more titles than the later works, which include books written by Shaikhs in the nineteenth century and generally exclude certain branches which were studied in the eighteenth century, especially scientific subjects.

⁴ In the article on al-Azhar in the *Encycl. of Islam*, it is stated that the *Tafsīr of az-Zamakhsharī* had fallen much into disuse, it was certainly used during the eighteenth century; it is also stated that the *Tafsīr of al-Baiḍāwī* was more rarely used than the other commentaries. In the eighteenth century, however, *al-Baiḍāwī* was used more than any other *Tafsīr*; it is further stated that the commentary of *Fakhṛ-addīn ar-Rāzī* was very popular, there is not a single reference to it in the Annals of al-Jabartī.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Tafsir.	Irshād al-'aql as-Salīm 'ilā mazāyā al-kitāb al-karīm.	Abū's-Su'ūd b. Muḥ. b. Muṣṭafā al-'Imādī.	d. 1574. G.A.L./II/439.
Hadīth. ¹	al-Jāmi' as-Ṣaḥīḥ.	Abū 'Abdallāh M. b. Ismā'il al-Bukhārī.	d. 870. G.A.L./I/157-160.
	comm. Irshād as-Sārī fi Sharḥ al-Bukhārī.	Shihāb-addīn Aḥmad al-Ḳastalānī.	d. 1517.
	comm. Tuḥfat al-Bārī.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520.
	comm. 'Umdat al-Kārī' fi Sharḥ al-Bukhārī.	Mahmūd b. A. b. Mūsā al-'Ainī.	d. 1451.
	comm. Faṭḥ al-Bārī fi Sharḥ al-Bukhārī.	Shihāb-addīn Abū'l-Faḍl Aḥmad al-'Askallānī-called Ibn Hajar.	d. 1448.
	aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ.	Abū'l Husain Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Ḳushairī.	d. 875. G.A.L./I/160.
	comm. al-Minhāj fi Sharḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.	Muḥyi-addīn Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā an-Nawawī.	d. 1277.
	as-Sunan.	Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ. b. Yazīd b. Mājāh al-Ḳazwīnī.	d. 886. G.A.L./I/163.
	al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ.	Abū 'Isā Muḥ. b. 'Isā at-Tirmidhī.	b. d. 892. G.A.L./I/161-2.
	as-Sunan.	Abū Dā'ūd Sulaimān b. Ash'ath al-Azdī.	d. 888. G.A.L./I/161.
	as-Sunan.	Abū 'Abdar-Raḥmān an-Nasā-ī.	d. 915. G.A.L./I/162-3.
	Jam' an-Nihāyah fi bad' al-Khair wa'l Ghāyah—abridgment of al-Bukhārī.	'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Jamrah.	d. 1276. G.A.L./I/159.
	at-Tajrid aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ li aḥādīth al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ—abridgment of al-Bukhārī.	Shihāb-addīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdal-Laṭīf az-Zubaidī.	d. 1487.

¹ The works classified under *ḥadīth* on this page belong to a sub-branch of the subject dealing with the prophet; see *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 538. There are other very popular works on the prophet which cannot be classified under *ḥadīth*, such as the *Sirat al-Ḥalabiyah* (G.A.L., II/307), *Sirat Ibn Sayyid an-Nās* (G.A.L., II/71), the *Ḳaṣīdat al-Ḥamziyah* (G.A.L., I/266) and the *Burdah* (G.A.L., I/264-266) with its many commentaries.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Hadīth.	Thalāthiyāt.	Abū 'Abdallāh M. b. Ismā'il al-Bukhārī.	see above.
	Mashāriḥ al-Anwār 'alā Ṣaḥāḥ al-Aṭḥār fi Tafsīr Gharīb al-Ḥadīth.	al-Ḳāḍī 'Iyād b. Mūsā b. 'Iyād al-Yaḥsubī.	d. 1149. G.A.L./I/370.
	al-Arba'in.	Muḥyi-addīn Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā an-Nawawī.	d. 1278. G.A.L./I/396.
	comm. Faṭḥ al-Mubīn.	Aḥmad b. Hajar al-Haithamī.	d. 1565.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Arba'in.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Arba'in (called Futūḥāt al-Wahbiyah).	Ibrāhīm b. Mar'i ash-Shabrakhīṭī.	d. 1694. G.A.L./I/396.
	comm. al-Majālis as-Saniyah fi'l-Kalām 'alā'l-Arba'in an-Nawawīyah.	Aḥmad b. Ḥijāzī al-Fashnī.	d. end tenth cent. G.A.L./II/305.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Arba'in.	Uṣfūrī Zādah.	
	comm. Sharḥ al-Arba'in.	Sa'd-addīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar at-Taṭāzānī.	d. 1389. G.A.L./II/215.
	Mashāriḥ al-Anwār an-Nabawīyah min Ṣiḥāḥ al-Aḥbār al-Muṣṭafawīyah.	Radī-addīn al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaghānī.	d. 1252. G.A.L./I/360.
	at-Tarḡīb wat-Tarḥīb.	Abū Muḥ. 'Abdal-'Azīm b. 'Abdal-Ḳawī al-Mundhirī.	G.A.L./I/367. d. 1258.
	al-Adḥkār al-Muntakhabah min Kalām Sayyid al-Abrār.	Muḥyi-addīn Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā an-Nawawī.	d. 1278. G.A.L./I/397.
	comm. Sharḥ Ibn 'Ilān.	Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm.	d. 1623.
	al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr min Ḥadīth al-Bashīr an-Nadhīr.	Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūṭī.	d. 1505. G.A.L./II/147.
	comm. as-Sirāj al-Munīr.	'Alī b. Aḥmad al-'Azīzī.	d. 1659. G.A.L./II/148.
	comm. Faiḍ al-Ḳādir.	Muḥ. 'Abdar-Rā'ūf al-Munāwī.	d. 1623. G.A.L./II/148.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Hadith.	Jam' al-Jawāmi' (or al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr or Jāmi' al-Masānid).	Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūfī.	d. 1505. G.A.L./II/147.
	Thalāthiyāt.	'Abdallah b. 'Abdar-Rahmān ad-Dārimī.	d. 869. Encycl. Islam.
	Musalsalāt.	Sa'd-addīn M. b. Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī.	d. 1357. G.A.L./II/195.
	al-Mi'rāj al-Kabīr.	Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Ghailī.	d. 1576.
	ash-Shamā'il.	Abū 'Isā Muḥ. b. 'Isa at-Tirmidhī.	d. 892. G.A.L./I/161-2.
	comm. Ashraf al-Wasā'il ilā Fahm ash-Shamā'il.	Aḥmad b. Ḥajar al-Ḥaiṭhamī al-Makkī.	d. 1565. G.A.L./I/162.
	comm. Jam' al-Wasā'il fi Sharḥ ash-Shamā'il.	'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥ. al-Harawī al-Kārī.	d. 1605. G.A.L./I/162.
	comm. Sharḥ ash-Shamā'il.	Muḥ. 'Abdar-Rā'ūf al-Munāwī.	d. 1623. G.A.L./I/162.
	al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyah fi'l-Minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyah.	Shihāb-addīn Aḥmad al-Kastalānī.	d. 1517. G.A.L./II/73.
	com. Sharḥ az-Zurkānī.	Muḥ. b. 'Abdal-Bākī b. Yūsuf az-Zurkānī.	d. 1710. G.A.L./II/73.
	Ash-Shifā' fi Ta'rif Ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā.	al-Kādī 'Iyād b. Mūsā b. 'Iyād al-Yaḥsubī.	d. 1149. G.A.L./I/369.
	comm. Sharḥ ash-Shifā'.	'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥ. al-Harawī al-Kārī.	d. 1605. G.A.L./I/369.
	comm. Nasīm ar-Riyād fi Sharḥ ash-Shifā'.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. al-Khafajī.	d. 1658. G.A.L./I/369.
	Nawādir al-Uṣūl fi Ma'rifat al-Khbār ar-Rasūl.	Abū 'Isā Muḥ. b. 'Isā at-Tirmidhī.	d. 892.
Mustalah al-Ḥadith.	Alfiyat al-'Irāqī.	Zain-addīn 'Abdar-Rahīm b. 'Abdar-Rahmān al-'Irāqī.	d. 1403. G.A.L./I/359. and G.A.L./II/66. d. 1520.
	comm. Faṭḥ al-Bākī bi-Sharḥ Alfiyat al-'Irāqī.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	
	comm. Faṭḥ al-Mughith bi-Sharḥ Alfiyat al-Ḥadith.	as Alfiyat al-'Irāqī.	

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Mustalah al-Ḥadith.	Nukhbat al-Fikar fi Muṣṭalah Ahl al-Athar.	Shihāb-addīn Abū Faḍl Aḥmad al-'Askallānī called Ibn Hajar.	d. 1448. G.A.L./II/68.
	comm. Muṣṭalahāt Ahl al-Athar 'alā Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar.	'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥ. al-Harawī al-Kārī.	d. 1605.
	Tadrib ar-Rāwī fi Sharḥ Takrīb an-Nawāwī.	Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūfī.	d. 1505.
	Manzūmat al-Baiḳ-ūniyah.	'Umar al-Baiḳūnī.	S. 619.
	comm. Sharḥ az-Zurkānī.	Muḥ. b. 'Abdal-Bākī b. Yūsuf az-Zurkānī.	d. 1710. G.A.L./II/307.
	Ḳaṣīdat Gharāmi Ṣaḥīḥ.	Aḥmad b. Farah al-Ishbīlī.	d. 1299. G.A.L./I/372.
	Ḳaṣīdah fi Muṣṭalah al-Ḥadith.	'Izz-addīn b. Jamā'ah.	d. 1366. G.A.L./II/72.
Fikḥ (Hanafī).	comm. on the Kanz ad-Dakā'ik-Tabyīn al-Ḥakā'ik.	Fakhr-addīn 'Uthmān b. 'Alī az-Zaila'i.	d. 1342. G.A.L./II/196.
	comm. on the Kanz ad-Dakā'ik-Ramz al-Ḥakā'ik.	Badr-addīn Maḥmūd al-'Ainī.	d. 1451. G.A.L./II/197.
	comm. on the Kanz ad-Dakā'ik-Tabyīn al-Ḥakā'ik.	Mu'in-addīn Mullā Miskīn al-Harawī.	d. 1552. G.A.L./II/197.
	comm. on the Kanz ad-Dakā'ik-al-Baḥr ar-Rā'ik.	b. Nuja'im al-Miṣrī. See below.	d. 1562. G.A.L./II/197.
	comm. on the Kanz ad-Dakā'ik-Taufīḳ ar-Rahmān.	Muṣṭafā at-Tā'i.	d. 1778. G.A.L./II/197.
	al-Ashbāḥ wa'n-Nazā'ir.	Zain al-'Ābidīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Nuja'im al-Miṣrī.	d. 1562. G.A.L./II/310.
	Tanwīr al-Absār wa Jāmi' al-Bihār.	Shams-addīn Muḥ. at-Timirtāshī.	d. 1595. G.A.L./II/311.
	comm. ad-Durr al-Mukhtār.	Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Ḥaṣkafī.	d. 1677. G.A.L./II/311.
	Durar al-Ḥukkām fi Sharḥ Ghurar al-Aḥkām. ¹	Muḥ. b. Farāmūrz b. 'Alī Mullā Khusrāu.	d. 1480. G.A.L./II/226.
	Multaḳā'l Abḥur.	Burhān-addīn Muḥ. b. al-Ḥalabī.	d. 1549. G.A.L./II/432.

¹ Two works by same author.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Fikh (Hanafi).	comm. ad-Durr al-Muntakā.	Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Ḥaṣkafī.	d. 1677.
	al-Bidāyah with comm. al-Hidāyah.	'Alī b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abdal-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Mar-ghīnānī.	d. 1197. G.A.L./I/376.
	Fath al-Kadīr li'l-'Ajiz al-Fakīr.	Kamāl-addīn Muḥ. b. al-Humām.	d. 1457. G.A.L./II/226.
	Mukhtaṣar al-Ḳudūrī.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. al-Ḳudūrī al-Bagh-dādī.	d. 1036. G.A.L./I/175.
	Majma' al-Bahrain wa Multakā'n Nahrain.	Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Tha'lab b. as-Sā'atī.	d. 1296. G.A.L./I/383.
	Jāmi' al-Fuṣūlain fi'l Furū'.	Maḥmūd b. Ismā'il b. Ḳāḍī Simāu-nah.	d. 1415. G.A.L./II/225.
	at-Taūḍīḥ.	Muṣṭafā al-Kara-mānī.	d. 1406.

There was also a very large number of collections of *Fatwas* for reference such as that of Ibn ash-Shiblī (G.A.L./II/80), of Ibn 'Abdal-'Āl, of Ibn Naṣūḥ, of al-Ankirawī (G.A.L./II/436), of al-Bazzāzī (G.A.L./II/225), of 'Alīm b. 'Alā'-addīn (G.A.L./II/432), of at-Timirtāshī (G.A.L./II/312), of Sa'dī Efendi Ḥāmid (G.A.L./II/434), etc.

Fikh (Shāfi'i).	at-Taḳrīb.	Abū Shujā' al-Iṣfa-hānī.	See p. 43.
	comm. al-Iḳnā'.	Muḥ. al-Ḳhaṭīb ash-Shirbīnī.	d. 1569. G.A.L./I/392.
	Taḥrīr Tanḳīḥ al-Lubāb.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520. G.A.L./II/99.
	Manhaj at-Ṭullāb.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	
	comm. Minhāj at-Ṭālibīn.	Muḥyi-addīn Abū Zakariyā Yahyā an-Nawawī.	d. 1278. G.A.L./I/395.
	comm. Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. Ḥajar al-Ḥai-thamī.	d. 1565. G.A.L./I/395.
	comm. an-Nihāyah.	Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamzah ar-Ramlī.	d. 1565. G.A.L./I/395.
	ar-Rauḍ al-Fā'ik fi'l Minhāj wad-Dakā'ik.	Ibrāhīm b. Yāḳūt an-Nawawī.	d. 1466. G.A.L./I/396.
	Rauḍ at-Ṭālib. (an abridgment of Raudat at-Ṭālibīn by Muḥyi-ad-dīn an-Nawawī, G.A.L./I/396).	Sharaf-addīn Is-mā'il b. Abī Bakr b. al-Muḳrī ash-Shāwarī al-Yam-anī.	d. 1433. G.A.L./II/190-191.

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Fikh (Shāfi'i).	comm. Asnā al-Maṭālib.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	G.A.L./II/100.
	Irshād.	Sharaf-addīn Is-mā'il b. Abī Bakr b. al-Muḳrī ash-Shāwarī al-Yam-anī.	See above. also G.A.L./I/394.
	al-Bahjah al-War-diyah.	Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Muzaffar b. al-Wardī.	d. 1349. G.A.L./II/141 and G.A.L./I/394.
	comm. Ghurar al-Bahiyah.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520. G.A.L./II/100.
	al-Ashbāḥ wan-Nazā'ir.	Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūṭī.	d. 1505. G.A.L./II/152.
	al-'Ubāb al-Muḥīṭ.	Ṣafī-addīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Maḍḥijī.	d. 1523. G.A.L./II/404.
	al-Wajīz.	Abū Ḥāmid Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-Ghazzālī.	d. 1111. G.A.L./I/424.
	az-Zubad.	Shihāb-addīn Aḥmad al-Ḥusain ar-Ramlī.	d. 1440. G.A.L./II/96. and G.A.L./II/86.

The Shāfi'is also had their collections of *Fatwas* for reference such as that of Ibn ar-Ramlī (G.A.L./II/319), of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haiṭhamī (G.A.L./II/389), of as-Subḳī (G.A.L./II/88), etc.

Fikh (Māliki).	al-Muwattā'.	Mālik b. Anas.	d. 795. G.A.L./I/176.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Muwattā'.	Muḥ. b. 'Abdal-Bāḳī az-Zurḳānī.	d. 1710. G.A.L./I/176.
	ar-Risālah.	'Abdallāh b. Abī Zaid al-Ḳairawānī.	d. 998. G.A.L./I/177-178. see above p. 43.
	comm. Sharḥ ar-Risālah.	Muḥ. Ibrāhīm at-Ṭā'i.	d. 1535. G.A.L./I/178.
	comm. Sharḥ ar-Risālah.	'Alī b. Muḥ. al-Ajhūrī.	d. 1655. G.A.L./II/317-318.
	al-Mukhtaṣar.	Khalīl b. Ishāḳ b. Mūsā.	d. 1365. G.A.L./II/84.
	comm. Fath al-Jalīl.	Muḥ. Ibrāhīm at-Ṭā'i.	d. 1535. G.A.L./II/84.
	comm. Mawāhib al-Jalīl.	Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb.	d. 1546. G.A.L./II/84.
	comm. Sharḥ az-Zurḳānī.	'Abdal-Bāḳī b. Yūsuf az-Zurḳānī.	d. 1687. G.A.L./II/84.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Fikh (Mālikī).	comm. Sharḥ 'alā Mukhtaṣar Sīdī Khalīl.	Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khurashī.	d. 1689. G.A.L./II/84.
	comm. Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl.	Ibrāhīm b. Mar'ī ash-Shabrakhiṭī.	d. 1694. G.A.L./II/84.
	al-'Izzīyah.	Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ash-Shādhilī.	d. 1532. G.A.L./II/316.
	comm. Sharḥ 'alā'l-'Izzīyah.	Aḥmad b. Turkī.	d. 1584.
	comm. Sharḥ az-Zurḡānī 'alā'l Mukaddamat al-'Izzīyah.	Muḥ. b. 'Abdal-Bāḳī az-Zurḡānī.	d. 1710.
	Tuhfat al-Hukkām fi Nukat al-'Uḳūd wal Aḥkām.	Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. 'Aṣīm al-Mālikī.	d. 1426. G.A.L./II/264.
	Tabṣirat al-Hukkām fi Uṣūl al-Aḳḳīyah wa Manāḥij al-Aḥkām.	Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Muḥ. b. Farḥūn.	d. 1397. G.A.L./II/175-176.

Included in the Mālikī collection of *Fatwas* are the following:—*Fatāwī al-Kaffūrī* (G.A.L./II/319), *Fatāwī b. 'Abdas-Salām* (G.A.L./II/246), *Fatāwī al-Wansharishī* (G.A.L./II/248), etc.

Fikh (Ḥanbalī).	Dalīl aṭ-Ṭālib.	Mar'ī b. Yūsuf.	d. 1623. see above p. 43.
	comm. Nail al-Ma'arib bi-Sharḥ Dalīl aṭ-Ṭālib.	'Abdal-Ḳādir b. 'Umar.	d. 1735. S. 1162.
	Muntahā al-Irādāt.	Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Fatūhī.	
	al-Muḳni'.	Muwaḥḥaf-addīn Abū Muḥ. 'Abdallāh b. Ḳudāmah.	d. 1223. G.A.L./I/398.
	comm. Zād al-Mustanḳī.	Manṣūr b. Yūnus al-Bahūtī.	G.A.L./I/398.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Kabīr.	Abū'l-Faraj 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Ḳudāmah.	d. 1283. G.A.L./I/399.
	Mukhtaṣar al-Muḳni'.	Abū'n-Najā Sharaf-addīn Mūsā b. al-Hujāwī.	d. 1560. G.A.L./II/325.
	al-Iknā' li-Ṭālib al-Intifa'.	Abū'n-Najā Sharaf-addīn Mūsā b. al-Hujāwī.	d. 1560. G.A.L./II/325.
	al-Furū'.	Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-Maḳdisī.	d. 1361. G.A.L./II/107.

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Fikh (Ḥanbalī).	Taṣḥīḥ al-Furū'.	'Alā'-addīn al-Mir-dāwī.	
	al-Inṣāf.	'Alā'-addīn al-Mir-dāwī.	

The Ḥanbalī collection of *Fatwas* includes:—*Fatāwī of Ibn Taimiyah* (G.A.L./II/105).

Uṣūl al-Fikh.	al-Waraḳāt.	Abū'l-Ma'ālī 'Abdal-Malik al-Juwainī.	d. 1085. G.A.L./I/389.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Waraḳāt.	Jalāl-addīn al-Maḥallī.	d. 1460. G.A.L./I/389.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Waraḳāt.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. al-Ḳāsim.	d. 1566. G.A.L./I/389.
	Jam' al-Jawāmi'.	'Abdal-Waḥḥāb b. 'Alī as-Subḳī.	d. 1370. G.A.L./II/89.
	comm. Sharḥ 'alā Jam' al-Jawāmi'.	Jalāl-addīn al-Maḥallī.	d. 1460. G.A.L./II/89.
	Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā.	Jamāl-addīn Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. al-Ḥājib.	d. 1248. G.A.L./I/306.
	comm. Sharḥ al-'Aḳud.	'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī.	d. 1355. G.A.L./I/306.
	Manār al-Anwār.	Ḥāfiz-addīn Abū'l-Barakāt 'Abdallāh an-Nasafī.	d. 1310. G.A.L./II/196.
	comm. Sharḥ Manār al-Anwār.	'Abdal-Laṭīf b. 'Abdal-'Azīz b. Firishtuh (b. al-Malak).	d. 1427. G.A.L./II/196.
	comm. Sharḥ Manār al-Anwār.	Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Ḥaṣḥafī.	d. 1677. G.A.L./II/196.
	comm. Sharḥ Manār al-Anwār.	Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Nu-jaim al-Miṣrī.	d. 1562. G.A.L./II/196.
	at-Tanḳīḥ.	'Ubaidallāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ṣadr ash-Sharī'ah.	d. 1346. G.A.L./II/214.
	comm. at-Tauḍīḥ fi-Ḥall Ghawāmiḍ at-Tanḳīḥ.	'Ubaidallāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ṣadr ash-Sharī'ah.	
	comm. al-Talwīḥ fi Kashf Haḳā'ik at-Tanḳīḥ.	Sa'd-addīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar at-Taf-tazānī.	d. 1398. G.A.L./II/214.
	comm. Taghyīr at-Tanḳīḥ.	Aḥmad b. Sulaimān (called b. Kamāl Pasha).	d. 1533. G.A.L./II/214.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Uṣūl al-Fiḥ.	Tanḳīḥ al-Fuṣūl. (abridgment of Fakhr-addīn ar-Rāzī's 'al-Maḥṣūl fi Uṣūl al-Fiḥ).	Shihāb-addīn Ahmad b. Idrīs al-Ḳarāfi.	d. 1285. G.A.L./I/506.
	at-Taḥrīr fi Uṣūl addīn.	Kamāl-addīn Muḥ. b. al-Humām.	d. 1457. G.A.L./II/225.
	comm. at-Taḥrīr wat-Taḥbīr.	Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Amīr Ḥājǵ Ḥalabī.	d. 1474. S. 41.
	Fuṣūl al-Badā'i' fi Uṣūl ash-Sharā'i'.	Muḥ. b. Ḥamzah al-Fanāri.	d. 1431. G.A.L./II/233.
	Mir'āt al-Uṣūl 'ilā Mirkāt al-Wuṣūl fi'ilm al-Uṣūl.	Muḥ. b. Farāmūrz b. 'Alī Mullā Khusrau.	d. 1480. G.A.L./II/226.
Farā'id.	ar-Raḥbiyah.	see above, p. 43.	
	comm. Sharḥ ash-Shinshaurī.	'Abdallāh ash-Shinshaurī.	d. 1590. G.A.L./I/391.
	al-Farā'id as-Sirājiyah.	Sirāj-addīn Abū Ṭāhir as-Sajāwandī.	d. 12th cent. G.A.L./I/378-379.
	comm. Sharḥ as-Sirājiyah.	'Alī b. Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Jurjānī.	d. 1413. G.A.L./I/379.
	comm. Sharḥ as-Sirājiyah.	Aḥmad b. Sulaimān (called b. Kamāl Pasha.)	d. 1533. G.A.L./I/379.
	comm. Daw' as-Sirāj.	Maḥmūd b. Abī Bakr al-Kalābādhī.	d. 1300. G.A.L./I/379.
	Khulāṣat al-Farā'id. (verse).	Sirāj-addīn Abū Ṭāhir as-Sajāwandī.	see above.
	Kashf al-Ghawāmiḍ fi 'Ilm al-Farā'id.	Badr-addīn Muḥ. b. Muḥ. Sibṭ al-Māridīnī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./II/167.
	al-Majmū' fi'l Farā'id.	Shams-addīn Muḥ. b. Sharaf b. 'Alawī al-Kallā'i.	d. 1375. G.A.L./II/161.
	Tartīb al-Majmū' lil-Kallā'i.	Badr-addīn Muḥ. b. Muḥ. Sibṭ al-Māridīnī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./II/161. and 167.
	Manzūmah fi'l Farā'id.	Abū Ishāḳ Ibrāhīm b. 'Abī Bakr at-Tilimsānī.	d. 1291. G.A.L./I/367.
	comm. Bughyat al-Mubtadi' wa Ghunyat al-Muntahī.	Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥ. 'Alī al-Ḳurashī al-Ḳalaṣādī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./II/266.

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Farā'id.	Alfiyat Ibn Ḥā'im fi'l Farā'id. (Kifāyat al-Ḥuffāz).	Shihāb-addīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. al-Hā'im al-Faraḍī.	d. 1512. G.A.L./II/125.
	comm. Sharḥ Shaikh al-Islām.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520. G.A.L./II/125-126.
	Shubbāk Ibn al-Hā'im.	Shihāb-addīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. al-Hā'im al-Faraḍī.	d. 1512.
Tauḥīd.	Umm al-Barāhīn. (or 'Aḳīdat ahl at-Tauḥīd aṣ-Ṣughrā).	Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī as-Sanūsī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./II/250-251.
	comm. Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn.	'Isā b. 'Abdar-Raḥmān as-Saktānī.	d. 1652. G.A.L./II/251.
	comm. Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn.	Muḥ. b. Maṣṣūr al-Hudhudī.	G.A.L./II/251.
	comm. Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn.	Author himself.	
	'Aḳīdat Ahl at-Tauḥīd al-Kubrā. (or 'Aḳīdat al-Kubrā).	Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī as-Sanūsī.	see above.
	Jauharat at-Tauḥīd. (see above, p. 44).	Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī.	d. 1631. G.A.L./II/316-317.
	comm. Hidāyat al-Murīd.	Author himself.	
	comm. Sharḥ 'alā'l-Jauharah.	'Abdas-Salām b. Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī.	d. 1668. G.A.L./II/316-317.
	al-'Aḳā'id.	Najm-addīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad an-Nasafī.	d. 1142. G.A.L./I/427.
	comm. Sharḥ al-'Aḳā'id.	Sa'd-addīn Maṣ'ūd b. 'Umar at-Taf-tazānī.	d. 1389. G.A.L./I/427.
	Maḳāṣid at-Ṭalībīn.	Sa'd-addīn Maṣ'ūd b. 'Umar at-Taf-tazānī.	G.A.L./II/216.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Maḳāṣid.	Sa'd-addīn Maṣ'ūd b. 'Umar at-Taf-tazānī.	G.A.L./II/216.

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Tauḥīd.	al-Mawākif.	'Adud-addīn 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ījī.	d. 1355. G.A.L./II/208-209.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Mawākif.	'Alī b. Muḥ. al-Jurjānī as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf.	d. 1413. G.A.L./II/209.
	Ṭawālī' al-Anwār min Maṭālī' al-Anzār.	'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Baiḍāwī.	d. 1286. G.A.L./I/418.
	Maṭālī' al-Anzār fī Sharḥ Ṭawālī' al-Anwār (comm. on previous work).	Shams-addīn Maḥmūd b. 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī.	d. 1348. G.A.L./II/110.
	Bad' al-Amālī.	Sirāj-addīn 'Alī b. 'Uṭmān al-Ushī al-Farghānī.	d. 1173. G.A.L./I/429.
Taṣawwuf.	comm. Dau' al-Amālī. (Dau' al-Ma'ālī li Bad' al-Amālī).	'Alī b. Sulṭān Muḥ. al-Harāwī al-Ḳārī.	d. 1605. G.A.L./I/429.
	al-Ibrīz min Kalām Sīdī 'Abdal-'Azīz.	Aḥmad b. Mubārak as-Sijilmāsī al-Lamṭī.	d. 1717. G.A.L./II/462-463.
	al-Anwār al-Ḳudsiyah fī Bayān ādāb al-'Udūbiyah.	Abū'l-Mawāhib 'Abdal-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī.	d. 1565. G.A.L./II/337.
	Bustān al-'Arifin.	Abū'l-Laith Naṣr b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm as-Samarḳandī.	d. 993. G.A.L./I/196.
	Tāj al-'Arūs wa Ḳam' an-Nufūs.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. 'Aṭā'allāh al-Iskandarī.	d. 1309. G.A.L./II/118.
	at-Tajalliyāt al-Ilāhiyah.	Muḥyī-addīn Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-'Arabī.	d. 1240. G.A.L./I/446.
	al-Hikam al-'Aṭā'iyah.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. 'Aṭā'allāh al-Iskandarī.	see above.
	at-Tanwīr fī Isḳāṭ at-Tadbīr.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. 'Aṭā'allāh al-Iskandarī.	see above.
	al-Matn al-Kubrā.	Abū'l-Mawāhib 'Abdal-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī.	see above. G.A.L./II/336.
	Iḥyā' 'Ulūm-addīn.	Abū Ḥamid Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-Ghazzālī.	d. 1111. G.A.L./I/422.

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Taṣawwuf.	Ḳūt al-Ḳalūb fī Mu'āmalat al-Maḥbūb.	Abū Ṭālib Muḥ. b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭīyah al-Ḥārithī.	d. 996. G.A.L./I/200.
	al-Ḳaṣīdat al-Munfarijah.	Abū'l-Faḍl Yūsuf b. Muḥ. b. Yūsuf b. an-Naḥwī.	d. 1119 c. G.A.L./I/268.
	at-Tā'iyah al-Kubrā.	'Umar b. al-Fāriḍ.	d. 1235. G.A.L./I/262.
	comm. Muntahā al-Madārik.	Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Muḥ. al-Farghānī.	d. 1300. G.A.L./I/262.
	'Awārif al-Ma'ārif.	Shihāb-addīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh as-Suhrawardī.	d. 1234. G.A.L./I/440.
	Ḥilyat al-Anbiya' wa Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṣfiya'.	Abū Nu'aim Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī.	d. 1038. G.A.L./I/362.
	Taffīs Iblīs.	'Izz-addīn 'Abdas-Salām b. Aḥmad b. Ghānim.	d. 1279. G.A.L./I/451.
	Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn.	Abū'l-Laith Naṣr b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm as-Samarḳandī.	d. 993. G.A.L./I/196.
	Naḥw. al-Ājurrūmiyah (see above, p. 43).	Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ. b. Dā'ūd as-Ṣanḥājī b. Ājurrūm.	d. 1323. G.A.L./II/237.
	comm: besides those mentioned above, many of the other commentaries and ḥāshiyahs on this work were used.		
al-Alfiyah	(see above, p. 43).	Jamāl-addīn Muḥ. b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālīk at-Ṭā'ī.	d. 1273. G.A.L./I/298.
	(called generally al-Khulāṣah).		
	comm. Auḍāḥ al-Masālik' ilā Alfīyat Ibn Mālīk.	Jamāl-addīn Abū Muḥ. 'Abdallāh b. Hishām.	d. 1360. G.A.L./I/298.
	comm. Sharḥ Ibn 'Aḳīl.	Bahā'-addīn 'Abdallāh b. 'Aḳīl.	d. 1367. G.A.L./I/299.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Makkūdī.	Abū Zaid 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkūdī.	d. 1398. G.A.L./I/299.
comm.	Tamrīn at-Ṭullāb fī Ṣanā'at al-'Irāb.	Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr al-Jirjāwī al-Azharī.	d. 1499. G.A.L./I/299.
		b. Mālīk.	

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Naḥw.	Tashīl al-Fawā'id.	Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr al-Jirjāwī al-Azhārī. b. Mālīk.	
	al-Azhariyah.	Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr al-Jirjāwī al-Azhārī b. Mālīk.	G.A.L./II/27.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Azhariyah.	Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr al-Jirjāwī al-Azhārī b. Mālīk.	
	Ḳaṭr an-Nadā wa Ball aṣ-Ṣadā.	Jamāl-addīn Abū Muḥ. 'Abdallāh b. Hishām.	d. 1360. G.A.L./II/23.
	comm. Sharḥ Ḳaṭr an-Nadā.	Jamāl-addīn Abū Muḥ. 'Abdallāh b. Hishām.	
	comm. Muḡib an-Nadā 'ilā Sharḥ Ḳaṭr an-Nadā.	Jamāl-addīn b. 'Alī al-Fākihi.	d. 1564. G.A.L./II/23.
	Muḡni'l-Labīb'an Kutub al-A'arīb.	b. Hishām.	d. 1360. G.A.L./II/23.
	comm. Sharḥ ash-Shawāhid.	Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūṭī.	d. 1505.
	Shuḍḥūr adh-Dḥahab.	b. Hishām.	d. 1360. G.A.L./II/24.
	al-Kāfiyah.	Jamāl-addīn Abū 'Amr 'Uṭhmān b. 'Umar b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥājib.	d. 1248. G.A.L./I/303.
	comm. al-Fawā'id aḍ-Ḍiyā'iyah.	'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī.	d. 1492. G.A.L./I/304.
	Mulḥat al-I'rāb.	Abū'l-Kāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥ. al-Ḥarīrī.	d. 1122. G.A.L./I/277.
Ṣarf.	Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ.	Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd.	d. 13th cent. G.A.L./II/21.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Marāḥ.	Shams-addīn Aḥmad.	d. 14th cent.
	at-Taṣrīf al-'Izzī.	'Izz-addīn Abū'l-Fadā'il 'Abdal-Waḥḥāb az-Zanjānī.	d. 1257. G.A.L./I/283.
	comm. Sharḥ at-Taṣrīf.	Sa'd-addīn at-Taf-tazānī.	d. 1390. G.A.L./I/283.
	ash-Shāfiyah.	Jamāl-addīn Abū 'Amr 'Uṭhmān b. 'Umar b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥājib.	d. 1248. G.A.L./I/305.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and Reference
Ṣarf.	comm. Sharḥ ash-Shāfiyah.	Raḍī-addīn al-Asterābādī.	d. 1287. G.A.L./I/305.
	comm. Manāḥij al-Kāfiyah fi Sharḥ ash-Shāfiyah.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520. G.A.L./I/305.
	Lāmiyat al-Af'al.	Jamāl-addīn Muḥ. b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālīk aṭ-Ṭā'i.	d. 1273. G.A.L./I/300.
Balāghah.	Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ.	Jalāl-addīn Abū'l-Ma'ālī b. 'Umar al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī.	d. 1338. G.A.L./II/22 and G.A.L./I/295.
	comm. al-Muṭawwal.	Sa'd-addīn at-Taf-tazānī.	d. 1390. G.A.L./II/215.
	Miftāḥ al-'Ulūm.	Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥ. as-Sak-kākī.	d. 1229. G.A.L./I/294.
	comm. on the 3rd part which deals with <i>ma'ānī</i> and <i>bayān</i> (pts. 1 and 2 deal with ṣarf and naḥw).	Sa'd-addīn at-Taf-tazānī.	G.A.L./I/294.
	comm. on the 3rd part which deals with <i>ma'ānī</i> and <i>bayān</i> (pts. 1 and 2 deal with ṣarf and naḥw).	as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī.	d. 1413. G.A.L./I/294.
	al-Jauhar al-Mak-nūn fī ṭhalāṭhat Funūn.	aṣ-Ṣadr b. 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Akh-ḍarī.	d. 1534. G.A.L./II/356.
	Uḳūd al-Jumān (Urjūzah).	Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūṭī.	d. 1505. G.A.L./II/156.
	Manzūmat Ibn Shiḥnah.	Abū'l-Walīd Muḥ. b. Maḥmūd. b. ash-Shiḥnah.	d. 1412. G.A.L./II/141-142.
	as-Samarḳandiyah.	Abū'l-Kāsim b. Abī Bakr al-Laiṭhī as-Samarḳandī.	d. 1483. G.A.L./II/194.
	comm. Sharḥ al-'Iṣām.	Jamāl-addīn al-Is-farā'inī.	d. 1598. G.A.L./II/194.
	comm. on the Muṭawwal called Mukhtaṣar Sa'd.	Sa'd-addīn at-Taf-tazānī.	see above.
Lughah.	Asās al-Balāghah.	Abū'l-Kāsim Maḥ-mūd b. 'Umar az-Zamakḥsharī.	d. 1143. G.A.L./I/292.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and Reference
Lughah.	Tāj al-Lughah wa Ṣaḥāḥ al-'Arabīyah.	Abū Naṣr Ismā'il b. Hammād al-Jauharī.	d. 1002. G.A.L./I/128.
	al-Kāmūs.	Abū 't-Tāhir Muḥ. b. Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī.	d. 1414. G.A.L./II/183.
	Mukhtār aṣ-Ṣaḥāḥ.	Muḥ. b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abdal-Kādir ar-Rāzī.	d. 1320 c. G.A.L./II/201.
	al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr.	Aḥmad b. Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Muḥrī' al-Faiyūmī.	d. 1368. G.A.L./II/25.
	al-Muzhir fi 'Ulūm al-Lughah.	Jalāl-addīn as-Suyūṭī.	d. 1505. G.A.L./II/155.
Faṣḥ al-Lughat'l-'Arabīyah.		Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā Tha'lab.	d. 904. G.A.L./I/118.
	Fikḥ al-Lughah wa Sirr al-'Arabīyah.	Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abdal-Malik b. Muḥ. b. Ismā'ilath-Tha'alībī.	d. 1038. G.A.L./I/285.
	Adab al-Kātib.	Abū Muḥ. Adballah b. Muslim b. Qutaibah.	d. 889. G.A.L./I/122.
	Risālat al-Waḍ'iyah al-'Aḍūdiyyah.	'Aḍud-addīn 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ijī.	d. 1355. G.A.L./II/208.
	comm. Sharḥ as-Samarḳandī.	Abū'l-Kāsim al-Laiṭhī as-Samarḳandī.	d. 1483. G.A.L./II/208.
Waḍ'.	comm. Sharḥ 'Isām-addīn.	'Isām-addīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. b. 'Arabshah al-Isfarā'inī.	d. 1537. G.A.L./II/208.
	'Unḳūd al-Jawāhir.	'Alā'-addīn 'Alī b. Muḥ. al-Kushjī.	d. 1474. G.A.L./II/235.
	'Arūḍ al-Andalusī.	Abū 'Abdallah Muḥ. Abū'l-Jaish al-Anṣārī.	d. 1229. G.A.L./I/310.
	comm. Fath an-Nuḳūd fi Sharḥ al-'Arūd.	'Abdal-Muḥsin al-Ḳaisarī.	d. 13th cent. G.A.L./I/310.
	al-Kāfi fi 'Ilmai al-'Arūd wal-Ḳawāfi.	Aḥmad b. 'Abbād b. Shu'aib al-Ḳinā'i.	d. 1454. G.A.L./II/27.
'Arūd and Ḳāfiyah.	ar-Rāmizah ash-Shāfiyah fi 'Ilm al-'Arūd wal-Ḳāfiyah (or al-Ḳāṣidat al-Ḳhazrajiyah).	Ḍiyā'-addīn Muḥ. al-Ḳhazrajī.	d. 1228. G.A.L./I/312.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and Reference
'Arūd and Ḳāfiyah.	comm. Fath Rabb al-Bariyah bi Sharḥ al-Ḳāṣidat al-Ḳhazrajiyah.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520. G.A.L./I/312.
	comm. al-'Uyūn al-Fāḫirah al-Gḥamizah 'alā Ḳhabāyā ar-Rāmizah.	Badr-addīn Muḥ. b. Abī Bakr b. ad-Damāmīnī.	d. 1424. G.A.L./I/312.
	comm. Sharḥ al-Gharanāfi.	as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf Abū'l-Kāsim Muḥ. as-Sabtī.	d. 1359. G.A.L./I/312.
	as-Sullam al-Muraunak (see above, p. 44).	as-Ṣadr b. 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. al-Walī al-Aḳḥḍarī.	d. 1534. G.A.L./II/355-356.
	comm. Sharḥ as-Sullam.	by author himself.	G.A.L./II/355-356.
Manṭiḳ.	comm. Sharḥ al-Mallawī.	Aḥmad b. 'Abdal-Fattāḥ b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Mujirī al-Mallawī.	d. 1767. G.A.L./II/355-Jab. I/287-II/278-280.
	¹ al-Isāghūjī.	Aṭṭir-addīn Mufaḍdal b. 'Umar al-Abharī.	d. 1264. G.A.L./I/464.
	comm. Sharḥ Shaikh al-Islām.	Zakariyā al-Anṣārī.	d. 1520. G.A.L./I/465.
	comm. al-Fawā'id al-Fanāriyah.	Shams-addīn Aḥmad (Muḥ), b. Ḥamzah al-Fanārī.	d. 1430. G.A.L./I/465.
	comm. Sharḥ Isāghūjī.	Ḥusām-addīn al-Ḥasan al-Kātib.	d. 1359. G.A.L./I/464.
Mukḥtaṣar fi'l-Manṭiḳ.		Abū 'Abdallah Muḥ. b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī as-Sanūsī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./II/251.
	Tahdhīb al-Manṭiḳ wal-Ḳalām.	Sa'd-addīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar at-Taf-tazānī.	d. 1389. G.A.L./II/215.
	comm. Tahdhīb fi Sharḥ at-Tahdhīb.	'Ubaidallah b. Fadlallah al-Ḳhabīṣī Fakhr-addīn.	d. 1640. G.A.L./II/215.
	ash-Shamsiyah fi'l-Ḳawā'id al-Manṭikiyah.	Najm-addīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Ḳazwīnī al-Kātibī.	d. 1276. G.A.L./I/466.
	comm. Tahrīr al-Ḳawā'id al-Manṭikiyah fi Sharḥ ar-Risālah ash-Shamsiyah.	Ḳutb-addīn Muḥ. b. Muḥ. ar-Rāzī at-Taḥṭānī.	d. 1364. G.A.L./I/466.

¹The MacDonald Presentation Volume, Princeton, 1933, pp. 73-85. Article by E. Calverley.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Mantik	comm. Sharh ash-Shamsiyah.	Sa'd-addin at-Taf-tazani.	d. 1389. G.A.L./I/466.
	Ma'tali' al-Anwar fi'l Mantik.	Siraj-addin Abu'th-Thana' Mahmud b. Abi Bakr al-Urmawi.	d. 1283. G.A.L./I/467.
	comm. Lawami' al-Asrar fi Sharh Ma'tali' al-Anwar.	Kutb-addin Muh. b. Muh. ar-Razi at-Tahtani.	d. 1364. G.A.L./I/467.
Hisab. ¹	al-Luma' fi 'Ilm al-Hisab.	Shihab-addin Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muh. al-Hā'im al-Faradi.	d. 1512. G.A.L./II/125.
	al-Wasilah.	Shihab-addin Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muh. al-Hā'im al-Faradi.	d. 1512. G.A.L./II/126.
	Nuzhat an-Nuzzār.	Shihab-addin Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muh. al-Hā'im al-Faradi.	
	Manzumat Ibn al-Hā'im.	Shihab-addin Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muh. al-Hā'im al-Faradi.	
	Nuzhat al-Ahbāb fi Ta'rif al-Hisab.	Bahā'-addin Muh. ash-Shanshuri.	d. 1587. G.A.L./II/125.
	Tuḥfat al-Ahbāb fi 'Ilm al-Hisab.	Badr-addin Muh. b. Muh. b. Ahmad Sibṭ al-Māridini.	d. end 15th cent. c. G.A.L./II/167.
	Khulāṣat al-Hisab.	Bahā'-addin Muh. b. Husain 'Abdāṣ-Samad al-Hārithi al-'Amuli.	d. 1621. G.A.L./II/415.
	ad-Durrah al-Baidā' fi Husn al-Funūn wal-Ashyā'.	aṣ-Ṣadr b. 'Abdar-Rahmān b. al-Wali aṣ-Ṣāliḥ as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣaghīr b. Muh. al-Akh-dari.	d. 1534. G.A.L./II/356.
	(fi'l Hisab wal-Farā'id wal-Waṣāyā).		
	comm. Sharh ad-Durrah al-Baidā'.	by author himself.	
	Manzumat al-Akh-dari fi'l-Hisab.	by above.	
	Talkhiṣ fi 'Amal al-Hisab.	Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muh. b. 'Uthmān al-Azdi, b. al-Bannā'.	d. 1321. G.A.L./II/255.

¹ Also referred to occasionally as 'ilm al-ghubār; see for example, al-Jab., I/390, line 10.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and Reference
Hisab.	comm. Sharh Talkhiṣ b. al-Bannā'.	Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Muh. b. Muh. b. 'Ali al-Kurashī al-Kalaṣādī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./II/266.
	Kashf al-Ghibāb 'an 'Ilm al-Hisab.	Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Muh. b. Muh. b. 'Ali al-Kurashī al-Kalaṣādī.	
	Kashf as-Asrar 'an 'Ilm al-Huruf al-Ghubār.	Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Muh. b. Muh. b. 'Ali al-Kurashī al-Kalaṣādī.	
Jabr wa Muḳā-balah. ¹	al-Urjūzah al-Yāsaminīyah.	Abu 'Abdallah b. Hajjāj al-Adrinī b. al-Jāsamīnī.	d. 1203. G.A.L./I/471.
	comm. Sharh al-Urjūzah al-Yāsaminīyah.	Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Muh. b. Muh. b. 'Ali al-Kurashī al-Kalaṣādī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./II/266.
	comm. Sharh al-Urjūzah al-Yāsaminīyah.	Shihab-addin Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muh. al-Hā'im al-Faradi.	d. 1512. G.A.L./I/471.
	al-Muḳni'.	Shihab-addin Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Muh. al-Hā'im al-Faradi.	d. 1512. G.A.L./II/125.
	comm. Sharh al-Muḳni'.	Badr-addin Muh. b. Muh. b. Ahmad Sibṭ al-Māridini.	d. end 15th cent. c. G.A.L./II/167.
Mikāt wa Hai'ah.	Lakṭ al-Jawāhir fi'l-Khuṭūt wad-Dawā'ir.	Badr-addin Muh. b. Muh. b. Ahmad Sibṭ al-Māridini.	G.A.L./II/168.
	Dakā'ik al-Hakā'ik fi Ma'rifat Hisab ad-Daraj wad-Dakā'ik.	Badr-addin Muh. b. Muh. b. Ahmad Sibṭ al-Māridini.	
	ar-Risālah al-Fatḥiyah fi'l 'Amal al-Jaibiyah.	Badr-addin Muh. b. Muh. b. Ahmad Sibṭ al-Māridini.	G.A.L./II/167.
	Wasilat at-Tullāb fi Ma'rifat al-Auḳāt bi'l Hisab.	Badr-addin Muh. b. Muh. b. Ahmad Sibṭ al-Māridini.	G.A.L./II/167.
	Kifāyat al-Kunū' fi'l 'Amal bi'r-Rub' al-Muḳan-tarāt.		G.A.L./II/168.

¹ Article in *Encycl. of Islam*: *Djabr wa'l-Muḳābalah*, Vol. I, p. 989. Suter states that the term *Muḳābalah* had fallen into disuse but it is used throughout al-Jabarti and by later authors.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and Reference
Mikāt wa Hai'ah.	al-Maṭlab fi'l 'Amal bi'r-Rub' al-Mujaiyab.	Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad b. Muḥ. Badr-addīn Sibṭ al-Māridīnī.	d. 1527. G.A.L./II/357.
	Zād al-Musāfir fi Rasm <u>Khuṭūṭ</u> Faḍl ad-Dā'ir.	Shihāb-addīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Rajab al-Majdī.	d. 1446. G.A.L./II/128.
	ad-Durr al-Manthūr fi'l 'Amal bi'r-Rub' ad-Dustūr.	'Abdallāh b. Khalīl b. Yūsuf al-Māridīnī Jamāl-addīn.	d. 1406. G.A.L./II/169.
	al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi'l-Hai'ah.	Maḥmūd b. Muḥ. 'Umar al-Jaghminī al-Khwārizmī.	d. 1221. G.A.L./I/473.
	comm. Sharḥ <u>Qāḍī</u> Zādah.	Mūsā b. Maḥmūd ar-Rūmī <u>Qāḍī</u> Zādah.	d. 1412. G.A.L./I/473.
	al-Hidāyah min ad-Dalālah fi Ma'rifat al-Waqt wa'l Kiblah bi Ghair Alah.	Shihāb-addīn Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāmah al-Qalyūbī.	d. 1658. G.A.L./II/365.
	Dustūr Uṣūl 'Ilm al-Mikāt wa Natījat an-Nazar fi Taḥrīr al-Auḳāt.	Ridwān Efendī al-Falakī ar-Razzāz.	d. 1710. G.A.L./II/359.
	Tauḍīḥ Nazm ar-Risālah al-Fatḥiyah; comm. on ar-Risālah al-Fatḥiyah fi'l 'Amal al-Jaiḥiyah (see above).	'Alī b. Muḥ. b. 'Alī b. Ghānim.	d. 1595. G.A.L./II/312.
Hikmah.	Hidāyat al-Hikmah.	Aṭṭār-addīn Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Abḥarī.	d. 1264. G.A.L./I/464.
	comm. Sharḥ Hidāyat al-Hikmah.	Aḥmad Zādah b. Maḥmūd al-Harawī.	G.A.L./I/464.
	comm. Sharḥ Hidāyat al-Hikmah.	Mir Husain al-Mai-budī.	d. 1475. G.A.L./I/464.
	Hikmat al-'Ain.	Najm-addīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī.	d. 1276. G.A.L./I/466.
	comm. Sharḥ Hikmat al-'Ain.	Muḥ. b. Mubārak-shāh al-Bukhārī.	G.A.L./I/466.
	al-Ishārāt.	Abū 'Alī al-Husain b. 'Abdallāh b. Sīnā.	d. 1037. G.A.L./I/454.

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Ādāb al-Baḥṭh.	ar-Risālah al-'Aḍudiyyah fi Ādāb al-Baḥṭh wa'l-Munāzarah.	'Adud-addīn 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ijī.	d. 1355. G.A.L./II/208.
	comm. Sharḥ as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf 'alā 'ar-Risālah al-'Aḍudiyyah.	'Alī b. Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Jurjānī.	d. 1413. G.A.L./II/208.
	comm. Sharḥ Mullā Ḥanafī.	Muḥ. at-Tibrizī al-Ḥanafī.	d. 1494. G.A.L./II/208.
	comm. Sharḥ 'Iṣām-addīn 'alā' ar-Risālah al-'Aḍudiyyah.	'Iṣām-addīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥ. b. 'Arabshāh al-Isfarā'īnī.	d. 1537. G.A.L./II/208.
	ar-Risālah al-Waladiyyah.	Muḥ. al-Mar'ashī.	d. 1737. G.A.L./II/370.
	Taḥrīr al-Qawānīn al-Mutadāwilah min 'Ilm al-Munāzarah.	Muḥ. al-Mar'ashī.	writ. 1705. G.A.L./II/370.
	Risālah fi Qawā'id al-Baḥṭh.	'Alī b. Muḥ. b. 'Alī al-Jurjānī.	d. 1413. G.A.L./II/216.
	Risālah fi Ādāb al-Baḥṭh.	Shams-addīn Muḥ. b. Ashraf al-Husainī as-Samarḳandī.	d. 1291. G.A.L./I/468.
	comm. Sharḥ Ādāb al-Baḥṭh li's-Samarḳandī.	Mas'ūd b. Husain ash-Shirwānī.	d. 1436. G.A.L./I/468.
	comm. al-Ma'āb fi Sharḥ al-Ādāb.	'Alā'-addīn Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Bihish-tī al-Isfarā'īnī.	d. 1494. G.A.L./I/468.
	Risālah fi Ādāb al-Baḥṭh.	Abū'l-Khair Aḥmad b. Muṣliḥ-addīn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkō-prizādah.	d. 1560. G.A.L./II/425.

It is to be doubted whether any one shaikh ever read all the above works, Ḥasan al-Jabartī read nearly one hundred of them under various teachers, Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī studied about seventy under teachers. The shaikhs seemed to have read much more during this period than they did in later times.

For teaching purposes the day was divided into five parts, the most important classes being held from before sunrise until midday; *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth* were taught before sunrise and *fiqh* after the *fajr* prayers until the midday prayer. The three remaining parts of the day were used for the other subjects

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with a preference for *nahw*, *balāghah* and *uṣūl* after midday until the 'aṣr prayers, *ḥisāb* and other less important subjects after the 'aṣr prayers until the *maghrib* and after *maghrib*, *manṭiq* and *ḥikmah*. The morning classes seem to have been much larger than those of any other part of the day.

Al-Jabartī occasionally gives references to the teaching hours of a shaikh and in one case, gives us the full programme of a teacher who taught all day,¹ but it would appear that a shaikh seldom gave the whole of his time to teaching.

A good many students seemed to have learnt some of the *mutūn* (*matn*—compendium) by heart before proceeding to the *ḥalkahs* especially those students who came from the small towns and villages, al-Jabartī gives us the names of several such students:—Ḥasan al-Jabartī had learnt five *matns* before he was thirteen²; Muḥ. an-Nafrāwī,³ Muḥ. as-Samannūdī,⁴ Muḥ. al-Buhūtī,⁵ Aḥmad al-Khalījī,⁶ Ḥasan al-Kafrāwī,⁷ Aḥmad b. Yūnus al-Khalifī,⁸ and Muḥ. aṣ-Ṣāwī,⁹ all learnt several *matns* by heart before going to al-Azhar, presumably some of those given above (pp. 43-4).

The lesson given by the shaikh was in the form of a commentary on the actual *matn* or sometimes as a super-commentary; the students apparently took down the teacher's words¹⁰ and checked over their notes with the shaikh's *mu'īd* in class and with their comrades in private. The lessons of the teachers must have been prepared and written out and often the teacher's works came to be used as text-books.¹¹

One must doubt whether many of the students possessed the actual texts used in the classes owing to the cost of the manuscripts as the majority of the students were poor; probably some copied out the shorter ones from copies in the possession of friends and relations or else from copies in the *riwāḥ* library as each *riwāḥ* had its library with its official *mughaiyir* (changer). Some students read certain texts or commentaries more than

¹ al-Jab., II/100, line 5-IV/165. He read *al-Buḥārī* and *al-Manhaj* before the *fajr* prayers, the comm. of *Kuṭb-addīn* on the *Shamsiyyah* in the forenoon, *Ashmūnī* in the early afternoon, *Ibn 'Aḥl* after the 'aṣr prayers and *ash-Shanshūrī* after the *maghrib*.

² Ibid., I/389-III/173-4.

³ Ibid., II/94-IV/152.

⁴ Ibid., II/127-IV/241.

⁵ Ibid., II/259-V/212.

⁶ Ibid., I/367-III/123.

⁷ Ibid., II/99-100-IV/165.

⁸ Ibid., II/164-V/41.

⁹ Ibid., III/213-VII/100.

¹⁰ Note the term *amla' ad-dars*—"to dictate a lesson or to teach"—used throughout al-Jabartī, see Dozy.

¹¹ al-Jab., II/165, line 7 from bottom, where a *sharḥ* was prescribed as a text-book for teaching (*ḥarra'ahu darsan*).

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once, but with different teachers, as is shown by many of the longer biographies in al-Jabartī, while many of the larger works, especially the six canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, were read only in part.

When a student had completed any one work under a teacher, he was granted an *ijāzah* which gave him permission to teach that particular work, but in practice a student waited until he had read a sufficient number of texts or works before he attempted to teach especially in al-Azhar. A student received as many *ijāzahs* as he read works and a shaikh eventually collected them into a kind of document which was referred to as the *birnāmiḥ* of his teachers.¹ When a student attached himself to a teacher in such a way as to follow all his courses,² that student was given a specific *ijāzah* for each course of work and a general *ijāzah* entitling him to teach all his master's courses.³

Exactly how long a student stayed at al-Azhar before he acquired any *ijāzahs* may be seen from the following notes⁴:—

- (a) 'Abdallah ash-Shubrāwī, b. 1092 a.h. received an *ijāzah* from Shaikh Muḥ. b. 'Abdallah al-Khurashī in the year 1100 a.h., i.e., at the age of eight⁵;
- (b) Muḥ. al-Ḥifnāwī, b. 1110 a.h. came to Cairo in 1114 a.h. and by 1122 a.h. had acquired a sufficient number of *ijāzahs* to teach, i.e., after six years of study⁶;
- (c) 'Abdar-Rā'ūf al-Bashbīshī came to Cairo in 1080 a.h. and was authorised to teach in 1094 a.h., i.e., after fourteen years of study⁷;
- (d) Aḥmad al-Khalidī al-Jauharī began to teach when he was about twenty-five years of age⁸;
- (e) 'Alī ar-Rashīdī al-Khudārī, b. 1124 a.h. came to Cairo in 1143 a.h., i.e., at the age of nineteen where he stayed for three years and received an *ijāzah* in 1146 a.h.⁹;
- (f) Ḥasan al-Jabartī received an *ijāzah* from Shaikh Ḥasan ash-Shurunbalālī at the age of thirteen¹⁰;
- (g) 'Abdar-Rahmān al-Ajhūrī came to Cairo in 1153 a.h. and received an *ijāzah* in the same year also in the years 1154 and 1156 a.h.¹¹;

¹ Ibid., I/166-II/56 and II/26-IV/19.

² Each master as it were taught a set of *sharḥs*, *ḥāshiyahs*, *taḥrīrs* or *taḥyīds* which were in turn taught by the student.

³ *Ijāzah khāṣṣah* and *ijāzah 'āmmah*.

⁴ Irregularity is the main feature in the length of the period of studies; note also that the *Ta'rikh Murādī* gives us similar instances of irregularity: 'Abdar-Rahmān b. Muṣṭafā stayed at al-Azhar for six years (III/11), so did 'Abdallah al-Bakā'ī (III/116); 'Abdal-Ghanī b. Raḍwān stayed for eleven years (III/38); 'Alī b. Ḥabībullah al-Kudṣī stayed for fifteen years (III/209).

⁵ al-Jab., I/208-II/155.

⁶ Ibid., I/289-II/285.

⁷ Ibid., I/309-III/17.

⁸ Ibid., I/389-III/174-5.

⁹ Ibid., I/157-II/36.

¹⁰ Ibid., I/374-III/138-9.

¹¹ Ibid., II/85-IV/132-3.

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- (h) Muḥ. as-Samannūdī, b. 1099 a.h. came to Cairo in 1119 a.h. and received *ijāzahs* in 1132, i.e., at the age of thirty-three¹;
 (i) Shaikh Shāmil came to Cairo in 1291 a.h. and received an *ijāzah* in the following year.²

There seems to have been a certain amount of laxity in the giving of *ijāzahs* even from the point of view of the 'ulamā' themselves; they may often have had a complimentary character as both teacher and student considered it an honour to work with each other, but one reads of one teacher who granted *ijāzahs* with great difficulty.³ The *ijāzahs* granted to ash-Shubrāwī and to al-Jabartī in (a) and (f) could not have been of much academic value and were given mainly on account of family ties or because the teacher had at some time studied under the father or grandfather of the student.⁴

Shaikhs still travelled for the sake of study and for the acquisition of *ijāzahs* from famous teachers. Journeys to the Holy Cities for this purpose were very frequent and study was often combined with the pilgrimage, but the movement to Cairo on the part of non-Egyptians was greater than that of Egyptians to other countries. *Ijāzahs* were also sought for by correspondence, asking permission either to teach specific works or without⁵ restriction, i.e., to enable a teacher to teach all the works of a certain master al-Jabartī gives an example of a shaikh who refused to grant *ijāzahs* by correspondence, and he seems to think that this was rather hard considering the times they were living in.⁶

The *ijāzah* was apparently sufficient authority for a shaikh to set up as a teacher anywhere except in al-Azhar, where the question of social position and influence played a very great part. A professor's son nearly always took his father's place as the son would belong to his father's *ḥalqah* and would probably be his *mu'īd* and gain experience during his father's temporary absences, when, for example, during the pilgrimage, he would act as a guardian of his father's pillar. If the shaikh had no son, he could appoint a near relation.⁷

In the ordinary course of events, when a student felt that

¹ Ibid., II/94-IV/152.

² Ibid., III/114-VI/218.

³ Ibid., II/94-IV/152, the name of the shaikh was Muḥ. as-Samannūdī.

⁴ Especially al-Jab., I/389-III/174-5.

⁵ *Ijāzah muṭlaqah*.

⁶ al-Jab., II/94, lines 18-21, but the translation (IV/153) is incorrect.

⁷ Shaikh 'Abdar-Rā'uf al-Bashbīshī, for example, was appointed by his uncle. See al-Jab., I/157-II/36.

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he was qualified to teach, he would begin to do so to a small circle of students, probably his own intimates. This circle would gradually increase and would contain not only his friends, but his opponents; the latter would seek to ask him all sorts of questions with the intention of tripping him up and silencing him while his friends would encourage him; and often this kind of thing led to a fight between the two parties. When the shaikhs got to hear of the student's attempt to hold his own as a teacher, some of them would join the *ḥalqah* and ask him difficult questions; if he answered satisfactorily, his friends would applaud him and the shaikhs would give their approval, if he failed, on the other hand, he would be forced to retire by his opponents. Success, of course, meant his being recognised as an 'ālim and he would take up his post at some vacant pillar. This system lasted up to 1872 when a system of examinations was introduced.¹

On the face of it, this system would appear to have been fair, but actually there must have been all sorts of abuses especially where there was influence, not only where families were interested, but where shaikhs were supported by the Beys, and also when the shaikhs of the religious orders were interested in their *murīds*.

It should be noted, too, that a shaikh did not cease his studies once he became a teacher, but he would still follow courses and acquire *ijāzahs*; one reads of many important 'ulamā' following one another's courses together with the granting of *ijāzahs*.

Some reference might be made to the qualifications and virtues which were appreciated in some of the teachers:—

(a) Shaikh 'Abdar-Rā'uf al-Bashbīshī, d. 1730, was appreciated for his sublime ideas and his eloquence which was "more agreeable to the ear than water to a thirsty man," nearly all the teachers of al-Azhar and the Syrian 'ulamā' followed his courses²;

(b) Shaikh Khālīl b. Muḥ. al-Mālikī, d. 1767, is praised for his excellent teaching method, he had "a pleasant pronunciation, a sweet intonation" and was eloquent. He had no equal in explaining the most difficult and complicated metaphysical problems³;

(c) Shaikh 'Aṭīyah al-Ajhūrī, d. 1776, who taught several of his contemporaries, was appreciated for his knowledge and

¹ Chabrol, op. cit., p. 69 seq., and 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., Vol. IV/26.

² al-Jab., I/157-II/36.

³ Ibid., I/262-II/244-5.

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because he spoke slowly and often repeated his words so that those who were taking notes could write down everything he said¹;

(d) Shaikh 'Alī ash-Shanwihī, d. 1776, gave lessons on *fiqh* that were so popular that the other teachers were jealous; he had a very large following and at times, his colleagues turned him out of the mosque and so he would go to the *Sināniyah* School followed by his students. His classes were said to have an atmosphere of solemnity²;

(e) Shaikh Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī, d. 1778, was greatly appreciated for his scholarship, but seems to have been indifferent about his students. al-Jabartī says that he used to tell anecdotes during his lessons in order to kill time; but he appears to have been more attentive to non-Egyptian students³;

(f) Shaikh Muḥ. as-Samannūdī, d. 1784, had many students because of his sound line of argument⁴;

(g) Shaikh Muḥ. al-Buhūtī, d. 1784, used to give useful lessons; he had the reputation of bringing good luck to those whom he authorised to teach—nearly all the students attended him⁵;

(h) Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jaddāwī, d. 1787, is described as being handsome, good-hearted, eloquent and of irreproachable conduct; his teaching was good and his judgment was very clear. His classes were always very large⁶;

(i) Shaikh Aḥmad al-Bialī, d. 1798, was a scholar of great authority; Shaikh 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī used to advise all the students to attend his lectures⁷;

(j) Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Aḳbāwī, d. 1806, who is described as sober, pious and modest, used to like teaching so much that whenever he hired an ass, he used to expound theological dogmas to the donkey-boy.⁸

Other good teachers were:—Sh. Manṣūr al-Manūfī, d. 1722; Sh. Muḥ. al-Bulaidī, d. 1762; Sh. Aḥmad Abū 'Āmir an-Nafrāwī, d. 1767; Sh. 'Isā al-Barāwī, d. 1768; Sh. 'Alī al-Mālikī al-Azhārī, d. 1774; Sh. Muḥ. al-'Aufī, d. 1777; Sh. Muḥ. al-'Idwī, d. 1779.

Although al-Jabartī does not criticize Sh. Muṣṭafā al-Banūfārī,

¹ Ibid., II/4-III/235.
² Ibid., II/4-III/237. This shaikh used to preach at the *Ashrāfiyah* mosque where his sermons were appreciated because they were agreeable and short.

³ Ibid., II/25-IV/16.

⁴ Ibid., II/99-IV/165.

⁵ Ibid., III/60-1-VI/121-2.

⁶ Ibid., II/94-IV/153.

⁷ Ibid., II/164-V/40.

⁸ Ibid., IV/24-5-VIII/53-4.

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d. 1784, yet for some reason, he was not at all popular with the students, for he used often to attend his pillar in order to give lectures, but no student would listen to him; he had succeeded his father as a teacher in the Syrian *riwāq*.¹

In the case of Sh. Ḥasan al-Kafrāwī, d. 1787, al-Jabartī shows how this teacher became involved in affairs not connected with his work and describes him as a man of great energy and activity, but too ambitious for power, and the fact that he was always on the move caused him to commit many errors for al-Jabartī says "if science is not accompanied with work, piety, sobriety, dignity and still more, with a sense of justice which is inseparable from the love of truth, then it becomes confused and is disdained." The author then quotes an appropriate poem by Ḥasan al-Ḥijāzī.²

Teaching was based on the classical method,³ but modified to a certain extent in different countries, and one occasionally gets a reference to the method of some other country being used in Egypt.⁴

Reference has been made above to the shaikhs who specialised in teaching beginners (p. 42); the majority of the teachers combined *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, or *fiqh* and *farā'id* or *fiqh*, *tafsīr* or grammar, while only a few made specialities of certain subjects⁵; some were interested in scientific subjects the details of which are given below. Reference is also made to a shaikh under whom the higher classes used to study.⁶

Some note should be made of the respect paid to Turkish teachers by Turks. We read of several instances where Turkish shaikhs were honoured on account of their nationality.⁷

Studies in the other mosques and schools mentioned above were not organised on such a wide basis as those of al-Azhar and, apart from the lectures given according to the conditions of the *wakf* endowment and which consisted mainly of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fiqh* and grammar, certain shaikhs seemed to establish

¹ Ibid., II/99-IV/164.

² al-Jab., II/64-V/42-4.

³ Ibid., IV/104, last line, '*alā ʔarḥat al-mutaḥḥadimīn*', see trans. VIII/232-3.

⁴ Ibid., II/210-V/127; Sh. 'Abdal-Wahhāb al-Būsnāwī possessed knowledge according to the method of his homeland (Bosnia). Also I/159-II/39-40; Sh. Muḥ. al-Ghilānī had studied and used to teach *ḥisāb* and *mīḥāt* according to the *Maghrabī* method.

⁵ Sh. Muḥ. al-Janājī, d. 1785, specialised in *ḥisāb*, see al-Jab., II/125-IV/235.

⁶ Ibid., I/68-I/165-6, viz., Shaikh Shāhīn al-Armanāwī.

⁷ See, for example, al-Jab., II/210-V/127. 'Abdal-Wahhāb al-Būsnāwī was honoured by the Amīrs on account of his nationality, *wa akramahu'l-'umara' 'il-jinsiyah*. Also al-Jab., II/248-9-V/193-5, Muṣṭafā b. Ṣādiq Efendi al-Lāzī, who was honoured for the same reason.

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themselves at various schools and, depending on their reputation, used to teach whatever they liked, provided that there was a demand for it.¹

The following list shows the names of teachers who, in many cases, were first-class scholars and the names of some of the students, but these courses were open to the public and apart from the attendance of 'ulamā' and students, the Amīrs often attended. A good teacher would attract considerable numbers of the public anxious to get some enlightenment and, as in the case of Shaikh Muḥ. Murtaḍa, would often be invited to the house of some Amīr to give a lecture.

Mosque	Works studied	Teachers	Students	References
Abū Muḥ. al-Ḥanafī.	al-Amālī. ash-Shamā'il.		Khālid Ef.	II/57-IV/77
Almās. Azbak. Fākahānī. Gharīb. Ghūrī.	al-Baiḍāwī. al-Bukhārī. Sharḥ 'alā'l-Hakam. al-Muwattā'. ash-Shamā'il.	Sulaimān al-Akrāshī. Mustafā al-Marḥūmī. Muḥ. ash-Shanawānī. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī. 'Umar b. 'Abdas-Salām. at-Taṭā'ūnī. Muḥ. b. Zakarī.	Ahmad al-Arūsī.	II/98-IV/160 II/247-V/190 IV/294-IX/279 I/416-III/222
	al-Bukhārī. Sharḥ 'alā'l-Hakam. al-Muwattā'. ash-Shamā'il.	Muḥ. az-Zurkānī. Muḥ. Murtaḍa. Ahmad ad-Damanhūrī. Ahmad al-Mallawī.		I/342-3-III/70-1
Hanaff. Ḥusainī.	al-Bukhārī.	'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Bak- ār aṣ-Ṣafakī. Muḥ. al-Bulaidī.		II/199-V/110 II/25-IV/16 II/252-V/201 II/260-V/213-4
	ḥadīth and fiqh.	Muḥ. al-Khālīdī. Sulaimān al-Jamal.		I/259-II/238-9
	tafsīr, ḥadīth and fiqh.	'Abdal-Wahhāb al-Būsnāwī. Ahmad al-Burhānī. 'Umar at-Taḥlāwī. 'Abdal-Wahhāb ash-Shubrāwī. al-Ḥasan al-Badrī al-'Aūdī. 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Jamal. Sulaimān al-Jamal.		III/166-VI/312 II/183-V/78 II/211-V/129 II/244-V/186 I/288-II/283-4 III/61-VI/122 III/115-VI/220 IV/216-IX/109
	al-Muwattā'. al-Bukhārī. Muslim.	'Abdal-Wahhāb ash-Shubrāwī. Yūsuf al-Muṣāillīhī. 'Alī Iskandar as-Siwāsī. Ahmad al-Ḥamāmī. Yūsuf al-Muṣāillīhī.		III/61-VI/122 III/61-VI/123 I/156-II/33 I/375-III/142 III/61-VI/123
Iskandar Pasha. Sh. Khudārī. Kurdi	ash-Shamā'il. al-Mawāhib. Jalālāin.			

¹ Muḥ. Murtaḍa taught the *faṣīḥ* of Tha'lab, *Fiqh al-Lughah* of aṭ-Tha'ālībī, and the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Kūtaibah to a student. He also gave him his *Sharḥ* of the *Kāmūs*, see al-Jab., II/96-7-IV/158.

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Mosque	Works studied	Teachers	Students	References
Kūsūn.	al-Multaḳā.	'Uṭhmān b. Muḥ. al-Ḥanafī ash-Shāmī. Muḥ. al-'Ubaidī al-Fārisī. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī.		II/263-V/219 I/304-II/305 I/416-III/222
Mirzah Shurbajī.	al-Bukhārī.	Ḥasan al-Jaddāwī. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī. 'Alī Abū Dhikrī al-Būlāqī. Muḥ. al-Ḥanafī.	Ahmad al-Arūsī.	II/164-V/40 II/251-V/201 IV/286-IX/261
Muḥarram. Sh. Muṭahhar.		Muḥ. Ḥāshim as-Suyūṭī. Ahmad as-Saḥīmī. 'Alī al-'Azīzī.	'Aṭīyah al-Ajhūrī.	I/211-II/161 II/4-III/235 II/15-III/263
Sidī Sāriyah. Shams-addīn al-Ḥanafī. 'Umar Shāh.	ḥadīth.	Ahmad Muḥ. b. Is-mā'il. Sh. at-Taḥlāwī.		I/264-II/250 II/95-IV/155 IV/261-IX/205
'Uṭhmān Katkhudā. Wastī.		Muṣṭafā ar-Ra'īs al-Būlāqī.		I/168-II/61 & I/288-II/283 II/60-IV/84
Madrasah	Works studied	Teachers	Students	References
'Ainiyah (or Sha'bāniyah). Ashrāfiyah.	al-Baiḍāwī.	Ahmad Muḥ. b. Ismā'il.		IV/261-IX/205
		Muḥ. al-Bulaidī.	Ahmad al-Arūsī.	II/252-V/201
		Muḥ. al-Bulaidī.	'Abdal-Wahhāb al-'Afiḥī.	I/220-II/177
	Muslim.	'Abdal-Wahhāb al-'Afiḥī.	Muḥ. aṣ-Ṣabbān. Muḥ. Murtaḍa. Muḥ. b. Ismā'il an-Naf-rāwī.	I/220-II/177 II/15-III/263
		Muḥ. Ḥāshim as-Suyūṭī. Muḥ. al-Bulaidī.	'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Ajhūrī.	II/85-IV/133
	ḥadīth, tafsīr and fiqh.	Sulaimān al-Jamal. Muḥ. al-Bulaidī.	Ahmad al-Burhānī.	II/183-V/78 II/244-V/186
Bardabkiyah. Būlāq.		Muḥ. al-Khālīdī. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī. 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Ajhūrī.		III/164-VI/309 I/416-III/222 II/85-IV/133
Ḥabbāniyah.		Yūsuf Ef.		III/203-VII/75
Jauharī.		'Abdal-Wahhāb ash-Shubrāwī.		III/61-VI/122
Maḥmūdiyyah.	al-Baiḍāwī. ad-Durar.	Ḥasan al-Maḳḍisī. 'Abdas-Salām Ef. al-Azrajānī. Muḥ. 'Abdal-Muṭī'.		I/312-III/24 II/35-IV/34 III/354-IV/426

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Madrasah	Works studied	Teachers	Students	References
Matbūliyah.		Abū's-Su'ūd ad-Dan-jihī.		I/67-I/164 I/317-III/30
		'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Arīshī.		
		Aḥmad ad-Dardīr.		
		Ḥasan al-Kafrāwī.		(II/17-III/268).
		Aḥmad ar-Rashīdī.		
		'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī.		
		Muḥ. al-Amīr.		
		Aḥmad Yūnus al-Khalīfī.		(II/259-V/212-3)
		Aḥmad as-Samannūdī.		
		'Alī ash-Shanwīhī.		(II/4-III/237 not in trans.)
Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab.		'Abdallāh al-Labbān.	I/417-III/227-228	
		Muḥ. al-Ḥifnāwī.		
		Muḥ. at-Ṭaḥlāwī.		
		Ḥasan al-Jaddāwī.		
		Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Kūla'ī.		
		Sh. al-Bialī.		
		Muḥ. al-Ḥarīfī.		
		Manṣūr al-Manṣūrī.		
al-Bukhārī.		'Alī al-'Idwī (II/19-III/272).		
		Aḥmad Jādallāh.		
		Muḥ. al-Muṣailīhī.		
		Yahyā Ef.		
		Muḥ. 'Abdal-Muṭī'.		III/355-VII/426
Shaikhūn.	ḥadīth and fiqh.	Muḥ. Murtaḍa.	Khālid Ef.	II/57-IV/77
	Muslim and al-Bukhārī.	Muḥ. Murtaḍa.	Sulaimān al-Akrāshī.	II/98-IV/160
		Muḥ. Murtaḍa.	Muḥ. an-Naj-jārī.	II/126-IV/238
	ḥadīth and al-Bukhārī.	Muḥ. Murtaḍa.	'Ulamā' of al-Azhar.	II/199-V/109
	Makāmāt al-Ḥarīfī.	Muḥ. Murtaḍa.	'Abdar-Rā-zīk Ef.	II/200-V/111
	ḥadīth.	Aḥmad al-Birmāwī.	Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Birmāwī.	IV/76-VIII/166
Ṣilāhiyah.		Aḥmad Muḥ. b. Ismā'īl.		IV/260-IX/204
Sināniyah. ¹		Muḥ. al-Muṣailīhī.		II/148-IV/292
		Muṣṭafā al-'Azīzī.		I/162-II/46
		Ḥasan al-Jabartī.		I/390-III/178
		Aḥmad b. Muḥ. ar-Rashīdī.		I/409-III/204
		'Alī b. Muḥ. ash-Shanwīhī.		II/4-III/237
	fiqh.	Muṣṭafā ar-Ra'īs al-Bulāqī.		II/60-IV/84
		'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Ajhūrī.		II/85-IV/133
		Ḥasan al-Jaddāwī.		II/164-VIII/40
		'Abdallāh ash-Sharkāwī.		IV/160-VIII/360

¹ Reserved, however, for the Shaikh of al-Azhar.

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Madrasah	Works studied	Teachers	Students	References
Ṣirghatmish-iyah. ¹		Ḥasan al-Maḥḍīfī.		I/312-III/24
		Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥamāmī.		I/375-III/142
	ḥadīth.	Muḥ. al-Jazā'irī.		I/379-III/152
		Muḥ. 'Abdal-Muṭī'.		III/354-VII/426
		Aḥmad Muḥ. b. Ismā'īl.		IV/260-IX/204 (not in trans.)

Most of the teaching was the same as that of al-Azhar, but the lessons were given at times which were convenient to the public. Friday seems to have been the most popular day, but lectures were given regularly on the other days of the week.

Lessons were apparently arranged to suit the convenience of special students and we even find evidence of intensive courses especially under Muḥ. Murtaḍa; al-Jabartī gives us a case where 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-'Alwī al-Ḥanafī read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in twelve *majlises*, the same student also read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim in six *majlises* during Ramaḍān, 1188, at the age of fifteen, he also learnt the *Qirā'āt* in four *majlises*.²

History, Belles Lettres and Languages

History and *belles lettres* did not receive their full share in the intellectual life of the scholars. The historians, *littérateurs* and poets are scarcely ever mentioned. Occasionally al-Jabartī gives us the name of a shaikh who read history and *adab*, but his main object seems to have been to pick up anecdotes and stories to be retold in society.³

There were a few attempts to write history and biography; 'Abdallāh ash-Shubrāwī wrote a *résumé* of Egyptian history and its governors up to the time of 'Alī Pasha,⁴ and 'Abdallāh ash-Sharkāwī wrote a very small historical work on Egypt about

¹ According to al-Jab., I/312-III/24, this school was reserved for the Hanafī shaikhs but Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥamāmī was a Shāfi'ī (see al-Jab., I/375-III/142).

² al-Jab., II/96-7-IV/158. *Majlis* is translated as *séance*, and lasted from day-break until after the 'aṣr prayers.

³ Ibid., II/167-V/45, Muḥ. ash-Shāfi'ī at-Tūnī. The translation of the passage is interesting, "il étudia les livres d'histoire et de littérature. Il aimait à raconter des anecdotes, et le faisait avec beaucoup d'à propos; c'était un conteur charmant." Also al-Jab., III/67-VI/131, Shaikh Muṣṭafā ad-Damanhūrī was fond of history and possessed the *Sulūk* and *Khīṭaṭ* of al-Makrīzī, and some volumes of al-'Aīnī and as-Sakhāwī. Several Mamlūk Amīrs and others possessed books on history and *adab* but their interest seemed to be that of the collector rather than of the scholar.

⁴ al-Jab., I/209-II/158.

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which al-Jabartī gives a very unfavourable opinion¹; the work is of little value, in fact, it was written apparently at the request of Yūsuf Pasha.²

Apart from the multitude of chronograms,³ some attempts were made to write historical poems, one by Zain-addīn Abū'l-Ma'ālī Ḥasan b. 'Alī on Cairo entitled *Hujaj al-Kāhirah* is mentioned,⁴ while a long poem is given written by Shams-addīn al-Farghalī⁵ describing the pilgrimage of Muṣṭafā Bey followed by another long *urjūzah* on the battles of 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr.

The most outstanding historical and biographical work of the time is that of al-Jabartī, the main source for the present chapter, al-Jabartī received a certain amount of encouragement from Muḥ. Murtaḍa,⁶ but Shaikh Abū'l-Muwaddah al-Murādī, d. 1206, the Ḥanafī Muftī of Damascus, was principally responsible for his writing the work and al-Murādī in turn seems to have been inspired by Turkish scholars at Constantinople.⁷

The *Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* seems to have been the most popular literary work in Egypt⁸; Murtaḍa used to give an *ijāzah* to students who read it under him.⁹ There were instances of this work being learnt by heart.¹⁰ A few other works are mentioned,¹¹ and there were some collectors of works of literature and of poetry.¹² A certain amount of attention was paid to

¹ Ibid., IV/163-VIII/367-8.

² The title of the work is *Tuhfat an-Nāzirīn fī man waliya Miṣr min al-Wulāt wan-Nāzirīn*; it has been printed five times in Cairo. The following description of the French is interesting, coming from one who had a considerable amount of contact with them (edition 1281, p. 83):—"They are a sect of free-thinking natural philosophers who are called Catholic Christians who follow Jesus."

³ The use of chronograms was most probably brought to Egypt through Turkey. Al-Jabartī gives an instance of a Turkish poet who wrote six chronograms in six consecutive verses and claimed that Arab poets could not do the like whereupon al-Idkāwī produced a similar set of six chronograms which was the first attempt in Arabic.

⁴ al-Jab., I/262-II/244.

⁵ Ibid., II/263-V/220.

⁶ See Preface to the Annals (trans.), p. viii, and the biography of Sh. Abū'l-Muwaddah (II/234-V/170-171).

⁷ Ibid., II/234, second line from bottom to p. 236. A long letter from Sh. Abū'l-Muwaddah to Sh. Murtaḍa regarding the history (trans., V/172-174). That there was greater interest in historical works in Turkey than in Egypt is proved by Hammer's list (Vienna, 1820) of works printed in Constantinople from 1728 to the end of the century (with a break from 1742 to 1783); out of nineteen works printed between 1728 and 1784, twelve dealt with history.

⁸ Ibid., I/159-II/39, I/179-II/89, II/35-IV/35, II/57-IV/77, II/96-IV/156, II/97-IV/158 and II/200-V/111.

⁹ Ibid., II/200-V/111.

¹⁰ Ibid., I/159-II/39 and I/179-II/89.

¹¹ *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, ibid., II/223-V/151 and I/397-III/190; *Khizānat al-Adab*, III/254-VII/425.

¹² Sh. Ahmad al-Idkāwī, d. 1779, had 200 *diwans* of ancient and modern poetry, ibid., II/57-IV/77. Special reference to the poets of the eighteenth century will be made elsewhere.

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Persian literature especially by those who spoke Turkish; the *Shāh Nameh*,¹ the *Dīvān Ḥāfiz*,² and the *Gulistān*³ were the chief works read.

This leads us to the question whether there were any scholars in Egypt who knew any languages other than Arabic. There are very few instances cited in al-Jabartī and those mentioned as knowing Turkish and Persian were either non-Egyptians or else were connected with Turkish families. Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī knew Persian and Turkish⁴ and some of his pupils appear to have learnt Turkish⁵; Muḥ. Ef. b. Ismā'il al-Iskandarī⁶ knew Persian and Turkish, and Shaikh Muḥ. Murtaḍa spoke Persian, Turkish and also a little Georgian.⁷ On the other hand, few Mamlūks seem to have taken anything like a deep interest in Arabic, although one is mentioned as speaking Arabic as well that he could have been taken for an Arab.⁸

Scientific Studies

No mention of scientific studies properly speaking has been made above (p. 41 seq.), and for the simple reason that so little has been brought to light regarding such studies in Azharite and other circles. It seems necessary, therefore, to lay some emphasis on this aspect of intellectual life and without unduly exaggerating the attainments of the scholars of the eighteenth century, the following references may prove that a certain amount of interest was taken in other branches of learning.

To begin with, al-Jabartī himself has probably done more harm than he would have wished to the reputation of the Azharites for learning. His account of Ahmad Pasha's talk with three of the shaikhs of al-Azhar to the effect that there were no scientific studies in al-Azhar has been used to give the impression that eighteenth century scholars in Egypt were interested only in religious studies.⁹

¹ Ibid., II/223-V/151, I/397-III/190.

² Ibid., II/223-V/151, I/397-III/190.

³ Ibid., I/397-III/190.

⁴ Ibid., I/392-III/181. But, as mentioned above, the Jabartī family had inter-married with Turks and it was probably this connection that caused him to take an interest in Turkish culture.

⁵ For example, Ahmad al-Ja'fari al-Jazūlī, d. 1782, ibid., II/77-IV/111.

⁶ Ibid., I/339-III/66-8. Muḥ. Ef. was well-known on account of his literary attainments.

⁷ Ibid., II/199-V/109 (not mentioned in trans.).

⁸ Ibid., III/67-VI/131. Yazunnu man yarāhu annahu min aulādil-'arabi liṭalākati lisānihi wa faṣāhati kalāmihi.

⁹ Strange to say, this impression is stronger in Egypt than elsewhere; see *Ta'rikh al-Qadā' fī'l-Islām* by Maḥmūd b. Muḥ. b. 'Arnūs, mentioned above.

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The three shaikhs in question,¹ unfortunately, were not themselves interested in science and al-Jabartī reports that they referred the Pasha to Ḥasan al-Jabartī, 'Abdar-Raḥmān's father. But Ḥasan al-Jabartī was not the only person interested in science by a long way, for we find over thirty references in the Annals of al-Jabartī to scholars who were interested in some kind of science and the story seems to have sprung from a filial desire on the part of the author to place his father in the forefront of the learned men of the time.

It must be remembered too, that Aḥmad Pasha came to Cairo (1162-1748) some twenty years after the beginning of a revival of learning in Constantinople, where printing had been established and where contact with the west had already begun to sow the seeds, if not of scholarship, at least of curiosity in western learning. To what extent mathematics and science were studied in Constantinople is a question outside the scope of this chapter, but only after a study of intellectual life and education in Turkey could a comparison be made with Egypt.

Under this general heading of scientific studies² is included the following:—

'ilm al-falak (al-falakiyāt³)—astronomy studied for its own sake and not for the purposes of 'ilm al-mikāt (see p. 42);

'ilm al-handasah or geometry;

'ilm al-masāḥah—practical geometry and surveying (translated as trigonometry⁴);

'ilm ar-rasm included not only the drawing up of designs, diagrams, plans and tables (for sundials, quadrants, etc.), but also the actual engraving of them⁵;

'ilm at-tibb or medicine;

jughrafiyah or geography.

pp. 221-3. The author quotes a passage from the *Ta'rikh al-Tashri'* by Muḥammad Bey al-Khudari regarding the decadence of learning at this time after mentioning a few great names of earlier times. 'Arnūs then gives the account of the conversation of the three shaikhs with Aḥmad Pasha taken from al-Jabartī. Both 'Arnūs and al-Khudari judge the 18th century too harshly. S. Lane-Poole, in *The Story of Cairo*, London, 1924, although quoting Aḥmad Pasha's talk, allows for some intellectual activity in Egypt (see pp. 295-6). Jurjī Zaidān, in his *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyah*, Vol. IV, p. 11, quotes Volney to show how ignorant and backward were the people; he makes no mention of any scholar of the 18th century. See also *Mudhakkarāt al-Adab al-'Arabī* by Maḥmūd Mustafā, op. cit., p. 340, where he also confirms the Egyptian view that knowledge was dead. Regarding Aḥmad Pasha, see al-Jab., I/186-7-II/110-114.

¹ Abdallah ash-Shubrāwī, Salīm an-Nafrāwī and Sulaimān al-Manṣūrī. Referred to in al-Jabartī as *al-'ulūm al-khārijah*, "external sciences," i.e., those sciences which were not included in the list of religious and linguistic branches, or as *al-'ulūm* or *al-funūn al-gharibah*, or esoteric sciences or arts.

² Ibid., I/397, line 2.

³ Ibid., III/182.

⁴ Tāj al-'Arūs.

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'*Ilm al-falak* seems to have been the most popular of these sciences and we find references in al-Jabartī to a school of astronomers in Egypt during the eighteenth century. One of the chief members was Riḍwān Ef. al-Falaki, d. 1122-1710¹ who was so copious a writer on astronomical and mathematical subjects that al-Jabartī does not enumerate his works, for, he says, his writings would exceed a camel-load.² His *Zij ar-Riḍwānī* which is mentioned was apparently a development of the *Durr al-Yatīm* of Shihāb-addīn Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Rajab b. Ṭaibughā al-Majdī, d. 1446.³ He also made astronomical instruments and globes for Ḥasan Ef. ar-Rūznāmji; the globes were made of copper and after the constellations and lines of latitude and longitude had been engraved in them, they were gilded. Amongst his students, one might mention al-Jamālī Yūsuf, a mamlūk of Ḥasan Ef.

Another important astronomer was Shaikh Ramaḍān b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Umar. b. al-Ḥijāzī al-Khawānkī, d. 1158-1745⁴; he had studied under Shaikh Muḥ. al-Birshamsī and Riḍwān Ef. al-Falaki. Shaikh Ramaḍān is described as being most accurate in his work; his *Nuzhat an-Nafs* on the position of the sun appears to have been his most important work, but al-Jabartī gives the names of eleven others and states that there were many more. Shaikh Ramaḍān always made several copies of his writings, copying them out folio by folio, from which it can be seen that there must have been some demand for such books. Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī was a very close friend of his.

Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī d. 1188-1774⁵ had first of all studied science under Shaikh Muḥ. an-Najāḥī and, having learnt all that teacher knew, continued on his own. It happened that a Shaikh Ḥusām-addīn al-Hindī came to Cairo and used to give lectures on astronomy in a mosque in Old Cairo where he had taken up his quarters; his lectures were attended by Shaikhs al-Wasīmī and Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī and al-Jabartī, hearing of this, proceeded to join his classes. Both teacher and taught became much attached to each other and the student, being in comfortable circumstances, was able to invite his teacher to become his guest during his stay in Egypt. Thus Shaikh

¹ al-Jab., I/74-I/180 and G.A.L., II/359.

² Ibid., I/74 lines 20-22.

³ See G.A.L., II/128. Brockelmann mentions five other works of his.

⁴ al-Jab., I/162-II/46-48 and G.A.L., II/359. Four works mentioned by Brockelmann.

⁵ Ibid., I/392 et seq.-III/181 et seq.; also G.A.L., II/359.

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Ḥasan was able to monopolise the services of Shaikh Ḥusām-addīn and under him studied astronomy, geometry, trigonometry and geography to such effect that, according to 'Abdar-Raḥmān, he became the best teacher on science of his time. In fact, he even asserts that some Europeans came and studied geometry under him in 1159 and it was from the knowledge which they acquired from him that they were able to return to their homes and invent windmills and machines to draw loads.¹ Numerous works are given in his biography, seven of which are mentioned by Brockelmann. al-Jabartī gives a very detailed account of his father's experiments and of his sundials, which were fixed in several mosques, and he also makes mention of his father's assistance in the reform of the public weights and measures. Shaikh Ḥasan must have been appreciated outside Egypt for we read of presents of works being sent to him by Sulṭān Muṣṭafā. When he went on a pilgrimage in 1155-1742, Shaikh Ibrāhīm az-Zamzamī, 1195-1780,² the *muwakkīt* of the Ḥaram, took advantage of this teacher's sojourn there and studied astronomy and mathematics under him. Amongst his students, mention may be made of Shaikh Muḥ. an-Nafrāwī d. 1188-1171,³ Shaikhs Aḥmad as-Sajā'ī d. 1190-1176,⁴ Sīdī Aḥmad al-Jazūlī d. 1197-1782,⁵ Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳula'ī d. 1199-1784,⁶ and Aḥmad al-'Arūsī d. 1208-1793.⁷

Among the works written by Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī d. 1192-1778,⁸ the fellow student of Ḥasan al-Jabartī, there is one on geometry entitled '*Ain al-Ḥayāt*' and another on astronomy. Included in his studies was the *Risālah fī 'Ilm al-Aritmāṭikī* by Shaikh Sulṭān.

As-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ismā'il b. Muḥ. Abū'l-Wafā' d. 1182-1768⁹ is mentioned as having a natural disposition for mathematics and as having a good collection of scientific instruments for which he paid much. Although al-Jabartī does not give us the names of any works by this scholar, yet he claims that he had a great influence over Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Khayyāt (see below) and that it was he who decided him to undertake certain original astronomical calculations.

A teacher at the *Maḥmūdiyyah* School, 'Abdas-Salām Ef.

¹ al-Jab., I/397-III/191.

² Ibid., II/70-IV/95-7; see also G.A.L., II/393.

³ Ibid., I/367-III/123.

⁴ Ibid., II/75-IV/108-9.

⁵ Ibid., II/98-9-IV/163.

⁶ Ibid., II/25-27-IV/16-21.

⁷ Ibid., I/316-III/26-28.

⁸ Ibid., II/77-IV/111.

⁹ Ibid., II/252-V/201-2.

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Aḥmad al-Azrajānī¹ was also interested in mathematics and astronomy; he had a good collection of instruments which was sold by his heirs. He was a friend and student of Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī.

Shaikh 'Abdallah al-Faiyūmī d. 1195-1780² was also well-learned in mathematics and astronomy and had many instruments.

Shaikh Muḥ. al-Janājī d. 1200-1785³ was an interesting character; he had been a friend of Ḥasan al-Jabartī and included in his scientific writings was a work on the conversion of all kinds of money.

Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Khayyāt d. 1203-1788⁴ who died at the age of ninety, belonged to the school of astronomers whose names are mentioned in his biography; they were Riḍwān Ef. Yūsuf al-Kalārjī, Shaikh Muḥ. an-Nishīlī,⁵ al-Jabartī, Shaikh Ramaḍān al-Khawānkī and Shaikh Muḥ. al-Ghamrī. Shaikh al-Khayyāt made a speciality of calendars and of the calculation of eclipses, but in spite of his scientific pursuits, he never gave up his trade as a tailor.

Other astronomers were Shaikh 'Uṭhmān al-Wardānī, d. 1205-1790,⁶ Muḥ. Ef. Kakliyyān, d. 1205-1790,⁷ and Shaikh Muḥ. aṣ-Ṣabbān, d. 1206-1791.⁸

Several scholars are mentioned as being interested in mathematics alone such as Shaikhs Ḥusain al-Maḥallī d. 1170-1756⁹; Muḥ. b. Salīm al-Ḥifnāwī d. 1181-1767¹⁰; 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. 'Alī d. 1207-1792¹¹ and Aḥmad al-'Arūsī d. 1208-1793.¹²

The following works seem to have been the most used in scientific circles¹³:-

Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Handasah.	Ashkāl at-Ta'sīs.	Shams-addīn Muḥ. b. Ashraf al-Husainī as-Samarkandī.	d. 1291. G.A.L./I/468.
	al-Munḥarifāt.	Badr-addīn Muḥ. b. Muḥ. as-Sibt al-Māridīnī.	d. 1486. G.A.L./I/167-8

¹ al-Jab., II/35-IV/34.

² Ibid., II/125-IV/235.

³ an-Nishīlī had some reputation as an instrument maker, *ibid.*, II/35-IV/35.

⁴ al-Jab., II/225-V/153-4.

⁵ Ibid., II/227-V/159.

⁶ Ibid., I/290-II/287, and G.A.L., II/323.

⁷ Ibid., II/247-V/191.

⁸ In the various biographies there are mentioned many other works, the names of which I have not been able to verify.

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Subject	Title	Author	Remarks and References
Handasah.	Tahrir Iqlidis.	Nāṣir-addīn aṭ-Ṭūsī.	d. 1273. G.A.L./I/508-512.
Masāḥah	At-Tufāḥah fi 'Amal al-Masāḥah.	Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Ghāzi b. 'Alī b. Muḥ. an-Numairī al-Māridīnī.	d. 1252. G.A.L./I/472.
Rasm.	Manzūmah fi'r-Rasm al-'Uṭhmānī Manzūmah fi'r-Rasm al-Kiyāsi.		
Falak.	Risālah fi 'Amal bi'l-Kuraḥ.	Ḳuṣṭā b. Lūḳā.	d. 912. G.A.L./I/204.

Medicine must be considered as a trade in Egypt rather than as a science as from an academic point of view it was neglected and appears not to have received the same attention as in certain other provinces of the Turkish Empire. Medicine and surgery were the business of the barber and of those shaikhs who specialised in giving charms against illnesses, but there was in use a vast amount of folk medicine which is, in fact, still very popular amongst all classes of Egyptian society.¹ Dr. Aḥmad 'Isā Bey in his paper on the hospitals in Egypt² has given the names of two shaikhs who taught in the *Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī*,³ 'Alī b. al-Jabrīl d. 1172-11758,⁴ and as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf Ḳāsim b. Muḥ. at-Tūnisī d. 1193-11779.⁵ Shaikh al-Jabrīl wrote one work on medicine entitled *Saif al-'Ilal*⁶ although this is not

¹ Egyptian folk medicine has never been properly studied. Mr. J. Walker recently translated into English 'Abdar-Raḥmān Ismā'il's *Ṭibb ar-Rukkah* which only touches on the subject. Though many of the practices are dying out, it is still possible to collect a vast amount of material everywhere in Egypt. The recent economic crises have made the people fall back on their old practices as the Western educated doctor is beyond their means, while the public hospitals are dreaded (see articles in Egyptian daily papers particularly *al-Ahrām*, 29th July, 1931). The writer has even heard of cases where doctors have recommended certain *wasfāt*. Walker gives a long list of works on the subject in his preface. See also *Ḥaḡḡ al-Bilād min at-Ta'līm at-Ṭibbī*, by Dr. Muḥ. Bey Sharaf, Cairo, 1920, pp. 2-7. There is, of course, an extensive literature in Arabic much of which is connected with the sciences mentioned on p. 14.

² *Histoire des Bimaristans à l'époque islamique*, Cairo, 1928.

³ Besides the *Bimāristān*, there appears to have been several other hospitals (also called *takiyahs*) in Cairo before the French occupation, there was one for women near Shāri' Taḥt ar-Rab'; there were also hospitals in other quarters of the town, there was one known as *al-Habbāniyah*, another called *al-'Ājam* in Shāri' aṣ-Ṣalibiyyah, another in Suḳ as-Silāḥ, and another in Shāri' Kaisūn, but there is no evidence of any medical teaching being carried on in any of these *takiyahs*. See *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥarakat al-Ḳaumīyah* by 'Abdar-Raḥmān ar-Rāfi' Bey, Cairo, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 146-7.

⁴ Aḥmad 'Isā Bey, op. cit., p. 166, and al-Jab., I/216-219-II/170-174.

⁵ Aḥmad 'Isā Bey, op. cit., p. 166, and al-Jab., II/54-IV/71-2.

⁶ *Catalogue of the Khedivial Library*, Vol. VI (printed 1308 a.h.), p. 20.

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mentioned by al-Jabartī. This shaikh was a poet of some standing, and besides teaching in the hospital, was the private doctor of Raḡwān Bey al-Jalfī and one of his boon companions. Shaikh at-Tūnisī was also a poet, and there are no traces of any medical works written by him.

Al-Jabartī gives the name of a medical work written by Shaikh Abū'l-'Abbās ad-Dairabī d. 1151-11738¹ entitled *Faḥ al-Malik al-Majīd li nafa' al-'Abīd* which enjoyed some popularity. Another work of his entitled *Mujarrabāt ad-Dairabī fi't Ṭibb* which is not mentioned by al-Jabartī, was edited in 1871.² A certain Ḥusain Ef. Muḥammad d. 1204-11789³ had a reputation for his knowledge of medicine, but he has left no written works.

The works studied in connection with geography seemed to have been related to *ḥadīth* as the *Bulḍāniyāt* of al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir as-Salfī is mentioned.⁴ Ḥasan al-Jabartī also studied geography⁵ but the names of the works studied are not mentioned.

There is one work mentioned on government (*siyāsah*) written by Muḥammad al-Kurḍī⁶ entitled *Risālat as-Sulūk li Abnā' al-Mulūk*.

That there was a vast amount of writing being done by the scholars of the time cannot be denied, but on an analysis of the works written and given in the biographies of al-Jabartī, one finds little original work and that nearly all that was produced was in the shape of some commentary or gloss on a previous work. The following figures show the branches to which belong the works written between 1687 and 1797 (excluding poetry and the abovementioned scientific works) and indicate all too clearly the interests of the 'ulamā':—

Tajwīd and Ḳirā'āt	4	'Arūd and Ḳāfiyah	2
Tafsīr	2	Mantīk	13
Ḥadīth	49	Hikmah	2
Fīḳh	65	Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth	1
Farā'id	7	Algebra, etc. ..	32
Tauḥīd	16	Jafr (v. p. 12) ..	10
Taṣawwuf ..	12	Prayers, ḥizbs, etc.	6
Naḥw and Ṣarf ..	13	on the Basmalah	4
Balāghah	4	genealogy	3
Lughah	3	Calligraphy	1
Waḍ'	2	Lexicography ..	1
		Various	14

¹ al-Jab., I/161-II/43-5 and G.A.L., II/323. ad-Dairabī wrote a work on topography entitled *Tuḥfat al-Mushtāk fi mā yatallaḳ bi's-Sināniyah wa Masājid Būlāk*.

² G.A.L., II/323.

³ Ibid., II/97-IV/158 and II/98-IV/160. See G.A.L., I/365.

⁴ Ibid., I/393-III/182.

⁵ al-Jab., II/188-V/83.

⁶ Ibid., II/61-IV/87.

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while the following are the names of the most prominent writers or perhaps commentators:—

- Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ad-Dairabī, d. 1151-1738.¹
 Ḥasan al-Manṭāwī al-Madābighī, d. 1170-1756.²
 Zain-addīn Abū'l-Ma'ālī Ḥasan b. 'Alī, d. 1176-1762.³
 Yūsuf al-Hifnī, d. 1178-1764.⁴
 Aḥmad al-Mujirī al-Mallawī, d. 1181-1767.⁵
 Muḥ. b. Salīm al-Hifnī, d. 1181-1767.⁶
 'Alī al-Baiyūmī, d. 1183-1769.⁷
 Ḥasan al-Jabartī, d. 1188-1774.⁸
 'Alī aṣ-Ṣa'īdī, d. 1189-1775.⁹
 'Atīyah al-Ajhūrī, d. 1190-1776.¹⁰
 Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī, d. 1192-1778.¹¹
 Aḥmad ad-Dardīr, d. 1201-1786.¹²
 Ḥasan al-Kafrāwī, d. 1202-1787.¹³
 Muḥ. al-Murtaḍa, d. 1205-1790.¹⁴
 Muḥ. aṣ-Ṣabbān, d. 1206-1791.¹⁵
 'Afīf-addīn Abū's-Siyādah al-Mahjūb, d. 1207-1792.¹⁶

Non-Moslem Communities. The Copts

The next largest community was that of the Copts (about 150,000 in the eighteenth century—one Copt to every nine

- ¹ al-Jab., I/161-II/43-5. ² Ibid., I/209-II/159.
³ Ibid., I/261-2-II/243-4. ⁴ Ibid., I/263-II/247-8.
⁵ Ibid., I/287-II/278-280, a commentary of his on the *Sullam* of al-Akhḍart is still in use.
⁶ Ibid., I/289-304-II/284-305. His *ḥāshiyah* on the *Sharḥ al-Hamziyah*, by Ibn Ḥajar al-Haiṭhamī, entitled *Anfus Nafā'is ad-Durar*, and his *ḥāshiyat 'alā Sharḥ al-'Azīz 'alā'l-Jāmi'-s-Ṣaghīr* by as-Suyūṭī are still in use.
⁷ al-Jab., I/337-III/60-64.
⁸ Ibid., I/385-408-III/167-202.
⁹ Ibid., I/414-5-III/218-223.
¹⁰ Ibid., II/4-III/235, *Murādī*, III/265-273. 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, op. cit., VIII/34. His *Irshād ar-Rahmān on tajwīd* and his *ḥāshiyah* on the *Baiḥūniyah* are still in use.
¹¹ Ibid., II/25-27-IV/16-21. His *Iqāḥ al-Mubham min Ma'āni as-Sullam* (Logic), *Hulbat al-Lubb al-Maṣūn bi Sharḥ al-Jawhar al-Maknūn* (Balāghah) and *Sabīl ar-Rashād ila Naf' al-'Ibād* (Religion) are still in use.
¹² Ibid., II/147-IV/289. His *Aḥḥab al-Masālik li Madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* (Taṣawwuf), *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān fi 'Ilm al-Bayān*, *Ḥāshiyat 'alā Kīṣṣat al-Mi'rāj*, *al-Kharīdat al-Bahiyah fi'l-'Aḥād at-Tauḥīdiyyah*, *ash-Sharḥ aṣ-Ṣaghīr 'alā Aḥḥab al-Masālik*, *ash-Sharḥ al-Kabīr 'alā Mukhtaṣar Sīdī Khalīl* are all in use to the present day.
¹³ Ibid., II/164-V/40. His *Sharḥ al-Ajurrūmiyah* is particularly important and has been printed about sixteen times.
¹⁴ Ibid., II/196-V/102 seq. His *Tāj-al-'Arūs*, a commentary on the *Kāmūs*, is famous. See also article on him in the *Encycl. of Islam*.
¹⁵ Ibid., II/227-233-V/159-168. The following of his works are still in use:—*Urjūzah fi'l-'Arūd* with commentary, *ar-Rāghibīn fi Strat-al-Mustafā wa Faḍā'il Al-Baitihī at-Tāhīrīn*, *Ḥāshiyat 'alā Sharḥ Aḥmad al-Mallawī 'alā Maṭn as-Sullam*, *Ḥāshiyat 'alā Sharḥ al-Ashmūnī 'alā Alfiyat ibn Mālik*, *ḥāshiyat 'alā Sharḥ al-'Isām 'alā's-Samarḥandīyah*, *Ḥāshiyat 'alā Sharḥ Mullā Ḥanaṣī alā'r-Risālat al-'Aḥūdīyah*, *ar-Risālat al-Bayāniyah*, *ar-Risālat al-Kubrā fi'l-Basmalah*, *Sharḥ 'alā Tajrīd al-'Allāmah al-Banānī*, *Sharḥ 'alā Manẓūmat al-Kāfiya ash-Shāfiyah fi 'Ilm al-'Arūd wa'l-Kāfiyah* and *al-Kāfiyat ash-Shāfiyah fi 'Ilm al-'Arūd wa'l-Kāfiyah*.
¹⁶ Ibid., II/240-I-V/182-3.

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Moslems and one Copt to every seven inhabitants of Egypt). About one fifteenth of their number resided in Cairo (about one fifteenth of the population of Cairo at the time), the rest were scattered over Egypt, particularly in Upper Egypt and the Faiyūm. The great majority of the Copts belonged to the Coptic Church, often called the Jacobite¹ in order to distinguish it from the Greek or Melchite Church from which the Copts seceded in the sixth century.²

This community seems to have been provided with schools of a somewhat different type to the Moslem *kuttāb* and both the school and the masters who taught in them are hard to describe.³

The earliest account⁴ states that the children were taught "religion, good manners, to read and write Arabic and Coptic"; they were also made to commit to memory the Psalter and St. Paul's Epistles and were taught geometry and arithmetic because "these two sciences are very useful and necessary on account of the overflowing of the Nile, whereby the limits of the fields are lost; so that it becomes necessary for them to measure out their land, and by the benefit of the first of these sciences they compute the yearly increase."⁵ Thus the curriculum of these schools, while mainly religious, also provided the students with a special training that would enable them to follow up with apprenticeship to one of those trades or professions allotted to the Copts by tradition.⁶ The geometry and arithmetic taught in these schools was obviously of a different kind to that taught in the Moslem schools and whereas it was taught in the elementary stages in the Coptic schools, it was exactly the opposite in the Moslem *madrasahs*.

Chabrol⁷ states that *all* Coptic boys went to small schools where they learnt the elements of their religion and how to read

- ¹ Fowler, *Christian Egypt*, London, 1901, p. 189.
² Butcher, *The Story of the Church of Egypt*, Vol. IV, pp. 322-334.
³ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 179-186, describes the Coptic *mu'allim* and *kuttāb* but he writes (1870) at a period when the Copts had already begun to develop a new kind of school on the European system and probably the original Coptic *kuttāb* had already begun to deteriorate. By 1870 there were plenty of missionary schools and the Copts were among the first to make use of them. Copts themselves rely on European authorities for the description of their schools. Taufik Iskariūs, in his *Nawābiḥ al-Aḥbāt*, Cairo, 1910, Vol. II, p. 182-3, uses Butcher (op. cit., p. 397).
⁴ Sadleir, *The History of the Copts*, London, 1693, pp. 29-30. This work is the translation of a work by Abū Daḥn (Abu Dhakn), a Copt. See also Butcher, op. cit., pp. 280-2.
⁵ There is no mention of geography as stated by Butcher, *ibid.*, p. 282.
⁶ Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1912, p. 106.
⁷ Chabrol, op. cit., p. 22. Also *Description de l'Égypte*, Vol. II, p. 683. Le Kaire compte plusieurs écoles primaires pour les chrétiens conduites dans un système un peu différent. Il existe des rizaqs ou foundations pour cet objet.

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and write and that girls could not attend without the consent of their mothers, who sometimes objected. Generally speaking, however, the girls did not attend in Cairo, but in Upper Egypt they attended regularly with the boys until they reached the age of eight or nine years. Chabrol states that the boys learnt the Psalms by heart from an Arabic text entitled *al-Mazāmīr* printed in Lebanon.¹

Lane states that the Copts had numerous schools but for boys only and that very few women could read and that those who could read were taught at home. The students were taught the Psalms of David, the Gospels and the Apostolical Epistles in Arabic and then the Gospels and the Epistles in Coptic.²

The exercises in Coptic seem to have been limited to the mere learning by heart of the Scriptures and the Prayers for the sake of the Church services and other rituals; the language was not taught grammatically and was not used for anything outside religious practice, and even the Scriptures had to be explained in Arabic.³

¹ Chabrol, *ibid.*, p. 66. N.B.—The *Mazāmīr* were edited and printed seven times during the 18th century by the Shuwar Printing Press (established by 'Abdallah Zākhīr) in the years 1735, 1739, 1753, 1764, 1770, 1780 and 1789. See *al-Mashriḥ*, Vol. II, pp. 259–362, and Zaidan, *Ta'rikh al-'Ādāb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyyah*, Vol. IV, p. 14, and Volney, *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*, Paris, 1825, p. 77 *seq.*

² Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 541–2. Lane's experience of the Copts was limited to Cairo. Also Clot Bey, *Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte*, Paris, 1840, Vol. II, p. 139. Les Cophtes ont beaucoup d'écoles, mais pour les garçons seulement; très peu de femmes parmi eux savent lire, and Bowring, *Report on Egypt and Candia*, London, 1840, pp. 7–8 and p. 138. Two neglected authorities giving information on the Copts are A. S. Appleyard and R. Maxwell Macbrair, the former in his *Eastern Churches*, London, 1850, Chapters VI and VII, pp. 63–88, and the latter in his *Sketches of a Missionary's Travels in Egypt, Syria, etc.*, London, 1839. Appleyard obtained his information from Jowett who had studied Arabic at Cambridge and at Malta, and who was sent to Egypt three times by the Church Missionary Society between 1815 and 1823 (see *Christianity in Egypt*, Papers printed 1883, London, p. 13, also C. R. Watson, *In the Valley of the Nile*, New York, 1908, pp. 119–120). Unfortunately Jowett seems to have been too prejudiced against the Copts and his investigations were not thorough. Macbrair, on the other hand, made two voyages up the Nile, one as far as Luksur, the other as far as Isnā, with a view to selling religious literature and gives us information about the number of Coptic Schools in the towns he visited; at Minyā (p. 134) there were two schools; Manfalūt (p. 134) schools containing sixty to a hundred boys; Asyūt (p. 135) five schools, four of them containing fifty to seventy scholars, the fifth considerably smaller; Abū Tig (p. 136) two schools, one containing sixty pupils and the other thirty-five; Ikhnīm (p. 138) three schools, one containing forty scholars; Girgā (p. 140) four or five schools; Nagādah (p. 141) three schools; Luksur (p. 142) one school containing twenty boys; Aswān (p. 167) one school for twenty boys—the teacher was also a copyist of Arabic and Coptic manuscripts; and Isnā (p. 171) one school for forty or fifty children. Both writers confirm that the Coptic teacher was usually blind.

³ *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 1,001; Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 542; Clot Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Russell, *View of Ancient and Modern Egypt*, Edinburgh, 1831, p. 433; Politis, *L'Hellénisme et l'Égypte Moderne*, Paris, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 26–7; Elgood, *The Transit of Egypt*, London, 1928, pp. 21–3; and Sonnini, *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, trans. Hunter, London, 1799, Vol. II, p. 163.

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There were no facilities for higher education in Coptic circles. Even the monks in their monasteries do not appear to have engaged in any kind of serious study.¹ Taufik Iskariūs mentions a collection of scrolls written by the Patriarch Marcus VIII (d. 1809),² but they were mostly connected with religious subjects, and were probably sermons, one is entitled *On Mercy* and another *Concerning those who speak impolitely in Churches*. The period under investigation so far offers nothing in the way of scholarly research or literature done by Copts.³

Many of the Copts were employed as secretaries and accountants either to private landowners or in an official capacity, they were also land-surveyors and collectors of taxes, while some engaged in industry.⁴ The demand for Copts for these functions was kept up by the system of passing on the same occupation from father to son for generations; the boys spent their early years at the school acquiring this elementary knowledge and then completed their training by following their seniors to the offices and helping them in their work. As regards their general state of intelligence, Ibrāhīm Khalīl⁵ states they specialised in *hisāb* but he does not credit them with any other intellectual attainment.

The Franciscans

The Uniat⁶ Church was officially set up in 1741 by Pope Benedict XIV⁷ but this was not the beginning of the penetration

¹ Sonnini, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 162, in describing one of the convents, says:—“Here, too, they keep their books, written in the Coptic language, which is compounded from a mixture of the Greek and the remains of the ancient Egyptian. Though they never read them; though they let them lie in heaps upon the ground, gnawed by insects, and mouldering in dust; they are not to be prevailed upon to part with any of them.”

² Taufik Iskariūs, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 48–53.
³ Copts had a reputation for the knowledge of astrology. Mu'allim Rizk, for example, was 'Alī Bey's astrologer (Lockroy, *Ahmed le Boucher, La Syrie et l'Égypte au XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1888, 2nd edition, p. 13). Butcher states that he “was a man of some learning and particularly devoted to the study of astronomy,” which is an error (Vol. II, p. 322). Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile*, London, 1790, Vol. I, pp. 31–3, where he states that Rizk thought he was an astrologer and could help him to tell 'Alī Bey's fortune.

⁴ Sadleir, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Sonnini, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 86; Bowring, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8; Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 553; Clot Bey, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 139; Lane-Poole, *Cairo and London*, 1898, pp. 205, 208, 273–5.

⁵ Ibrāhīm Khalīl, *Misbāḥ as-Sāri wa Nuzhat al-Kāri*, Beyrūt, 1855, p. 22.
⁶ The Uniat Copts were those who followed their own doctrines and performed their own ceremonies but acknowledged the supreme authority of the Pope of Rome. Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁷ *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, London, Vol. V, p. 356, and Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–3. The Uniat Church was set up in spite of the Coptic Patriarch and Bishops; Athanasius, the Coptic Bishop of Jerusalem, was given jurisdiction over all Christians in Egypt. Athanasius never left Jerusalem, however, but used to minister through his vicar-general, Justus Marāghī.

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by Western Christians but merely the end of a movement on behalf of the Popes to persuade the Coptic Church to recognise their authority. As far back as the 13th century, Franciscan monks had tried to settle in Egypt¹ and up to 1686, Egypt, as far as Franciscan labours were concerned, continued under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem but at that date, Upper Egypt, where they had had more success, was separated and formed into a vicariate Apostolic and continued in that status until 1839.²

The Franciscans at first worked in concealment and established themselves in Egypt very slowly; they settled in Alexandria in 1571 and in 1632 built a convent dedicated to Saint-Catherine.³ At Rosetta, they built an *hospice* which was pulled down by Moslems, it was rebuilt in 1673 only to be pulled down again and in 1699 an entirely new building was erected.⁴ A church and convent were built in Damietta in 1698 but the builder was expelled in 1702.⁵ In Cairo, the Venetian Republic helped to build a church and convent for the Franciscans in 1632 but both buildings fell into ruins.⁶ The Franciscans had another chapel in Old Cairo which was built in 1698 but the Copts are supposed to have managed to take possession of it some time later.⁷

In 1731, the Franciscans had nine establishments south of Cairo, at Antinoe, Asyūt, Abū Tig, Şedfah, Ikhmīm, Girgā, Luḡsur and Aswān⁸; they were settled in *hospices* or Convents.⁹ The work of all these Franciscan outposts is very hard to estimate; European travellers do not seem to have appreciated them, Sonnini and Bruce being particularly critical about them, but, generally speaking, they must have done a certain amount of

¹ Hilaire de Barenton, *La France Catholique en Orient*, Paris, 1902, pp. xv and xix, and p. 95. Also Louvet, *Les Missions Catholiques au XIX^{me} siècle*, Lille, 1898, p. 30, where it is stated that in 1800 there were 5,000 Copts belonging to the Roman Catholic Church; also *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, London, 1915, Vol. VIII, p. 713.

² *Catholic Encycl.*, Vol. VI, p. 293.

³ Guérin, *La France Catholique en Égypte*, Tours, 1889, p. 41.

⁴ Guérin, *ibid.*, pp. 85-6.

⁵ Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 195.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156, and Hilaire de Barenton, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁷ Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 157.

⁸ Butcher, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 314, and Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 122, also Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 98-9; Norden, *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie*, Paris, 1795, Vol. II, p. 70 and Vol. III, p. 140, and Pococke, *Description of the East*, London, 1743, p. 77, for Ikhmīm; Henniker, *Notes during a visit to Egypt, etc.*, London, 1822, p. 110 and Pococke, *ibid.*, p. 82 for Girgā; Pococke, *ibid.*, p. 58 for Faiyūm; Sonnini, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 138-9 and Pococke, *ibid.*, p. 84, for Farshūt; Pococke, *ibid.*, p. 38, for Cairo. Jowett also paid visits to some of these Franciscan *hospices* viz., Ikhmīm, Girgā, Farshūt and Tahtā, also Appleyard, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁹ Hilaire de Barenton, *op. cit.*, p. xxi: on appelle hospice ou couvent où les religieux sont trop peu nombreux pour faire toutes les observances du choeur; les couvents en missions sont ordinairement des hospices.

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good work among the Copts for there is evidence of numbers of Catholic Copts especially in Upper Egypt.¹

In 1731, the Pope sent an order to the Franciscan monks in Egypt to the effect that they were to seize small Coptic children and send them to Rome to be educated in the Roman Catholic faith.² According to the reports of the travellers and the other authorities, they were unsuccessful but Sonnini gives us several instances of native *curés* who had spent some time at Rome³—whether they went there of their own free will is impossible to say, since they may have been of Catholic parents.

The work of these monks seems to have been restricted to religious duties and, except for Cairo, there is no evidence of their having ever provided facilities for education. Their activities were controlled by the College of the Propaganda at Rome⁴ where there was a polyglot press for printing oriental works.⁵ The most prominent name of the time was Raphael Tuki, a native of Girgā and an *alumnus* of the Urban (Propaganda) College at Rome. He flourished during the time of Athanasius and after having completed his studies at Rome, went back to Girgā to work; he was recalled to Rome where he received the title of Bishop of Arsinoe and was given the responsibility of superintending the editing and printing of the following Coptic liturgical works: Missal (1746), Psalter (1749), Breviary (1750), Pontifical (1761), Ritual (1763) and Theotokiae (1764).⁶

According to the accounts of the travellers, the monks were not enlightened men, most of those in Upper Egypt were Italians, there was one German at Nagādah. There were some Frenchmen among the monks.⁷ According to Bruce,⁸ some of them had been tailors and barbers at Milan and in Egypt they acted as physicians

¹ Perry gives a good account of the work of the fathers of the Propaganda at Ikhmīm in the following terms: "The Romish fathers, Missionaries de propaganda Fide, have a pretty good convent there; and have made a very happy and good Progress in bringing over the Copts, of and about Akhmim, to their Church and communion," see *A View of the Levant*, London, 1743, p. 335. He also has a good account of the fathers at Farshūt, *ibid.*, p. 337.

² Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

³ Sonnini, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 122. At Tahtā there was a native *curé* who had spent 10 years at Rome and who spoke Italian well and Latin fairly well, and p. 173, where there was another at Nagādah. Jowett had also met a Catholic Copt who had been educated at Rome—see Appleyard, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 13th, Vol. VII, p. 641 and Vol. XVIII, p. 585 and p. 590.

⁵ The earliest complete Arabic Bible was produced here in 1671. This was the press that Napoleon confiscated and took to Egypt with him and placed under the directorship of J. J. Marcel (see below).

⁶ *Catholic Encycl.*, Vol. V, pp. 356 and 361-2.

⁷ Hilaire de Barenton, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁸ Bruce, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

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when called upon to do so; it would appear that they must have gone through some kind of religious training¹ before going out to Egypt as they were recognised by the Papal authorities.²

The position of the Franciscans was greatly improved, however, by the third decade of the 18th century from the time when the Syrian Catholics began to settle in Egypt owing to religious intolerance in Syria and to the openings offered them in Egypt.³ To begin with, these Catholic emigrants were able to claim foreign protection under the system of Capitulations that existed between the Sublime Porte and certain European powers and, secondly, the Franciscans were only too glad to have their flocks increased by these newcomers; before the arrival of the Syrians, the Franciscan flock consisted of a few European merchants, some Catholic Copts, a few Maronites and Lebanese.⁴

The Franciscans had a church and convent built in the Mūsī district of Cairo in 1732 through the help of their consuls,⁵ and they seem to have had a school attached to their convent, for we have the names of two pupils who studied there. It seems that all Catholic children studied under the Franciscan monks who taught them Arabic and Italian⁶; if so, this was the first school in Egypt where a western language was taught.⁷

The immigration of the Syrians was encouraged by 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr, d. 1773, when he came to power, and under him, they ousted the Jews from the Customs and were able to acquire other posts in the service of the Government especially as secretaries and clerks. By the end of 'Alī Bey's reign, there were some 3,000 Syrians in Cairo alone.⁸

¹ The letters given by Sonnini from and to these monks were in Latin and Italian, Vol. III, pp. 117-8 and pp. 134-5.

² The monks were sent out for a period of seven years but this rule was not always kept, see Appleyard, op. cit., p. 116.

³ Carali, *Les Syriens en Égypte*. One Vol. in two parts, Pt. I, printed in Lebanon and Pt. 2, printed in Heliopolis, 1932, Pt. I, p. 83 and pp. 105-6.

⁴ Carali, *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁶ Carali, Pt. II, p. 95. Rūfā'il and Jabra'il Rāhibah were the two students who belonged to this school and who afterwards went to Rome. Carali has edited an important document on the first named by Kūnstantīn al-Bāshā. Rūfā'il was generally known as Don Raphael de Monachis and there has been quite a lot of controversy about his origins and life; the document in question throws light on many points in his life which will be referred to in due course.

⁷ Both de Maillet in his *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. L. Mascrier, Paris, 1735, pp. 92-3, of the second letter and Niebuhr in his *Voyage en Égypte et en Arabie* (1761-1763) edited in *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Voyages anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1841, p. 207, give some reference to various other individual Catholic Missionaries in Cairo.

⁸ Carali, Pt. I, pp. 83-85, Cheikho, *al-Ādāb al-'Arabīyah fī l-Qarn al-Tāsi' Ashr*, Beyrūt, 1924, p. 8, and pp. 9-10. Zaidan, *Ta'rikh al-Ādāb al-Lughat al-'Arabīyah*, Cairo, 1914, Vol. IV, p. 11, and *al-Hilāl*, Vol. IX, p. 263. Many of

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The Moravians

There were other missionary efforts during the 18th century, since we have the names of F. W. Hocker, G. Pilder, J. H. Danke, J. Antes and G. H. Wieniger who came to Egypt in 1752, 1756, 1768, 1770 and 1774 respectively; they belonged to the Moravian movement and all failed completely.¹

The Greeks

The Greek Orthodox community, which was very small in the 18th century and which did not live on very good terms with the Catholic Church, had its own children's school in Old Cairo in the monastery of St. George; this school was founded about the middle of the 17th century and lasted to the beginning of the 19th.² There appears to have been two other schools, one in the Ḥārat ar-Rūm and the other in the Gūwāniyah quarter.³ At Alexandria, the monastery of St. Sabbas also served as a school although not set up especially for children as the Cairo schools.

The Jews

There has been very little work done on the Jews in Egypt and one finds only general references in the standard authorities which tell us nothing about their system of education. The Jews had their own quarter⁴ in Cairo with its synagogues⁵ and it can only be concluded that certain of these synagogues were used for teaching the young Hebrew and Arabic. Exactly how many were used for schools is impossible to say, in 1870, the Jews had four *kuttābs* in Cairo with 155 pupils and fourteen teachers and four primary schools in Alexandria.⁶

these Syrians must have already been familiar with schools on the western system where there were several in Syria especially those set up by the missionary societies which had done very useful work. The revival of learning in Syria was mainly due to missionaries. It appears, however, that after the numbers of the Syrians increased, they broke with the Franciscan fathers.

¹ Watson, *In the Valley of the Nile*, New York, 1908.

² Politis, op. cit., p. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110. Politis mentions three schools on the authority of Callimachos but there is very little information concerning them.

⁴ *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Historiques Juives d'Égypte*, Le Caire, 1929, Première année, No. I, pp. 11-19. *Communication sur les origines historiques du Ghetto (Haret el Yahoud)*, by Haim Nahoum, also *L'Aurore. Journal d'informations juives*, 16th year, No. 146, dated 24th December, 1926.

⁵ Lane, op. cit., p. 559, gives eight in the Jewish quarter; Sonnini, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 16, states that they had a synagogue at Būlāk; Cassuto, in his *Travels in the East* (British Museum MS., Gaster No. 716), states that there were twenty-nine synagogues in Cairo; he was in Egypt between 1733-1735.

⁶ Dor., op. cit., pp. 201-2. By 1870 the Jewish *kuttāb* had begun to fall into disuse and the Jewish community had begun to appreciate the better and more up-to-date schools of the Europeans.

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Jews were employed as goldsmiths and silversmiths, many were *ṣarrāfs* (bankers and moneylenders) and there were a number who engaged in trade and commerce. Hebrew seemed to have been taught not only for religious reasons but also for practical purposes for Jewish clerks employed in the Finance Department used to keep official duplicate accounts in Hebrew in order to serve as a check on those written by the Moslem clerks.¹

Jews must have learnt how to perform their tasks in the same way as the Copts, viz., by following a long period of apprenticeship with their seniors in the offices and shops. There were also Jewish medical men for 'Alī Bey's private doctor was a Jew by the name of Elie.²

Education of the Military Classes

As the subsequent chapters of this work will have to deal with the adaption of Western education to military requirements in Egypt, it will not be out of place to touch on the education and training to the military classes during the 18th century. In a recent book, the late Dr. Guémard dealt with the attempts made at reform in Turkey by the Mamlūk Beys from the time of 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr up to the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī.³

The Turkish soldiery had gradually become assimilated to the Egyptian population and had taken up various trades and crafts. Although there is no evidence of their ever having received military training⁴ yet through their contact with the shaikhs of the religious orders and their attendance at the mosques, they must have acquired the usual religious education.

On the other hand, the Mamlūks were educated and trained in accordance with their tradition. Most of them were Circassians or Georgians purchased when young and brought to Egypt where they were made to embrace Islam, were taught Turkish and Arabic, the *Qur'ān* and religious exercises. From early age they learnt how to ride, to throw the javelin and how to use the sword and firearms. They made excellent soldiers in the mediæval sense but they had no idea of discipline and tactics as understood by Europeans.⁵ There is evidence, however, of the breaking

¹ al-Jab., IV/170, lines 21-22-IX/7.

² Lockroy, *Ahmed le Boucher*, op. cit., p. 13.

³ Gabriel Guémard, *Les Réformes en Égypte*, Cairo, 1936, pp. 27-94.

⁴ Volney, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 142-3.

⁵ Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, London, 1799, Vol. II, pp. 107-109, and Volney, *ibid.*, I/131-147, also al-Jab. II/214-V/135-6 and IV/25-6-VIII/55-56, al-Jab. gives us an instance where Mamlūks were specially trained for the office of *kāshif*, see IV/26-VIII/58.

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down of this system during the later part of the 18th century owing to the instability of the times, for al-Jabartī gives us instances of Mamlūks being purchased and taught the use of arms before being taught religion¹ and of their neglecting their traditional manner of life.²

Those Mamlūk Amīrs who were on good terms with the shaikhs often used to attend their lectures³ or to invite them to their houses where they held learned discussions⁴; 'Uthmān Bey Dhū'l-Fikār, for example, had read the *Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* and the *Tuhfat al-Mulūk* with Ḥasan al-Jabartī⁵; the Amīr Ibrāhīm Katkhudā al-Birkāwī, who reminded al-Jabartī of old times, was particularly attached to religious learning, was an excellent calligraphist and had a collection of rare books; he used to purchase Mamlūks and give them a literary education making a special point of calligraphy; his house was the meeting-place of men of learning and merit and the calligraphists.⁶

The disadvantages of insufficient and inefficient fighting men and of a system whereby every Mamlūk wished to become an Amīr, and many of them achieved their wishes by murdering their patrons, began to be felt from the time of 'Alī Bey, whose ambitious schemes of independence and conquest necessitated something superior to that which already existed. He began to substitute for the old type of Turkish-*ujak* a new type of army recruited from anywhere except Egypt; he used foreigners extensively in his new fighting forces, and we read of Russians, Albanians, Matwalis and Syrian Christians,⁷ of Turks, Maghrabīs, Druses, Ḥaḍramautīs, Yamanites, Sudanese and Abyssinians⁸ and also of Indians,⁹ but there is no evidence of 'Alī Bey's having

¹ *Ibid.*, II/180-V/72.

² *Ibid.*, II/165-IV/41, I/179-II/88-9, III/64-VI/126 *et passim*.

³ *Ibid.*, III/114-5-VI/219-220.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I/179-II/88-9.

⁵ al-Jab., II/91-IV/145-6. Although the Mamlūk Beys were no longer the patrons of art and literature they used to be in earlier times, yet the annals of al-Jabartī offer sufficient evidence to show that they still took a certain amount of interest in the poets of the time. Over forty poets are mentioned in the Annals of al-Jabartī with specimens of their work and almost all of them had composed one or more poems in honour of some Bey. The most outstanding literary patron of the century was Rudwān Bey al-Jalī (I/192-204-II/124-143) who attracted both Syrian and Egyptian poets to his court and an anthology of their panegyrics was collected by 'Abdallah al-Idkāwī. Their building activities have been referred to above (pp. 28-30); it seems as though it was expected of every Mamlūk Bey to leave behind him some kind of building such as a mosque or a school; al-Jabartī's remarks concerning Ibrāhīm Katkhudā al-Kāsdughlī are interesting in this respect: "Ibrāhīm had performed no pious work which would be of use to him in the hereafter." I/192-II/123.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I/335-III/55.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I/350-III/91.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I/364-III/115, Khalīl Bey Kaṭāmish had already made use of negro Mamlūks (I/174-II/77).

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made any attempt to train them according to European methods. This practice of using foreigners was continued by subsequent Beys; Ismā'il Bey brought in soldiers from the Balkans¹ while Murād Bey made use of Greeks and Cretans² to build foundries, gunpowder factories and a fleet.³

During the eighteenth century, a few Turks began to realise, in the face of European encroachment in general and Russian in particular, that the time had come for reform and that, sooner or later, in spite of the opposition of the established military and religious classes, recourse would have to be made to the superior method and equipment of the West. Unfortunately, it was not realised by the Oriental mind that the military organisation of the West was but a small part of its culture and civilisation. Circumstances and lack of time forced the Turks to neglect their own culture for the sake of this new military system which they thought was the be-all and end-all of progress and success. They could not foresee at the beginning that reform of the military machine was not the only reform which they needed, nor that a more practical system of education than the existing religious one would have to be provided upon which they could draw not only for their military requirements, but for all walks of life.

The Turks endeavoured to make use of their resources in order to acquire this new fighting machine mainly so that they could resist their Western enemies, forgetting that the tools they were borrowing, the organisation they were struggling to copy, the knowledge they were trying to make use of were all the outcome of centuries of slow experiment and development on lines peculiar to Western civilisation and so alien to Islamic. The major element of opposition in the Turkish Empire was to be found in the joint forces of the 'ulamā' and the janissaries. The first body unwillingly gave its support to some reforms⁴ but it took several decades before it was realised that only the destruction of the second body could make way for the new ideas.

Already under 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I, with the help of an English engineer, the fleet had been re-organised under Jazā'irī Kāpūdān Pasha Ḥasan and during the reign of Muṣṭafā III and Salīm III,

¹ Ibid., II/180-IV/72 and II/193-V/100.

² Ibid., III/41-VI/87.

³ Ibid., III/168-VI/315; Politis, op. cit., I/89-95 and Auriant, *Aventuriers et Originaux*, Paris, 1933, p. 13.

⁴ Even a *Fatwa* had to be obtained by Ahmad III in order to establish a printing press, Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1914, Vol. II, pp. 287-9.

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further reforms were attempted in the administration and in the fighting services. Muṣṭafā had opened a school for the study of mathematics with the help of Baron de Tott and also reformed the artillery corps while Salīm went much further and opened other military and naval schools and employed Swedes and Frenchmen extensively.¹

The military and naval reforms attempted by the Mamlūk Beys in Egypt were undoubtedly inspired by the Turks for they had had the opportunity of seeing Kāpūdān Pasha Ḥasan's fortifications and flotillas in Egypt in 1786-7 while the Greek officer Niḳūlā who commanded Murād's fleet² had been a subordinate of Kāpūdān Pasha Ḥasan.³

It can be gathered from the above that in trying to re-organise their fighting services, the Mamlūk Amīrs had to turn to other people. It was this weakness that brought about the first real penetration of Egypt by numbers of Europeans and others from the surrounding provinces of Turkey, but there was no one who could come forward with sufficient genius either to organise the country's finances to stand the strain of the maintenance of these military and naval forces or to make use of local man power. No attempt was made in Egypt to persuade foreigners to give instruction to their soldiers in military or naval matters and those who did come to the aid of the Beys performed the functions allotted to them either by themselves, or if in need of extra help, obtained it from abroad.⁴

These innovations in Egypt may have been sufficiently effective for local requirements, but the French occupation under Bonaparte naturally put an end to any attempt to reorganise in Egypt. The only unit that offered them any kind of real resistance was the fleet under Niḳūlā,⁵ but the evidence available proves that Egypt as a Turkish province had already begun to feel the effect of the reforms of the capital.

¹ Ibid., pp. 302-322, also articles in the *Encycl. Islam*: Nizām-i Djadīd, 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I, Muṣṭafā III, Salīm III, Djaza'irī Ghāzi Ḥasan Pasha, Ḥusain Pasha (Kūčūk) and Khusraw Pasha, see also *Memoires du Baron du Tott*, Amsterdam, 1784.

² Murād's fleet consisted of 300 Greek sailors under Niḳūlā. Politis, op. cit., I/92. Turkish and Greek sailors had already been employed in Egypt—see al-Jab., II/107-IV/186.

³ Politis, op. cit., pp. 93-4.

⁴ Murād Bey's ships, for example, were built by Greek craftsmen who were brought from Turkey, see al-Jab., III/168-VI/315.

N.B.—The influence of the Venetian, Rossetti, cannot be under-rated in Egyptian affairs; he was the close friend of both 'Alī Bey and Murād Bey.

⁵ Denon, *Travels*, III/102. Politis, op. cit., pp. 127-9.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND THE PENETRATION OF WESTERN CULTURE IN EGYPT FROM 1798 TO 1848

The French Occupation

The French invasion in 1798 is the turning point in the history of modern Egypt. This event suddenly brought the Egyptians into contact with a disciplined Western military organisation with up-to-date equipment and accompanied by the pick of France's scholars and experts.

The French forces in the field had no difficulty in defeating the Mamlūk soldiery, a defeat so disastrous in fact, that the Mamlūk power was never able to recover its hold on the country. The occupation that followed lasted for about three years. During this time, the French were so much engaged in further fighting and putting down insurrections that they had little time to take an active part in the intellectual life of the Egyptians.

Much has been claimed by the French and for them on account of the cultural work carried by the French savants and embodied in that famous collection *La Description de l'Égypte* but their research work was for the benefit of European learning and not for the enlightenment of the Egyptian people. Moreover the members of the *institut d'Égypte* were Frenchmen; there was no provision for the membership of Egyptians nor were Arabic studies organised except for the advantage of the French themselves; and as soon as the army was evacuated, the *institut* ceased to exist.

The invasion was an act of aggression and it was not in the nature of things that the Egyptians should take an interest in any of their aggressors' institutions, most of which, were bound up with military life or were thought by the Egyptians to be so. The *institut* set up by Napoleon was, in fact, visited by Egyptians, but merely out of curiosity, al-Jabart¹ gives a long account of a visit to the library and other departments

¹ al-Jab., III/34-36-VI/72-76. For the quotation see III/36, lines 6-7.

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of the *institut* which left a good impression on him, especially when he saw the collections of books in various languages with the French soldiers reading them and the scientific instruments with which the chemists experimented. But he ends up his description with the following words, "... things which minds like ours cannot comprehend" to show how hopelessly it was beyond him. Bourrienne¹ gives another account of a visit by Shaikh al-Bakrī in the following terms "The art of imposing on mankind has, at all times, been an important part of the art of governing; and it was not that portion of the science of government which Bonaparte was the least acquainted with. He neglected no opportunity of shewing off to the Egyptians the superiority of France, in arts and sciences; but it happened oftener than once, that the natural instinct of the Egyptians thwarted his endeavours in this way. Some days after the visit of the fortune-teller, he wished, if I may so express myself, to oppose conjurer to conjurer. For this purpose, he invited the principal Sheiks to be present at some chemical experiments performed by M. Berthollet. The General expected to be much amused at their astonishment; but the miracles of the transformation of liquids, electrical commotions and galvanism did not elicit from them any symptom of surprise. They witnessed the operations of our able chemist with the most imperturbable indifference. When they were ended, the Sheik El Bekry desired the interpreter to tell M. Berthollet that it was all very fine; "but," said he, "ask him whether he can make me be in Morocco and here at one and the same moment?" M. Berthollet replied in the negative, with a shrug of the shoulders. "Oh! then," said the Sheik, "he is not half a conjurer."

French Schools

Apparently, two schools were established by the French authorities during the occupation for the children of French parents²; they also had the idea of setting up a school of drawing,³ but they do not appear to have done anything in

¹ *Private Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte*, London, 1830, Vol. I, 279.

² Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyyah*, Vol. IV/15 and *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, Vol. II/186. al-Jab: states that Laporte was *Ra'is Madrasat al-Maktab*—probably this was one of the schools opened by the French (III/154 line 12, VI/291). There are references to Laporte who was a printer in *Journal et Souvenirs sur l'expédition d'Égypte* by Villiers du Terrage, Paris, 1899, pp. 7, 325 and 350. This Laporte died in 1799 while al-Jabart's reference is under the year 1800.

³ *La Décade Égyptienne*, Cairo, 1799, Vol. I, pp. 103-4. Dutertre, *Projet d'une école de dessin* (au Caire).

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the matter. A report was also made to Bonaparte on the opening of a civil hospital which was to have become a school of medicine and in which natives were to have been trained. The students were to have a knowledge of French and in order to acquire this knowledge, a kind of primary school was to have been established where the elements of the arts and sciences were to have been taught in French, but here again, the plan did not come to anything. In any case, the French were not very optimistic about immediate results of such an enterprise.¹

J Military Reforms under the French

If the French made no attempt to teach the Egyptians, they did not fail to experiment with local man power for military purposes; Maghrabî soldiers were organised according to the French system and were drilled by French officers, the words of command being given in French. Through Ya'kūb, who was appointed General of the Copts, a levy was made of about two thousand of his co-religionists in Upper Egypt; these levies were dressed in French uniform, trained and attached to the French army.²

Young Mamlūks between the ages of sixteen and twenty were also enrolled in the French army and, according to Reybaud, made excellent soldiers.³ Nīkūlā (Nicolas), admiral of Murād's fleet was also taken into the service of the French with other Greeks⁴ while Barthelemy, who had been an artilleryman⁵ in the service of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi, was made a police chief⁶ and had a retinue of Mamlūks. Turks were also formed into companies in order to police Cairo and the suburbs⁷ while Syrians were employed as interpreters.⁸

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 5-8. Monge, Desgenettes and others, *Rapport sur un plan d'organisation d'un Hospice civil au Kaire*.

² Politis, op. cit., I/123, al-Jab., III/115-VI/306, and Translation by Cardin. *Journal d'Abdurrahman Gabarī pendant l'occupation française en Égypte*, Paris, 1838, p. 211, also al-Jawarūl Ya'kūb wa'l Fāris Lāskārīs wa Mashrū' istiqlāl Miṣr fī sanat 1801, by Shafīk Ghurbāl, Cairo, 1932, p. 20, also note p. 8.

³ Politis, op. cit., I/123.

⁴ There were also Syrian and Coptic battalions but the Greek seemed to be the most important one (Politis, I/134-6); many of the local men who had joined these auxiliary regiments went to France where they were formed the *Chasseurs d'Orient* (Politis, I/139) and it is interesting to note in Rifā'ah's *Takhlīs al-Ibriz fī Talkhīs Bārīz* that he met some of them in Marseilles together with other refugees in 1826 (see page 36 of the 1848 edition). Rifā'ah states that there were few Moslems left as they had either died or had turned Christian especially the Georgian and Circassians.

⁵ Politis states that he had been a porter.

⁶ al-Jab., III/11-12-VI/25, and Politis, Ibid., I/120-122.

⁷ Politis, Ibid., I/122.

⁸ Carali, op. cit., I/89-90.

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Printing

It cannot be claimed that the printing-press confiscated by Bonaparte from the College of the Propaganda in Rome¹ and placed under the directorship of J. J. Marcel published anything that could affect Egyptian culture advantageously; apart from the proclamations printed by the French, the press turned out about twenty publications, mostly for the use of the French themselves.²

In addition to the press under Marcel's control (it included type for the printing of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Greek and European languages), there was also another press under Marc Aurel³ where the first numbers of the *Courier de l'Égypte* were printed. Aurel's press was afterwards amalgamated with Marcel's and from that time the *Courier de l'Égypte* together with the other publications was printed by Marcel with the collaboration of Aurel.⁴

¹ The Maronite translators attached to the college were also taken to Egypt for work in the printing department of the Army of Occupation; these together with other employees received fixed salaries varying from 500 to 50 francs a month. The most important names mentioned are Ilyās Fathallah and Yūsuf Musābikī (they probably helped Marcel to translate the proclamations into Arabic), see Carali, op. cit., I/89, and references under. Tarrāzī is wrong in stating that this press was brought from Paris—see *Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣaḥāfat al-'Arabīyah*, Beyrūt, 1913, Vol. I, p. 45.

² *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, Cairo, 5e Série, Tome I, 1907, pp. 133-157 and Tome II, 1908, pp. 195-320. Article by A. Geiss, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en Égypte*, also *al-Hilāl*, Vol. XXII, 1913-4, pp. 105-109, 198-204 and 426-430. Article by Taufīk Iskariūs, *History of Printing in Egypt*, and Cheikho, op. cit., I/7. The following is the list of publications by the French in Egypt:

1. *Alphabet arabe, turk et persan*. 1798.
2. *Exercices de lecture d'arabe littéral*. 1798.
3. *Courier de l'Égypte*. 1798.
4. *Notice des événements en Europe*. 1799.
5. *La Décade Égyptienne*. 1799.
6. *Descrizione dell' oftalmia*, by Antonio Savari. 1799.
- 7 and 8. *Annuaire de la République française*. 1799.
9. *Fables de Loqman*. 1799.
10. *Avis sur la petite verole*. 1799.
11. *Constitution de la République française*. 1799.
12. *Annuaire de la République française*. 1799.
13. *La Décade Égyptienne*. 1799.
14. *Constitution de la République française*. 1799.
15. *Recueil de pièces relatives à la procédure et au jugement de Soleyman El-Halely*. 1799.
16. *Tanbych*. 1800.
17. *Annuaire de la République française*. 1800.
18. *Tanbych fī ma yakḥass da el-gadry*. 1800.
19. *La Décade Égyptienne*. 1800.
20. *Extrait de l'ordonnance*. 1800.
21. *Grammaire arabe vulgaire*. 1801.

³ Tarrāzī states that Aurel went to Egypt with Marcel as a simple employee but he appears to have been sent with a press from Paris purposely for the publication of a newspaper. He styled himself *Imprimeur de l'armée*.

⁴ Marcel took the printing press back with him to Paris where it was used for the publication of Oriental works (see *al-Hilāl*—as above—p. 109, and *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 5e Série, Tome II, année 1908, p. 196).

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Newspapers

The *Courier de l'Égypte* was the first newspaper to be published in Egypt and was intended for sale to the French; it contained notices of political events and news from Europe. The *Décade Égyptienne*, called a *Journal littéraire et d'économie politique* was more in the nature of a scientific and literary journal which contained papers on Egyptian matters.¹ The first volume contained papers on the project for opening the school of drawing,² and the agricultural establishment,³ on the management and produce of the lands of Damietta,⁴ a translation of the opening chapter of the *Ḳor'ān*,⁵ an extract from an Arabic geographical work,⁶ and a report on the Bimāristān.⁷ The second volume contained a paper on the opening of the school of medicine,⁸ another on Coptic convents⁹ and Marcel's paper on the Fables of Loqmān,¹⁰ while the third volume gave another paper on agriculture and commerce in Upper Egypt,¹¹ a paper on the baking of bread,¹² and another on the palm tree,¹³ the letters exchanged between the *Dīwān* and Desgenettes regarding the acceptance of the work on small pox,¹⁴ a memoir on administration in Egypt,¹⁵ and a paper on the military education of the Mamlūks.¹⁶

There is another vague reference to a kind of bulletin which was printed daily in Cairo and sent out to the troops in the town and in the provinces. The events were recorded by Ismā'il al-Khashshāb,¹⁷ but who translated them into French for the troops it is impossible to say.¹⁸ It is of interest to note that there is no

¹ References to these two newspapers can be found in Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., p. 45, Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyah*, IV/17, and Elgood, *Bonaparte's adventure in Egypt*, note page 146 and p. 171. Desgenettes and then Fourier were the editors of these newspapers; 116 numbers of the *Courier* appeared while there were three volumes of the *Décade*.

² I/103.

³ I/124.

⁴ II/5-9.

⁵ III/27-96.

¹⁴ III/196-198. This work was translated from the Italian (see work No. 18 in the list of works published by the French, p. 5) by Don Raphael de Monachis and it is the only work that al-Jabartī mentions in his *Annals* (III/141-VI/268) except for the *Tanbih*. He says that it was quite a good little book (*Risālah la ba'sa bihā fi bābihā*). There is no evidence that the work had any circulation.

¹⁵ III/205-230.

¹⁶ III/309.

¹⁷ al-Jab., IV/238-IX/159-160.

¹⁸ Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., pp. 48-49, states definitely that it was an Arabic journal called *al-Hawādith al-Yaumiyah* with no other authority but the above from al-Jabartī. Zaidān, op. cit., IV/17, calls it the *Tanbih*. Apparently Menou wished to start an Arabic Newspaper and to call it the *Moniteur arabe* but he could not find a native editor, see *Histoire scientifique de l'Expedition française en Egypte*, Paris, 1830-35, Vol. VIII, pp. 87-8, where Menou and his enterprise are referred to in the

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specimen of any such bulletin in the *Collection Marcel* preserved in the *Institut Égyptien* in Cairo.

Egyptian Learning and the Occupation

The French invasion and occupation of Egypt had a distinctly adverse effect on learning in Egypt¹; *madrasah* life was disorganised and during the three years' occupation, al-Jabartī no longer gives us the long and interesting biographies of 'ulamā' who died, but he gives us brief mentions of those who were executed by the French² and references to those who left Cairo altogether and went to the provinces.³ But Napoleon who, up to the revolt, had tried to make use of the shaikhs to suit his own ends, must have failed to understand them; he certainly seemed to have under-rated their abilities to stir up the people against him and he relied too much on flattery.⁴ Nevertheless, al-Azhar never regained its former prestige after the revolt especially in view of Napoleon's changed attitude towards it,⁵ while subsequent events showed that others were not slow to make use of the lesson taught by the French that the shaikhs could be used as a stepping-stone to gain control over the people and could also be set aside without much fear of reaction.

Muhammad 'Alī's advent to Power

"Tous les peuples de l'empire ottoman étant essentiellement guerriers, il ne faut pas s'étonner que tout principe d'instruction et de civilisation doive se rapporter à ce qui constitue l'éducation militaire; on ne peut commencer par là toute tentative. Ils ne comparent les autres peuples à eux que sous ce point de vue. Je vous le dis une fois pour toutes, afin que vous ne soyez pas surpris des premières directions données aux idées par les Européens."—

JULES PLANAT, *Histoire de la Régénération de l'Égypte. Lettres écrites du Kaire à M. le Comte Alexandre de Laborde*, Paris, 1830, p. 4.

following terms: "Un jour il (Menou) se réveilla avec l'idée de fonder un *Moniteur arabe*, idée réalisée depuis par Mohammed-Aly. Une seule chose l'arrêta, la choix d'un rédacteur indigène. On avait bien trouvé, parmi nos orientalistes et nos interprètes, des hommes capables de réaliser ce projet, Belletête, Marcel, dom Rafael; mais pas un cheyk ne le comprit ou ne voulait le comprendre et Menou d'ailleurs, sautant d'une idée à une autre, oublia bientôt celle-là."

¹ See Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 218, "Learning was in a much more flourishing state in Cairo before the entrance of the French army than it has been of late years. It suffered severely from this invasion; not through direct oppression, but in consequence of the panic which this event occasioned, and the troubles by which it was followed."

² al-Jab., III/62-3-VI/121-4.

³ Ibid., III/109-VI/211 and III/135-VI/253-4.

⁴ For Napoleon's reasons for making use of the shaikh class see Shafik Ghurbal, op. cit., p. 9 and Napoleon's *Campagnes d'Égypte*, II/151 sqq.

⁵ Elgood, op. cit., p. 161.

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The six years following the French occupation were eventful ones. This is not the place to describe in any kind of detail the way by which Muḥammad 'Alī climbed to power. He had come to Egypt with the Turkish army, an unknown officer in a corps of Albanians, and, with the withdrawal of the Turks, he happened to be one of the two chiefs left behind with the Albanians. His military position, however, gave him some prestige and helped him to come to the fore; and he could not avoid being drawn into local politics. He first sided with the Mamlūk party and then with the Turkish governor, then his successful intrigues first against *Khusrau* Pasha and finally against *Khurshīd* Pasha left him in a dominant position in the Capital, supported by the 'ulamā' who had been won over in the meantime. The Sublime Porte, realizing its impotency in Egyptian affairs, had to accept the position and Muḥammad 'Alī was solemnly installed as Governor of Egypt in April, 1806.

Although the period just mentioned did not lend itself to the peaceful resumption of normal life, some attempts were made to try various commanders to reorganise the military resources at their disposal, a fact which shows the spirit of the times whether the inspiration came from Turkish ideas or from French example.

Al-Alfi Bey¹ and Ḥusain Kāshif al-Yahūdī (al-Afranjī),² both seem to have been inspired by the direct example of the French, for both of them organised forces and tried to copy European uniforms and methods of drill and formation. *Khusrau*,³ however, who had come from Constantinople, was a compatriot of Küçük Ḥusain Pasha,⁴ the brother-in-law of Salīm III, and both *Khusrau* and Ḥusain had the reputation of being zealous reformers. He appears to have brought his ideas of reform with him for we find him enlisting into his service all available Frenchmen⁵; these he drafted into a special regiment of Mamlūks and placed under a French officer who instructed them in military exercises giving the words of command in French.⁶ Part of their uniform, however, was copied from Turkish models.⁷ The Pasha also formed a Sudanese regiment

¹ al-Jab., IV/21-2-VIII/46.

² See article in *Encycl. of Islam*, *Khusraw*.

³ See article in *Encycl. of Islam*, *Küçük Ḥusain Pasha*.

⁴ Frenchmen for the most part who had been left behind after the French evacuation.

⁵ al-Jab., III/222-VII/112-3.

⁶ Ibid., III/222-VII/112-3, the Pasha gave the Turkish name to his reforms, viz: *Nizām Jadīd* (*Nizām-i-Djedīd*—see art. *Encycl. of Islam*).

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and provided these soldiers with uniforms similar to those of the French, at the same time forming a special escort of negroes for himself under a French officer¹ and a private guard of eighteen Frenchmen for his Ḥarīm.²

These efforts at military reform both in Egypt and also in Turkey, where the attempts to reorganise must have been known to Muḥammad 'Alī, together with the experience of facing both French and English armies, were bound to have shown to Muḥammad 'Alī the necessity of reform. His defeat of an English force in 1807, besides raising him in the estimation of the 'ulamā' and those who had supported him, would certainly have sufficed to fire his ambitions and to encourage him to adopt up-to-date means. Before he could make any headway, he had several obstacles to remove from his path, one was the power of the Mamlūks whom he massacred in 1811 thus making his position safe at least against local pretenders. Another obstacle was the lack of financial resources sufficient to support, in the first place, his turbulent Albanians who had stood by him and had helped him climb to power and, in the second, to pay for the wars in which he was already becoming involved, to begin with, at the request of the Sulṭān himself, and eventually for his own aggrandisement.

In fact, Muḥammad 'Alī had hardly begun to consolidate his position when he was called upon by the Sulṭān, Maḥmūd II, to send an army to Arabia to put down the Wahhābīs which occupied him from 1811 to 1819. Besides this campaign, however, he conquered the Sūdān in 1820 to 1822, engaged in the Sulṭān's war with Greece from 1822 to 1828, invaded and conquered Syria from 1831 to 1834 and became involved in a conflict with the Sulṭān from 1838 to 1841. The more Muḥammad 'Alī became involved in war, the more did he realise his urgent need of money and of a fighting force that would be entirely under his will and not a source of danger and a menace to himself as were his Albanians.

It was during the first war that he decreed the confiscation of all property including the *wakf* property of the mosque of al-Azhar and the other mosques thus making himself the sole farmer of Egypt; it was the Arabian war that helped him to get rid of his troublesome Albanians and it was during this war that he began his long series of reforms which continued up to his last campaign which ended between 1840 and 1841.

¹ Ibid., III/222-VII/112-3.

² Ibid., III/242-VII/166.

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By the end of the Arabian war, Muḥammad 'Alī's financial plans were sufficiently well advanced to enable him to concentrate on his reforms, the most important of which were the re-organisation of his army and navy according to European models. But these brought in their wake other developments such as the establishment of arsenals, dockyards, factories, hospitals, military schools, agricultural departments, etc., all of which were essential to a country which was to maintain the huge fighting forces that Muḥammad 'Alī had in mind.

Muḥammad 'Alī's conquests were not only of the military kind; his commercial enterprise enabled him to become not only the ruler of the country, but also the sole merchant and farmer; it was the combination of his monopolisation of all the economic resources of Egypt and his ability to force on to the country a highly-developed military system that resulted in his thirty years meteoric career.

It is our object in this chapter to describe as fully as the authorities allow the reforms of Muḥammad 'Alī in so far as they affected education and intellectual life, whether applied to his military organisation or to the civil population. There is plenty of information available but no effort has hitherto been made to put the material together in a comprehensive form, nor has any account been given of the ultimate fate of his institutions immediately after the signing of the London peace treaty in 1841 and of their effect upon the old-established institutions described in the preceding chapter.

In view of the fact that Muḥammad 'Alī laid down the basis of the future social system of Egypt and that it is intended to carry this work right down to the present day, certain aspects of Muḥammad 'Alī's innovations are worthy of close attention, so that the development may be traced in detail from one generation to the other. Perhaps by a true exposition of the facts, we may be able to understand how it is that the system of education in use in Egypt at the present day is so ill-adapted to the country and why it is so defective.

Muḥammad 'Alī's First Education Missions and Schools

That Muḥammad 'Alī had made up his mind at an early date to adopt entirely different methods of organisation is proved by his missions to Europe of young men. It was typical of him to send men of his own kind to Europe to see for themselves what was lacking in the country and what the Westerners

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had to give and teach and what was suitable to the Turk's ideas of progress and reform rather than to depend solely on the advice of foreigners who happened to be in the country, on adventurers, or on special envoys sent from Europe as was done in Constantinople. The political situation as yet, hardly warranted his search for allies who might put him on the right road in return for inevitable concessions but, in spite of that, there is evidence that individual Italians—probably Rosetti for one—influenced Muḥammad 'Alī in his choice of a country to which he could send his young men, for it was to Italy that his first mission departed. Italy was probably chosen mainly for the reason that it was still no more than a geographical expression and consequently there were no fears of political influence, but on the other hand, the reasons may have been purely technical.

Muḥammad 'Alī's greatest obstacle in his efforts to introduce reforms was the lack of qualified men especially in technical matters. There were no teachers or other kinds of professional men available in Egypt who could help Muḥammad 'Alī to establish factories, arsenals and other technical departments or to open schools where Western learning could be given. He realised this handicap from the very beginning and in order to remedy it, he began sending missions of students to Italy as early as 1809, particularly to Leghorn, Milan, Florence and Rome in order to study military science, ship-building, printing and engineering. The first mission student was 'Uṭmān Ef. Nūr-addīn who left Egypt in 1809 and spent five years at Pisa and Leghorn where he was sent at the instigation of Joseph Bokty, the Consul-General of Sweden; he then spent two further years at Paris and returned to Egypt in 1817.¹ The names of the students of the earliest missions are, in most cases, impossible to trace, but one other important name has come

¹ Lack of complete and accurate information about these early missions is due to the fact that there are few official records available for this early period owing to a fire which broke out in the Citadel in 1820, when many of the records were supposed to have been destroyed; see Deny, *Sommaire des Archives turques*, Cairo, 1930, pp. 15-17. For the above information on 'Uṭmān Ef. Nūr-addīn, see R. Cattani, *Le Règne de Mohamed Aly d'après les Archives russes en Egypte*, Cairo, 1931, pp. 387-8. The other accounts of 'Uṭmān Ef's education are all wrong, see Al-Amīr 'Umar Ṭūsūn, *al-Bi'thāt al-'Ilmiyah*, Alexandria, 1934, p. 11, and 'Abdār-Raḥmān ar-Rāfi'ī Bey, *Ta'riḥ al-Ḥarakat al-Kaumiyyah*, Vol. III. Brocchi, *Giornale esteso in Egitto, nella Siria e nella Nubia*, Bassano, 1841-3, Vol. I, p. 160; Balboni, *Gl'Italiana nella Civiltà Egiziana del Secolo XIX*, Alexandria, 1906, Vol. I, p. 253, note 4; P(riesses d' Avennes) et H(amont), *L'Egypte sous la domination de Méhémet-Aly*, Paris, 1848, p. 142; *al-Ahrām*, 25th March, 1934, p. 7, art. by Ḥusain Shafīq.

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down to us, that of Nīkūlā Musābikī Ef.: who was sent to Rome and Milan to study printing in 1815.¹ Some students were sent to England in 1818 to learn ship-building, the management of ships and mechanics.² The total number of students sent to Europe up to 1818 was twenty-eight,³ and their total cost was £E.30,000 up to 1826.⁴ There is no evidence of students having been sent between 1818 and 1826, the date of the first large education mission which is popularly called the first sent by Muḥammad 'Alī to Europe.⁵

These early mission students stayed in Europe for about four years. There are no lists of the twenty-eight students who were sent, but from our sources, it would appear that the following were amongst them in view of the functions they were called upon to fulfil and which they could not have performed had it not been for some kind of special training:—

Aḥmad Ef. Khalīl; Muḥammad Ef.: Maḥmūd Bey; Aḥmad Ef. al-Muhandis; Amīn Ef. al-Mī'marī; 'Uḥmān Ef. Aghā; Ḥasan Ef.⁶

While Muḥammad 'Alī was waiting for the return of his officials, he was not idle. On 2nd August, 1815, with the help of a certain Ibrāhīm Aghā from Constantinople,⁷ he tried to establish the *nizām jadīd*⁸ in his army, but failed completely.⁹ Had it not been for 'Abdīn Bey who informed Muḥammad 'Alī of a plot against him, he would probably have lost the power he had taken so much trouble to attain; as it was, he only

¹ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 10, ar-Rāfi'ī Bey, op. cit., III/452.

² Zaidān, *Ta'rikh ādāb al-lughat al-'arabiyyah*, IV/26, and ar-Rāfi'ī Bey, op. cit., III/453.

³ Artīn Pasha, *L'Instruction Publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1890, Annexe E. and 'Abdar-Rahmān ar-Rāfi'ī, op. cit., p. 453.

⁴ Artīn Pasha, *ibid.*, Annexe E.

⁵ *al-Ahrām*, for example, as above. Ilyās al-Ayyūbī in his *Ta'rikh Miṣr fī 'Ahd al-Khidwā Ismā'īl*, Cairo, 1923, Vol. I, p. 170, gives the date of the first mission as 1826—probably a printer's error.

⁶ These names are given here for the sake of reference; they will be referred to below. Clot Bey refers to these early missions and makes the remark that Muḥammad 'Alī sent "surtout plusieurs jeunes musulmans pour y faire leur éducation," see *Aperçu Général de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1840, Vol. II, p. 233. All the above names are those of Moslems and most probably Turks, there were certainly no Egyptians among them. Muḥammad 'Alī's object was to form a body of men capable of carrying out his orders in the various enterprises he undertook.

⁷ Hamont, *L'Égypte sous Méhémet-Ali*, Paris, 1843, Vol. II, p. 4.

⁸ See above p. III, note 2. This term, literally *new system*, was given for every kind of innovation introduced into the Turkish Empire from Salīm III's time but it generally meant simply the *new army* in Egypt.

⁹ See Douin, *Une Mission Militaire auprès de Mohamed Ali*, Cairo, 1923, pp. vii-ix, Mengin. *Histoire de l'Égypte sous Mohamed Ali*, Paris, 1823, Vol. II, pp. 49-50, and al-Jabartī, IV/222-IX/123-124.

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emerged from the crisis by making a number of promises about paying up the soldiers' arrears and restoring the *wakf* property to the mosques which, of course, he did not fulfil.

Between September and October, 1816, Muḥammad 'Alī opened a school in the Citadel under Ḥasan Efendī ad-Darwish al-Mauṣilī who was not an Egyptian, but probably an Arab who had spent some time in Constantinople. He had travelled extensively, knew several languages and was well versed in mathematics and other branches of knowledge. He seemed to have arrived in Egypt a short time before the opening of the school, but long enough to get to know people of consequence. He came to the notice of Muḥammad 'Alī through teaching calligraphy and arithmetic to some of the Pasha's Mamlūks. According to al-Jabartī,¹ Ḥasan Efendī eventually suggested to the Pasha that he should be allowed to open a school where the Pasha's Mamlūks could attend and also the sons of the inhabitants of the town and Muḥammad 'Alī, pleased with the idea, agreed and gave an order for the school to be opened. Muḥammad 'Alī sent to England for mathematical, surveying and astronomical instruments and to Constantinople for another teacher (Rūḥ-addīn Efendī) who taught the Turkish-speaking students arithmetic and geometry in their own tongue. But it would appear that even this was a dangerous experiment for Ḥasan Efendī was looked upon with suspicion and his calumniators accused him of being an atheist and of being in possession of a book by Ibn Rāwandī against the *Qur'ān*. The death of one of his students whom he had struck brought about his final disgrace only nine months after he had been placed in charge of the school, and Rūḥ-addīn Efendī was put in his place.

The number of students in this school was eighty, and all were given a monthly allowance, clothed and fed. They were chosen from amongst the young Mamlūks whom Muḥammad 'Alī had attached to his person after the massacre of the Mamlūks.² The studies occupied the best part of the day, from sunrise to sunset, and the pupils were taught reading, writing, the *Qur'ān*, Turkish, Persian, Italian, physical exercises, military tactics, the use of arms and riding.³

¹ al-Jabartī, IV/255-IX/192-3 and IV/261-2-IX/207-8, and 'Abdar-Rahmān ar-Rāfi'ī, op. cit., pp. 441-443.

² al-Jab., IV/261-IX/207; Artīn, op. cit., pp. 69-70 and Brocchi, *ibid.*, p. 176, who stated on the 12th December, 1822, "ma non si ammettano in esso che figli di Turchi."

³ Amīn Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim fī Miṣr*, Cairo, 1917, p. 7, and Ilyās al-Ayyūbī, op. cit., p. 170, also Brocchi, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 176.

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There was also another school in the Citadel called the *Dār al-Handasah*¹ made up from various other elements of the population,² and it was to these that arithmetic, geometry and mathematics were taught.³ There is mention of an order from Muḥammad 'Alī dated the 12th September, 1820, to the *Katkhudā Bey*⁴ appointing an Italian priest to this school to teach Italian and geometry and another order dated the 16th September, 1820, to the same officer appointing a European by the name of Kuṣṭī as a teacher of drawing and mathematics to five or six of the students of the *Dār al-Handasah* who were to be formed into another school called *Madrasat al-Handasah* which was eventually opened in May, 1821, at Būlāk.⁵ This Kuṣṭī can be no other than Xavier Pascal Coste who is mentioned by Planat⁶ as having been the founder and director of the *Institution civile des ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées* and is credited with having rendered very important services. He could not have been director but was probably in charge of the organisation of

¹ Letter No. 425, Register No. 5, dated 4th Dhū'l-Hijjah, 1235 (14th December, 1820) in the 'Abdīn Archives.

² al-Jab., IV/261-IX/207, where it is stated that they were the sons of the poor inhabitants of Cairo and the Mamlūks; he did not seem aware that there were two schools. Brocchi, op. cit., I, p. 176—states that "l'ingresso è concesso a tutti i giovani di qualunque religione essi sieno." According to Letter No. 425 (see note 3), the students of the Citadel school were made up from the *Māristān* and Muḥammad 'Alī's Mamlūks.

³ Amīn Sāmī, op. cit., p. 7 and Brocchi, op. cit., p. 176.

⁴ Pronounced *Kikhyā* or *Kihyā*.

⁵ The best account of the *Madrasat al-Handasah* is given by Brocchi, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 159, 176-8 and 207. Brocchi went to Egypt in 1822 and died in Khartūm in 1826; he wrote several works on geology and minerals but his *Journals* which are not mentioned in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. VIII, p. 908, were published posthumously. See also Planat, op. cit., pp. 31-2, and Vaulabelle, *Histoire de l'Égypte Moderne*, Paris, 1835, Vol. II, p. 255, where he states that the school was "destinée à l'enseignement des premiers éléments des arts et des sciences exactes; un assez grand nombre de jeunes gens turks et arabes y furent appelés; et, malgré une foule d'obstacles suscités par l'ignorance et les préjugés religieux, il en sortit bientôt des élèves qui commencèrent le cadastre de la Basse-Egypte." The nucleus of the school must have been formed in accordance with Muḥammad 'Alī's order of the 16th September, 1820 and developed by 'Uṭmān Efendī Nūr-addīn on his return from Europe. Brocchi, op. cit., p. 176, states that the school was set up in the Palace of Ibrāhīm Pasha while Balboni, op. cit., p. 253, states that it was opened in the Palace of Ismā'īl Pasha. Neither Amīn Sāmī in his *at-Ta'lim fi Miṣr* (see p. 7 and footnote, p. 47, Pt. 5 of the Appendices) nor 'Abdar-Rahmān ar-Rāfi'ī in his *Ta'rikh al-Hayakat al-Kaumiyah* (Vol. III, pp. 441-3) give any reference to this important school and both are under the impression that there were only two schools and those in the Citadel.

⁶ Planat, op. cit., p. 86. Coste is the author of a work on Arab architecture and in this, he must be considered as Prisses d'Avennes precursor. His map of Lower Egypt which he drew up between 1818 and 1827 is worthy of interest and, no doubt, has some connection with his work at the school. He is the author of a third work in two volumes which is not mentioned by Hilmy and Maunier in their *Bibliographies*, viz., *Mémoires d'un artiste. Notes et souvenirs de voyage*, 1817-1877, Marseilles, 1878.

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studies. Brocchi does not mention Coste's name, although he visited the school three months after his appointment.

The students of this third school were also fed and clothed besides being taught and in addition received thirty to one hundred and fifty piastres a month as an encouragement to parents to send their sons, the allowance being paid according to the capacity of the students and thus serving as a further encouragement to work and progress. Italian was taught by Ab. Scagliotti of Piedmont whom Brocchi describes as a *mediocrissimo uomo* and mathematics were taught by Don Carlo Bilotti of Calabria; a third Italian, Lorenzo Masi, who had been employed, by Muḥammad 'Alī on the *Mahmūdīyah Canal* enterprise, was employed to teach land-surveying and map-making, while 'Uṭmān Ef. Nūr-addīn was made Director and charged with teaching French.¹ The name of the Arabic teacher, Don Raphael, is already familiar to us; he was also engaged in translating works into Arabic and in preparing an Italian-Arabic Dictionary and some of his work was actually published and printed by the Būlāk Printing Press.²

Another name is mentioned by Balboni,³ that of Bergonzoni who arrived in Egypt in 1818, and was eventually employed as a teacher of physics and was probably one of Masi's colleagues. As early as 1819, in fact, a map of the *Bahrīyah* with the *Mahmūdīyah Canal* had been prepared by Girolano Segato, the legends being in Arabic and French, and, according to Balboni, this was the first map to be printed with Arabic signs⁴; probably this Segato, too, was on the staff of the Būlāk school.

Muḥammad 'Alī's chief aim in establishing this third school which was probably meant to take the place of the *Dār al-Handasah* in the Citadel, was to form a body of land-surveyors that might enable him to dispense with the services of the Copts which must have been most distasteful and unsatisfactory to him. By their system, they were in a very strong position, as they were better acquainted than anyone else with the country's resources while their system was too complicated for anyone else to master. Consequently, this new school met with opposi-

¹ Brocchi, op. cit., I/157-158.

² *Journal asiatique*, 4th series, Vol. II, 1843, pp. 5-23, these works will be dealt with in another volume.

³ Op. cit., I/277.

⁴ Balboni, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 253. Balboni, too, quoting Brocchi, states that there was also a *Messabuchi* who was put in charge of the Būlāk Printing Press, p. 253, note 4, but Brocchi mentions him as *Mesabichi* and states quite clearly that he was a Maronite, see Vol. I, p. 172, see also below.

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tion from the Copts who objected to this outside interference and maintained that their methods were superior to those of the European.¹

It is significant too, that Muḥammad 'Alī's first attempt to found a school of any importance² was staffed by Christian priests, even for teaching Arabic, and that no mention is made of the employment of any native teacher (Nūr-addīn was a Turk). Probably a large number of the students were Copts. Muḥammad 'Alī made the teachers do practical work in addition to teaching the students, a principle he adopted at the very beginning of his reforms and to which he adhered throughout his reign.

A further interesting experiment in this school was that it had a library attached to it, the first of its kind to be owned by any non-European community in Egypt. Most of the books were French and Italian and on a variety of subjects; on military science, agriculture, mathematics, arts and crafts, encyclopaedias, legislation and literature, the latter including the works of Dante, Voltaire and Rousseau; there was also a French translation of the Bible and many works on the political constitutions of European countries.³ Most of these works must have been ordered by Muḥammad 'Alī through 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn while he was in Europe,⁴ but there was also a number of Turkish works which had been printed in Constantinople including an Arabic-Turkish Dictionary,⁵ the Turkish translation of one of Vauban's works⁶ and a work on mathematics translated from the French⁷; these works had been ordered from Constantinople by Muḥammad 'Alī himself on the 31st December, 1820, the order being sent to Kapu Kikhyā Najīb Efendī.⁸ Muḥammad 'Alī also asked

¹ Brocchi, Vol. I, pp. 177-178, where he states, "Egli (Masi) ebbe a sostener accerime guerre mosse dai Cofti, i quali esclusivamente possedevano in Egitto l'arte del conteggio, e quella di misurar le terre. Sostengono essi che il loro metodo geodetico è migliore dell'europeo . . ."

² He was no doubt encouraged by some success of his first experiments in the Citadel.

³ Brocchi, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 160-161.

⁴ See *The Times*, 4th July, 1818, col. 4, where it is stated that Muḥammad 'Alī had ordered about 600 volumes of French works from France. See also R. Cattani, *Le Règne de Mohamed Aly d'après les Archives russes en Égypte*, Cairo, 1931, pp. 387-8. It was 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn who procured books for Muḥammad 'Alī; "d'environ 50,000 roubles de livres élémentaires français, sur les sciences, les arts et l'économie politique."

⁵ Probably *al-Auḳyānus al-Basīṭ fi Tarjamats al-Kāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* by Abū'l Kimāl as-Sayyid Ahmed 'Asim, printed in Constantinople in 1817.

⁶ *Vubān Fann Laghumde Risāle se* being the Turkish translation of Vauban's work on mines, printed in Constantinople, 1787.

⁷ Several works on mathematics were translated into Turkish at the beginning of the 18th century, see below.

⁸ Amin Sāmī, op. cit., p. 7.

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Salīm Efendī to send teachers who knew French and Turkish well, in order to teach in his schools, and for the services of a qualified engineer. This order was sent before his own officials had returned from Europe and indicates not only the difficulties Muḥammad 'Alī had in finding qualified men for his enterprises in Egypt, but also his interest in Turkish models of reform.

The Nizām Jadīd

While Muḥammad 'Alī was developing the educational side of his reforms for purely administrative purposes, he also sought to expand his military reforms; and just as he had used his small *Dār al-Handasah* in the Citadel as the nucleus of his *Madrasat al-Handasah* at Būlāk, so he used the small body of Mamlūks that he was training in the Citadel as the nucleus for his new army. In 1820, he again resolved on the organisation of the *Nizām Jadīd* by which date he had disposed of the majority of the troops who had opposed its creation in 1815, the greater part of them having been used up in his Arabian campaigns or in his expeditions to the Sūdān.¹

By this time, force of circumstances had drawn Muḥammad 'Alī to Drovetti, the Consul-General for France, whose advice on military and other technical matters Muḥammad 'Alī had begun to appreciate, and where Italians had hitherto been almost alone in assisting the Pasha, we now find Frenchmen and French officials coming to his aid especially where there was much responsibility. In July, 1819, Captain Sève, an ex-officer of the French army landed in Egypt with letters of introduction and was presented to Muḥammad 'Alī by Drovetti. Sève joined the Pasha's services and his first mission was to look for coal in Upper Egypt, but failure brought him back just as Ibrāhīm Pasha had returned triumphantly from Arabia.²

Another unsuccessful attempt was made in Cairo to introduce the European system into the army by Sève in the presence of Muḥammad 'Alī,³ and so in October, 1820, Sève was sent to Isnā with three or four hundred Mamlūks⁴ who were to be trained to form the officers of the new army.⁵

¹ Vulabelle, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 247.

² Douin, *Une Mission Militaire Française auprès de Mohamed Aly*, Cairo, 1923, pp. xi-xii.

³ Douin, *ibid.*, p. xii.

⁴ According to some authorities 500 Mamlūks were sent, some belonging to Muḥammad 'Alī and some to other members of his family.

⁵ Douin, *ibid.*, p. xiii, Planat, op. cit., p. 26, and Vulabelle, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 248.

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The difficulty of this experiment cannot be underestimated. The differences in character and religion between instructor and instructed and the obstinate opposition of the latter were very great obstacles indeed, but the language problem must have been the greatest of all, for Sève could hardly have picked up more than a few words of Turkish and Arabic while his pupils had no knowledge of French. In due course, however, these obstacles gradually disappeared.¹

About the same time that Sève was sent to Upper Egypt, Ismā'il Pasha, Muḥammad 'Alī's son, was sent on an expedition to Sennar and Nubia from where large numbers of negroes were sent to be drafted into battalions to form the rank and file of the new army.² Isnā proved to be in an unsuitable situation for these slave-troops and so Muḥammad 'Alī issued two orders: on the 8th August, 1821, one to the effect that a military school was to be organised under Aḥmad Ef. al-Muhandis³ and Sulaimān Aghā (Sève's new name and title for he had embraced Islam and had been given the title of Aghā) and the other to the effect that the military school was to be organised at Aswān.⁴

The numbers of the imported slaves seem to have increased fairly rapidly for we find another order issued on the 30th October, 1821 to Muḥammad Bey,⁵ appointing Amīn Ef. al-Mī'marī⁶ to renovate existing buildings and to build barracks (*thukanāt*), each one capable of holding one thousand soldiers.⁷ On the 25th January, 1822, presumably after the barracks had been built, Muḥammad Bey was appointed *Nāẓir* of the Aswān encampment⁸ and on the 16th February, 1822, new instructors were appointed to assist Sulaimān Aghā.⁹ Included among the new instructors was Lieut.-Col. Mary,¹⁰ a Corsican,¹¹ who was

¹ Douin, op. cit., pp. xiii-xiv, and Vingtrinier's biography of Sève *Soliman Pasha (Joseph Sève)*, Paris, 1886.

² Douin, ibid., pp. xiii-xiv, and Vaulabelle, op. cit., II/251, and Planat, op. cit., p. 27.

³ See above p. 15—most probably a mission student.

⁴ Amīn Sāmī, *Taḥwīm an-Nīl*, Vol. II, p. 291. *at-Ta'lim fī Miṣr*, p. 7. The school and other establishments were built on the Elephantine Island—see Douin, ibid., p. xiv. There is another order dated the 27th August, 1821, fixing the salaries of officials and arranging for the supply of materials, see *Taḥwīm*, p. 291.

⁵ Muḥammad Bey was *Nāẓir* of Military Affairs—*al-'Ashkariyah*.

⁶ See page 106, also most probably a mission student.

⁷ Amīn Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8.

⁸ *Taḥwīm*, II/294 and *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8. The cadets are recommended to look up to Muḥammad Bey as a father and to do their best to acquire the necessary branches of knowledge.

⁹ *Taḥwīm*, II/294 and *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8.

¹⁰ Douin, op. cit., p. xiv.

¹¹ Senior, *Conversations and Journals in Egypt and Malta*, London, 1882, Vol. II, pp. 27-28.

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the first European to join Sulaimān; later on they were joined by Cadeau and Dussap, the latter being placed in charge of a medical¹ service at Aswān, and Daumergue, Cadot and Caisson, while Gonon organised an arsenal and the equipment in the Citadel at Cairo.²

The development of this military organisation which was the first of Muḥammad 'Alī's large armies was entirely in his own hands. Every order concerning it emanated from him personally, and while he relied to some extent on the reports of his subordinates,³ he did not always agree with them, not even with his French experts.

On the 26th February, 1822, another military school was set up at Farshūt under Aḥmad Bey⁴ who was in turn subordinate to Muḥammad Bey of Aswān. Sulaimān Aghā, Aḥmad Ef. al-Muhandis and 'Uṭhmān Efendī Nūr-addīn⁵ had been commissioned by Muḥammad 'Alī to draw up a plan for the organisation of the military formations, but in an order issued by him on the 31st March, 1822, Sulaimān Aghā's suggestions were turned down on the ground that they were suitable to the Napoleonic armies but not to his, the three officers were ordered to repair to Cairo with Muḥammad Bey the *Nāẓir*⁶ to discuss the matter with him, and the result of which was the adoption of the method of formations which Salīm III had organised.⁷

On 24th May, 1823, another military establishment was opened at Jihād Abād called *an-Nakhīlah* or "Depot"⁸ and arrangements were made for the formation of a detachment of artillery. In the order, emphasis is laid on the necessity of the officers being selected from Turks (*abnā' at-turk*).⁹ In addition to the above training camps, some provision was also made at Iḥmīm and Abū Tig¹⁰ for training troops, but when Muḥammad

¹ Douin, ibid., p. xiv, and Planat, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

² Planat, ibid., p. 29. It is worth while noting that the *Dirwān al-Jihādiyyah*—loosely called the Ministry of Military Affairs—was created in 1237 (between 21st September, 1821 and 17th September, 1822) as a military school (*sous forme d'École militaire*—Deny, op. cit., p. 125 and *bi ṣifāt madrasah*—see *Taḥwīm*, II/296).

³ An interesting order was issued 19th March, 1822, to the *Nāẓir* ordering him to prevent the older boys from mixing with the young ones and pointing out that all these new methods of organization were only "for the service and exaltation of the faith."

⁴ *Taḥwīm*, II/295.

⁵ Called "professors of the military arts."

⁶ *Taḥwīm*, II/295, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8.

⁷ *Taḥwīm*, II/295, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8.

⁸ Planat, op. cit., p. 152 and 351, see map.

⁹ *Taḥwīm*, II/307, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8.

¹⁰ Vaulabelle, op. cit., II/251.

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'Ali wished to show Drovetti and Salt¹ his new army of 24,000 towards the end of 1823, it was at the camp Banī 'Adī, near Manfalūt, that it was drawn up for review.²

It had not taken long for Muḥammad 'Alī to realise that negro slaves were unsuitable as soldiers for they could not stand the climate. Apparently at the suggestion of Drovetti, the Pasha made up his mind to use Egyptians and he could not have found a better recruiting ground than in Upper Egypt. Apart from the Coptic battalions formed by the French, this was the first serious attempt to use Egyptians as soldiers for centuries.

The new army consisted of six regiments of five battalions each and to each battalion there were 800 men. The officers so far had no settled uniform, but the soldiers were provided with a rough kind of uniform and were armed with French rifles. The most important characteristic of this army was that it was made up of slave officers of Circassian, Albanian and Turkish origin and that all the troops were looked upon as the Pasha's personal property. The European instructors were not looked upon as part of the army, but rather as civil servants attached to the regiments with the Turkish title of *ta'limjī*—instructor; they had no military rank and were appointed at fixed rates of pay, promotion to them simply meaning a rise in increment.³ Religion seemed to be the chief obstacle in the path of these instructors. Sève, by his conversion, removed this obstacle and thus opened the way to his promotion in just the same way as a Turkish officer.

These new regiments were soon put to the test. The first was sent on active service against the *Wahhābīs*, the second to Sennar, the third, fourth, fifth and sixth under Ibrāhīm Pasha against the Greeks⁴ and their successes everywhere were brilliant. It was their success that completely hypnotised Muḥammad 'Alī and he now set the machinery going for the development of his fighting services on as large a scale as possible; his experiments also encouraged him to set up further establishments that were indispensable to the army. New creations now followed one another rapidly and it is to these that we shall

¹ Salt was the English Consul-General.

² Douin, op. cit., p. xiv.

³ Vaulabelle, op. cit., II/252. They received a commencing salary of 2,000 francs a year, two suits, a house and 60 francs a month for ration allowance, see also Planat, op. cit., p. 40, and Cadalvène et Breuvery, *L'Égypte et la Turquie*, Paris, 1836, Vol. I/111.

⁴ One battalion of each regiment was retained in Egypt to serve as a nucleus for fresh armies.

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turn in order to trace their history and to describe their organisation and how they fitted in with the new order of things.

THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION—1824 TO 1837

The French Military Mission

The next period of Muḥammad 'Alī's rule was one of great activity, the most significant feature of which was the more intensive use of the services of foreigners and, in particular, of French technical and military men, several of which were of high standing in their own country. The most outstanding of these was General Boyer who brought a military mission with him from France in 1824.¹

The main object of this military mission as far as Muḥammad 'Alī was concerned was the training of additional regiments for his army.² Boyer's task was confined to the formation of infantry battalions though from the beginning he tried to make himself indispensable and fought hard for the predominance of French influence. This was, however, the very thing Muḥammad 'Alī had made up his mind to avoid; he wanted servants not masters. From the beginning, Muḥammad 'Alī cleverly avoided giving Boyer any rank in his forces,³ thus, in spite of his high rank in the French army, his position in the Egyptian army was of no account.⁴ Boyer was simply expected to teach and to advise, not to act, action being left to Muḥammad 'Alī's man,⁵ in fact, Boyer was looked upon as little more than an instructor himself.⁶

One of the duties of the military mission was to acquire the services of French officers as military instructors and, naturally

¹ The idea of this military mission seems to have emanated from Muḥammad 'Alī himself for he commissioned a French merchant called Tourneau for this purpose; this agent interviewed Gen. Belliard in France and the latter chose Gen. Boyer who was accompanied by M. Livron, Col. Gaudin, Comm. Adolphe de Tarle and his brother, Cap. Paulin de Tarle, Cpts. Chenneville and Pujol, Lieut. Ledieu and Duvignault, a surgeon. The Mission landed at Alexandria on the 24th November, 1824, see Douin, *Une Mission militaire*, Cairo, 1923, p. 6, and Planat, op. cit., pp. 67-8.

² Douin, op. cit., pp. 75-7. The 7th, 8th and 9th regiments were formed and dispatched to Morea as early as August, 1825; no sooner were they out of the country when Muḥammad 'Alī ordered the conscription of the 10th, 11th and 12th regiments. Boyer's training camp was at first situated about a mile to the south of Old Cairo, but owing to periodical inundation, it was removed to Kubbah which in turn, was found to be too near Cairo, so Khānkāh was eventually decided upon. The locality was called Jihād Abād.

³ Douin, op. cit., pp. 12 and 17.

⁴ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 64. Planat, op. cit., p. 99.

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enough, it made it a part of its policy to introduce as many Frenchmen as possible into the country in order partly to counteract the strong position of the Italians.¹ Although Boyer had no high opinion of the latter,² they still continued to be engaged³ probably through the agency of Bokty and other Italians in the service of the Pasha.

At various times during Boyer's mission, applications were made to France for French officers⁴ who were to bring elementary text-books with them for use in the Egyptian services⁵; on their arrival they were given a practical examination on the parade ground⁶ and not all of the instructors succeeded.⁷ All European instructors were placed under Colonel Gaudin.⁸

Perhaps one of the greatest drawbacks about the employment of these foreigners was the lack of uniformity of method. Although Muḥammad 'Alī had decided to use Frenchmen and French methods, he still relied a great deal on Italians who were naturally not very keen on following French example. Boyer criticised Muḥammad 'Alī very strongly for having sent his officials to Italian military schools.⁹ Another disadvantage in this confused system was the perpetual intrigues firstly between Italians and French, secondly, between the French of the official mission and those who had already been given employment and who claimed to have done all the pioneer work and, lastly, on the part of the Turks themselves, who were against the whole group of foreigners disliking them personally and loathing their innovations.¹⁰

One of the most useful services undertaken during the Boyer mission was the development of the artillery under Col. Rey with the help of two Turkish officers who had studied at Constantinople,¹¹ but here again, Boyer criticises the type of

¹ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 4.

² Douin, *ibid.*, p. 23.

³ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 24, p. 52, pp. 65-6, pp. 78-8.

⁴ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ Douin, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 38 and Planat, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

⁷ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸ Almost every work dealing with this subject brings out these intrigues and counter-intrigues—Douin, *ibid.*, pp. 52-3, Planat *ibid.*, p. 73; P(resses d'Avennes) and H(amont); *op. cit.*, p. 132. The position of foreign officials was most difficult; they endeavoured to improve it but the attitude of the Turks never allowed for any amelioration. The Turk was convinced that the foreigner who came to Egypt did so because he could find nothing to do in his own country, see Douin, *ibid.*, pp. 52-3. "Rien n'est rebuté ici comme les officiers qui s'y rendent de leur plein gré. On pense que la misère les a forcés à venir tendre la main au Pacha."

¹¹ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹ Douin *ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰ Douin, *ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

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officer drafted into this new service chiefly on account of his illiteracy.¹

That the mission succeeded in forming the required number of officers' cadres and battalions in as short a period as possible is beyond doubt, but its personal relations were far from a success. Muḥammad 'Alī had no difficulty in accepting the resignation of Boyer and his colleagues in August, 1826,² undoubtedly realising the danger of employing foreign officials of such high rank. He had already made up his mind that, if he wished to continue his reforms, he must use his own men as far as possible and it was probably with this idea that he suddenly promoted 'Uṭmān Nūr-addīn to the rank of Major-General in May, 1825.³

Military Schools

As a consequence of this intensive military training, it was necessary to train officers and with this object in view, the Būlāk School mentioned above was transferred to Kaṣr al-'Ainī⁴ in July, 1825, and was called the *Madrasat al-Jihādiyyah* or *Madrasat al-Jihādiyyah al-Ḥarbiyah* or *Madrasat at-Tajhīziyah al-Ḥarbiyah*. The school received about six hundred students,⁵ at the time of its transfer and later on all the other military schools drew their recruits from this *madrasah*. The ages of the students ranged from twelve to sixteen; they were a mixture of Turks, Circassians, Georgians, Greeks, Armenians, and Kurds who were taught Turkish, Arabic, Italian by a certain Ratazzi; drawing, arithmetic and geometry by a certain Don Carlos and were drilled in infantry exercises by Daumergue and Acerbo⁶; there were no Egyptians in this school.⁷ 'Uṭh-

¹ Douin, *ibid.*, pp. 77 and 67 and 120 where the same criticism is made of the infantry officers—see also Planat, *ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

² Douin, *ibid.*, pp. 135-6.

³ Planat, *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴ Vaulabelle, *op. cit.*, p. 255, and Planat, *ibid.*, p. 32 who both call it a *collège* or *lycée*. See also ar-Rāfi'ī Bey, *op. cit.*, Vol. III/367 and Amīn Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8, and *Appendix III*, p. 50 who are both under the impression that this school was an entirely new one.

⁵ The numbers rapidly increased, however—see Planat, *ibid.*, p. 155 where he gives 800 and St. John, *Egypt and Muḥammad 'Alī*, London, 1834, Vol. II, p. 400, where he gives 1200.

⁶ Planat, *ibid.*, p. 362. What happened to the teachers and students of the original Būlāk School is hard to say as there is no further information concerning it; according to Planat (*ibid.*, p. 86), the cadastral survey still existed; probably a section of the Kaṣr-al-'Ainī college was used for this purpose.

⁷ Artin, *L'Instruction publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1890, p. 70. This school might almost be termed a "depot" or "collecting house" for all the slaves that Muḥammad 'Alī purchased in order to form from them his commanding officers and officials. There is no doubt about the fact that Muḥammad 'Alī still bought slaves as the following extract from a letter dated 18th July, 1831, proves:—"Voici ce que le Pacha m'a dit confidentiellement et de son propre

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mān Nūr-addīn was again responsible for the organisation of this school while Aḥmad Ef. *Khālil* was placed in charge as director (*nāzir*).¹

This School, however, was transferred to Abū Za'bal in October, 1836² after having functioned at Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī for about eleven years under seven different directors.³ The date of its transfer coincides approximately with that of the Medical School to Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī to the palace which had been occupied by the Military Preparatory School.⁴ At Abū Za'bal, the Pre-

mouvement, en m'ajoutant que je pouvais même en écrire à Votre Excellence. 'Vous connaissez comment je me suis élevé au pouvoir en Égypte; vous savez que pour tenir en bride les Arabes afin de tirer parti de leur caractère, il me faut des Turcs formés aux nouvelles institutions que j'ai établies; que je ne puis me fier à des musulmans déjà âgés, venant de Constantinople chercher du pain dans les États que je gouverne, lesquels ne veulent rien apprendre, et encore moins puis-je me servir de chefs Albanais ou Roméliotes qui ne sont susceptibles d'aucune espèce d'attachement, n'exerçant la profession des armes que pour faire de l'argent et aller jouir chez eux de leurs épargnes. Vous avez dû observer dans le temps qu'après m'être servi d'eux pour repousser l'expédition anglaise, renverser la puissance des Mamelouks, détruire celle d'Abdallah Ebn Sehoud, chef des Wahabites, et conquérir l'Éthiopie, j'ai insensiblement éliminé cette soldatesque indisciplinable, au fur et à mesure que la nouvelle organisation militaire acquérait en Égypte de la consistance et de l'extension. Il entre dans le système que je me suis fait d'accorder les pouvoirs secondaires surtout dans la partie militaire et celle de la marine, aux jeunes Turcs sortant de ma maison et celle de mon fils, et de confier la partie administrative à ceux que j'ai fait élever et qui se trouvent encore à mes frais en Europe. Pour maintenir cette pépinière qui est l'axe de mon gouvernement, et l'entretenir, je ne vous cache pas que j'ai fait acheter en Égypte et des marchands turcs qui y viennent de Constantinople des esclaves blancs de l'un et de l'autre sexe; ces marchands se livrent depuis longtemps à ce trafic et il y en a plusieurs qui rapportent en échange des esclaves de la Nigritie et de l'Abyssinie. Des maraudeurs, sur les anciennes frontières de l'Empire de Russie, enlevaient de jeunes enfants, et même des soldats turcs en achetaient des indigènes; les uns et les autres les entreposaient le plus souvent dans la forteresse d'Anapa et d'autres marchands venaient les y prendre pour les transporter à Constantinople sur les bâtiments ottomans." See R. Cattani, *Le Règne de Mohamed Aly d'après les Archives russes en Égypte*, Vol. I, pp. 425-6. It is most significant that Muḥammad 'Alī did his utmost to acquire the services of Turks for we find in 1826 an order dated 24th November, sent to Najīb Ef. Kapu Kikhyā at Constantinople asking him to send to Egypt any available youths who could read and write in order to enter his service, see *Taḳwīm*, II/326. About the same time it is curious to note that Maḥmūd II sent a letter to Muḥammad 'Alī asking for "Egyptian" officers to be sent to Constantinople to teach Turkish soldiers the "new system" because he did not wish to use Europeans. Muḥammad 'Alī declined to do so on the grounds that he had no Egyptian officers capable of instructing and that he himself was obliged to employ Europeans, see letter No. 437, *Daftār* No. 22 dated 12th Muḥarram, 1242 (16th August, 1826)—'Abdīn Archives and *Taḳwīm*, II/325. (Probably "Egyptians" here means Turkish officers coming from Egypt).

¹ Planat, *ibid.*, p. 155 where he states that he was "mal choisi pour cet emploi"; he was replaced by Muḥammad Ef. in February, 1927—see also Sāmi, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 8 and App. 3, p. 50.

² Sāmi, *at-Ta'lim*, App. p. 45, no reference is made to this being a transfer, see also Hamont, *op. cit.*, II/322.

³ Sāmi, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴ Clot, *Aperçu*, II/419 and Mahfouz, *The History of Medical Education in Egypt*, Cairo, 1935, pp. 35-6.

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paratory School continued under one director, Ibrāhīm Ef. Ra'fat, until it was closed in 1842.¹

In October of the same year, a Staff College was established by 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn at *Khānḳāh* and Planat was made its director.² It was generally called *Maktab ar-Rijāl*³ or *Madrasat Arkān (al-) Harb*, (by the Europeans *l'École de l'État-major*), and was intended for the élite of Muḥammad 'Alī's men for it was open to Turks and Mamluḳs from Constantinople who were given the rank of lieutenant on admission. At a later date, probably when Muḥammad 'Alī began to feel the shortage of men more acutely, he allowed Egyptians to attend as a special favour but they were not allowed to sit for the examinations and were given no rank.⁴ This school was begun with eighteen officers as students, there being two colonels, two commandants and the rest adjutants and captains. The courses were arranged by Planat who taught gunnery, fortification, geodesy and reconnaissance; a certain Cosmano gave infantry drill and tactics, Ḥasan (Shaikh?) taught arithmetic and geometry, Ledieu drawing and Koenig taught French.⁵

This was the first experiment in Egypt in what might be called higher training⁶; the obstacles appear to have been very great especially in view of the linguistic difficulties again and the lack of any kind of preparatory education on the part of the students.⁷ Two years later, the Staff College had seventy-one officers following the courses which were reorganised as follows:—

Planat—director ⁸	..	geodesy, military tactics, reconnaissance, gunnery, temporary and permanent fortifications.
Sh. Ḥasan	..	arithmetic in Arabic.
'Arif Ef...	..	geometry in Turkish.

¹ Sāmi, *op. cit.*, p. 45 and ar-Rāfi'ī *'Aṣr Ismā'īl*, Vol. I/228.

² Sāmi, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 9, ar-Rāfi'ī Bey, *op. cit.*, III/371. Dor. *op. cit.*, p. 211, Clot Bey, *Aperçu*, II/333 (where he gives 1826 as the date of establishment). Rifā'ah Bey, *Manāhiḳ al-Albāb al-Miṣriyah*, Cairo, 1912, 2nd ed., p. 247. P(riesses d'Avennes) and H(amont), *op. cit.*, p. 133.

³ In the Turkish sense—"the school of the dignitaries."

⁴ P(riesses d'Avennes) et H(amont), *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵ Planat, *ibid.*, pp. 92-94.

⁶ Planat calls it an *école spéciale* and the Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī school a *lycée*.

⁷ Cadalvène et Breuvery, *L'Égypte et la Turquie de 1829 à 1836*, Paris, 1836, Vol. I, p. 125. "Près de cent officiers de 20 à 25 ans, ignorant pour la plupart les premiers éléments de l'arithmétique, assistent à des cours de géométrie et de fortifications, d'ailleurs mal faits, et aux quels ils sont incapables de rien comprendre; au bout de deux ans, on en fait des instructeurs qui remplacent les Européens."

⁸ Although not stated in the various authorities, this should probably read *director of studies* as there was a Colonel in charge of the college (Salim Bey).

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Arif Ef...	..	trigonometry, Turkish (course not yet given).
Lt.-Col. Wogt...	..	infantry drill (theory and practice).
Pachot (Pachod)	..	French—1st division.
Koenig	..	French—2nd division.
	..	Persian and Arabic.
Abbé Célésia	..	physics.

The period of study was of four years' duration nominally but at the time Planat was writing his book (1830), the fourth year had not yet been given:—

First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year
arithmetic	geometry	trigonometry	physics
figure	temporary	permanent	
drawing	fortifications	fortifications	
		field works	chemistry
topography			
French	military surveying	military recon-	higher
gunnery	French	naissance	maths.
platoon and	castrametation	map making	geography
company	battalion drill	French	history ¹
drill		manoeuvring	

The Staff College seems to have been the first school to have been established on definite French lines with French as the principal language of instruction.² From now onwards, in spite of Boyer's³ withdrawal from the scene, one notices a decided turn in favour of French ideas and a wider application of their methods of education and training although, as will be seen later, the number of Italian officials did not decrease.

The *Nakhilah* or "Depot" at Jihād Abād was now set aside for the training of junior officers. In 1826, there were about five hundred who are described by Planat⁴ as a *horde indocile et indiscipliné* who had to be taught in Turkish, a language which they spoke, but could not write; the officers were divided into three classes under three European instructors, the principal one being M. Plasso, a Piedmontese.⁵

As far as can be ascertained, one of the Citadel schools still appears to have functioned although there is hardly any informa-

¹ Planat, *ibid.*, p. 363.

² Douin, *ibid.*, pp. 40-1. Boyer complains that the French language was *à l'index*, so strong was the Italian influence.

³ One cannot help coming to the conclusion that it was intrigue that forced Boyer out of the field, no doubt both Sulaimān and 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn felt that he was a serious rival.

⁴ Planat, *ibid.*, p. 103.

⁵ Planat, *ibid.*, pp. 152 and 351; Guémard, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

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tion about it; an official document dated 9th July, 1831, shows that ash-Shamāshirjī Aghā was at the head of this school.¹

About the same time that the Būlāk school was established, a levy was made of Nile boatmen, who were sent to Alexandria to be trained on four old corvettes for the Navy that Muḥammad 'Alī intended to build.² It appears that at this early time, the instruction was again entrusted to Italians.³ Old Turkish officers were placed in charge of the men and the officers used to present themselves every morning to the *Dīwān al-Bahriyah*⁴ to receive nautical training and lessons in mathematics and lineal drawing, rather as an example to the younger officers who were again drawn from the Turkish and Circassian races and placed in a fifth corvette.⁵

The Commission d'Instruction

Perhaps in order to introduce uniformity in method and some kind of centralised control over the schools and military instructors attached to the various regiments, an order was issued through the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyah*, presumably from Muḥammad 'Alī himself, to the effect that a *Commission d'Instruction* should be formed. The *Commission* was under the presidency of the *Nāzir* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyah* and the members of the first *Commission* were Maj.-Gen. 'Uthmān Bey Nūr-addīn, Gen. Boyer, the Turkish Colonels, Col. Gaudin who was in charge of the European instructors, Col. Rey, in charge of artillery, Comm. Tarle and Capt. Tarle, and the first meeting was held in January,⁶ 1826. This was the first attempt in Egypt to form any kind of bureaucratic control over the schools as before that date, the reforms and the establishment of the schools depended on the will of Muḥammad 'Alī who

¹ Document No. 298, *Daftar* No. 41, 28th Muḥarram, 1247. Amīn Sāmī states that he could find no information about this school, see *at-Ta'lim.*, app. No. 3, p. 44.

² Vaulabelle, *op. cit.*, p. 255, who states that there were about 3,200 men in all; see also Planat, *ibid.*, p. 170.

³ Douin, *Les Premières Frégates de Mohamed Aly*, Cairo, 1926, p. 77. Planat, *ibid.*, p. 170 gives the name of (Vincent) Willenich who was placed in charge of the training. For the important contribution of the Italians to the building of the Egyptian navy, see Sammarco, *La Marina Egiziana sotto Mohammed Ali*, Cairo, 1931; Guémard, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴ Established in 1813 according to Zaghlūl, *al-Muḥāmāh*, Cairo, 1900, p. 166.

⁵ Vaulabelle, *ibid.*, pp. 255-6 French officers were also employed. The young officers were recruited from the Būlāk school. At this time a Turk was in charge of the fleet and Ḥajjī 'Umar, an Egyptian, in charge of naval construction, see Clot Bey, *Aperçu*, II/237.

⁶ Planat, *ibid.*, pp. 92 and 98. So far it has not been able to trace the name of this *Commission* in Turkish or Arabic.

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seemed to act according to the suggestions of 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn. With the resignation of Boyer, the *Commission* was reformed, still, of course, under the *Nāzir* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* with the following members, 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn, the Turkish Colonels of the regiments, the Colonel of the Staff College (Salīm Bey), Col. Gaudin who, although belonging to the Boyer mission, did not resign with his chief, Lt.-Col. Wogt., Lt.-Col. Delforte, several battalion instructors and Planat who acted as secretary.¹

The duties of this *Commission* are not given by Planat, who is the only authority to mention this important link in the history of education in Egypt, but from this date, schools were opened one after the other and since all of them came under the supervision of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* the *Commission* had presumably control over them.

The School of Medicine

The School of Medicine has been the subject of much controversy especially with a group of French writers who wrote during and just after Muḥammad 'Alī's reign. It must be remembered that it was a period of Franco-Egyptian *rapprochement* and it was as much the interest of the French to praise what Muḥammad 'Alī had done as it was his to get people to write about him; typical of this kind of literature is Gouin's *L'Égypte au XIXe siècle*,² aussi obséquieux qu'hyperbolique.³ One of the main sources for the history of the School of Medicine and, in fact, for many of Muḥammad 'Alī's innovations has nearly always been the work written by Clot Bey, particularly his *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*.⁴ This work is purely apologetic and propagandistic in character, and when it is compared with all the other material written on the school and other institutions can only lead the reader to the conclusion that Clot's main object in writing his *Aperçu* was for the benefit of the name of his patron in Europe in addition to its being a piece of self-praise.

It was expected that the work done by Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt as presented by Clot Bey would give the impression that the Pasha was an enlightened monarch who had the interests

¹ Planat, *ibid.*, p. 357.

² Paris, 1847.

³ See J.-M. Carré, *Voyageurs et Écrivains français en Égypte*, Cairo, 1932, Vol. I, p. 285. This two-volume work is indispensable to the student of Egypt as it is a valuable introduction to the study of the French sources.

⁴ Paris, 1840, Clot Bey also published his own reports on the hospital and school.

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and welfare of the Egyptians at heart and that he had done everything in his power to introduce and encourage learning and science in his country or rather in the country that he had made his own. Unfortunately for Clot Bey, his work was followed up three years afterwards by Hamont's *L'Égypte sous Méhémet-Ali*¹ which is considerably larger than Clot's book. It is fully documented and the writer devotes about thirty pages to an investigation of the medical school the contents of which are confirmed elsewhere. Hamont and Clot were rivals and it was Hamont's bitterness and disappointment that caused him to write his history and to question the work done by Clot Bey but, in spite of that, Hamont's account is nearer the truth and more sincere. Each writer had his partisans; Clot had Jomard and Perron,² while Hamont inspired both Schoelcher and Gisquet.³

Moreover, we have contemporary evidence to show that Clot regretted having written his work on Egypt. Prisses d'Avennes reports: "Clot Bey n'est pas en grande faveur auprès du Pacha et se repent d'avoir fait ou fait faire dans son livre, c'est-à-dire, dans le livre qui porte son nom, un aussi beau panégyrique de Méhémet-Ali,"⁴ while Comte de Saint-Ferriol gives us an account of a conversation he had with Clot Bey⁵: "2 janvier, 1842. Nouvelle visite à Clot Bey. C'est un petit homme vif, éveillé, au verbe haut, au ton tranchant, à l'air content de lui-même, ne manquant pas d'une certaine franchise: ainsi, après une ample connaissance et poussé par nos questions, il nous a tout simplement avoué qu'il était désolé d'avoir fait son livre: il paraît que sa faveur baisse et qu'il ne pourra pas tenir longtemps. . . . On peut d'ailleurs admettre qu'outre son dessein de tromper les autres, il a été trompé lui-même, comme il nous le disait, sur la portée et la solidité de tout de qui se faisaient Égypte. . . ." The severest critics of Clot Bey are to be found amongst Frenchmen,⁶ although

¹ Paris, 1843, see also J.-M. Carré, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 289-290.

² See his letter to Mohl, dated 14th May, 1844, in Yacoub Artin Pacha, *Lettres du Dr. Perron du Caire et d'Alexandrie à M. Jules Mohl, à Paris*, Cairo, 1911, pp. 83-86.

³ J.-M. Carré, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 290-3. V. Schoelcher, *L'Égypte en 1845*, Paris, 1846, and H. Gisquet, *L'Égypte, les Turcs et les Arabes*, Paris, 1848.

⁴ In *Petits mémoires secrets sur la cour d'Égypte*, Paris, 1930, p. 37. All the work was not written by Clot Bey but with the collaboration of Jomard, Mengin, Linant de Bellefonds, de Cérisy and others who were in Muḥammad 'Alī's service, see J.-M. Carré, *op. cit.*, I/283 and the preface of the *Aperçu*.

⁵ J.-M. Carré, *ibid.*, I/324-6.

⁶ See, for example, article by Saint-Marc Girardin in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. 23, 4th Series, Paris, 1840, pp. 905-920 in which he reviews Clot Bey's work.

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again, we find writers who have nothing but good to say of him especially those whom he had the honour of showing round his creations.

The fullest contemporary account in English of the medical school and hospital was written by Dr. J. Bowring in a Parliamentary Report addressed to Lord Palmerston,¹ but even this was written from material given to Bowring by Clot Bey and lacks in criticism.²

Nevertheless, in spite of adverse criticisms, Clot Bey must have the credit of being the pioneer in introducing modern medical studies into Egypt for whatever the immediate results may have been, the attempt bore fruit in the long run.

Medical services had been organised from the beginning of the *Nizām Jadīd* (p. 113) under Dussap and seem to have developed in size according to the needs of the ever-growing army until the arrival of Clot Bey in 1825, who suggested to M. Bosari, Muḥammad 'Alī's private physician, that a Health Council should be set up.³ The idea was accepted and the first council was composed of three members, not including Clot Bey, with Bosari as president and it met for the first time at Khānḳāh on the 25th March, 1825; a little before that date, the Council received two other members, Dr. Clot and M. Luigi Alessandri who was then head of the central pharmacy in the Citadel.⁴ It was the duty of the Council to advise the *Nāzir* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* on medical affairs.⁵

The idea and arguments in favour of the establishment of a School of Medicine and the plan and method of study were elaborately set out in persuasive language in a letter written by Clot to 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn on the 25th July, 1826.⁶ The main points of his letter were as follows:—

- (a) 150 young Egyptians with a knowledge of Arabic and arithmetic were to be assembled at the central hospital to be taught by teachers under Clot's orders;

¹ *Report on Egypt and Candia, addressed to the R.H. Lord Viscount Palmerston*, London, 1840, pp. 138-141.

² *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, Vol. 27, London, 1841, pp. 362-393; also a review of Clot Bey's work, but much more favourable in tone than Girardin's. Apparently, Clot Bey accompanied Dr. Bowring during the Syrian part of his tour. Bowring refers to the statistical reports made out by Clot Bey.

³ Clot, *Compte rendu des Travaux de l'École de Médecine*, Paris, 1833, pp. 120-1.

⁴ Clot, *Compte rendu*, p. 120.

⁵ Clot, *Aperçu*, II/395.

⁶ Clot, *Compte rendu*, pp. 21-28.

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- (b) medicine was to be taught and at the same time, the students were to be taught French;
- (c) the following subjects were to be taught: physics, chemistry, botany, anatomy, physiology, hygiene, *materia medica*, toxicology, therapeutics, pathology, pharmacy.
- (d) the instruction was to be given in the language of the students through the intermediary of learned translators (*traducteurs érudits*);
- (e) the government was to be guaranteed as to the satisfactory working of the system by setting up a Commission to conduct the examinations under the Presidency of the *Nāzir* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* and members of the Health Council.
- (f) the course of study was to be over a period of four years at the end of which period the students would pass out as military surgeons.

Immediately the plan was made public it was criticised on the ground that the Egyptians were not capable of studying medicine, that it was impossible to teach through the intermediary of interpreters, that there were no able teachers in the country and that the Moslem faith was against the study of anatomy.¹ In spite of opposition, however, the school was opened at the Hospital of Abū Za'bal and studies began on the 28th February, 1827.²

The obstacles were definitely greater than any that were faced on the opening of the other establishments. It was an experiment; for the first time, the students were all Egyptians and appear to have been members of al-Azhar mosque. In any case, it was not to be expected that the Turks and Circassians would have anything to do with such an enterprise as they considered themselves far too superior to follow any other profession but that of arms. It can be understood therefore, why this school had to suffer more inconvenience than any of the others in view of the fact that it was composed of two elements against whom the Turks were most prejudiced, namely, Europeans and Egyptians.

One hundred students were chosen and were given quarters in the hospital itself and, as in the other establishments, they were fed, clothed, lodged and paid a monthly allowance in addition to being taught at the charge of the government.

These students, coming from al-Azhar, with the syllabus and method of study of which we have already made ourselves familiar,

¹ Clot, *Compte rendu*, pp. 138-139. Planat, op. cit., p. 97.

² *Takwīm*, II/326, also *Waḳā'i' Miṣriyah*, No. 8, dated 14th Sha'bān 1244—19th February, 1829.

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were now taught the following subjects by the European teachers whose names are given below ¹:—

Clot	..	..	..	Surgical Pathology. Clinical Surgery. Operations. Accouchements.
Gaetani	..	..	..	General, descriptive and pathological Anatomy. Physiology.
Bernard	..	..	..	Private, public and military hygiene. Legal medicine.
Duvigneau ²	..	..	..	Medical Pathology. Clinical Medicine.
Barthélemy	..	..	..	<i>Materia Medica</i> . Therapeutics. Prescription. Toxicology.
Célésia	..	..	..	Chemistry. Physics.
Figari	..	..	..	Botany.
Lasperanza	..	..	..	Preparation of Anatomical lessons. Preparation of Anatomical and Pathological Parts.
Ucelli	..	..	..	French. ³

Gaetani had to retire at the end of the first year, being replaced by Cherubini, a graduate of Paris and Montpellier, who already had a private practice in Cairo.⁴ In the third year Barthélemy left and his post was taken up by Rivière,⁵ while in the same year, owing to additional subjects being taught, Alessandri was made responsible for the courses of Chemistry, Zoology and Pharmacy and Célésia for Physics, Astronomy and Metereology.⁶ In the fourth year, Cherubini was transferred to a post with the army in Syria and Pruner was appointed instead.⁷

For teaching purposes, the students were divided into sections of ten, the best student of each section acting as a kind of tutor to the rest. It was a most curious situation; a hundred

¹ Clot, *Compte rendu*, pp. 6-7, see also Planat, op. cit., p. 358 which differs a little.

² Spelt by Planat as Duvignault, *ibid.*, p. 68—this teacher had been on the Boyer mission.

³ According to *La Contemporaine en Égypte*, Paris, 1831, Vol. I, p. 355, Ucelli also taught Italian but this is probably due to a misunderstanding. Figari was Director of the Botanical Garden.

⁴ Clot, *Compte rendu*, p. 46.

⁵ Clot, *ibid.*, pp. 50-54—the post was open to competition.

⁶ Clot, *ibid.*, p. 78.

⁷ Clot, *ibid.*, pp. 89 and 97.

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Egyptian students from al-Azhar who knew only Arabic ¹ and who had never received any training but in Arabic grammar, Koranic Exegesis, Fikh, etc., gathered together in order to be trained in medical and scientific subjects of which they had not the slightest idea by a number of European teachers who did not know the language of their students and who themselves were not even homogeneous, Clot, Bernard, Barthélemy, Duvigneau being French, Gaetani, Spanish, Célésia, Alessandri and Figari, Italian, Ucelli, a Piedmontese and Pruner, a Bavarian.²

The actual method of instruction adopted by Clot Bey was to avail himself of interpreters,³ who translated the lessons in the presence of the teachers; the teachers explained all the difficult points to the translator and both revised the lesson in order to ensure accuracy. The Arabic text was then dictated to the classes and the monitor or tutor of each section was given permission to ask the interpreter for the explanation of any part of the lesson that he or the students in his section could not understand; the interpreter had to answer himself or else have recourse to the teacher again. In order to ensure that the students learnt their lessons, monthly examinations were held and the best student of the section was made monitor, the competition for the place of monitor thus serving as an encouragement to the students to work hard.

Clot Bey in another report admitted the fact that there were no translators at first capable of handling the material,⁴ but he seems to have acquired the services of two men at the beginning of the first year, namely, M. Raphael ⁵ and M. 'Anḥūrī, a Syrian.⁶ Raphael knew Italian, French and Arabic while 'Anḥūrī knew Arabic and Italian only; in the second year, two others are mentioned, Vidal and Sakākīnī.⁷ Another account states that Clot Bey chose several local Christians who could speak French and Arabic, and attached them to the school as interpreters on condition, of course, that they would be among the first to

¹ According to Hamont, op. cit., II/92, many of the students could hardly read and write.

² Clot, both *Aperçu* and *Compte rendu* *passim*.

³ Clot, *Aperçu*, II/412 and *Compte rendu*, p. 12.

⁴ Clot, *Compte rendu de l'Etat de l'Enseignement médical de l'Égypte*, Marseille, p. 1849.

⁵ Don Raphael—see above.

⁶ Clot, *Compte rendu*, pp. 5, 44. Regarding Raphael—see *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, Vol. XVII, 1935, pp. 259-60.

⁷ Clot, *Compte rendu*, p. 45.

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study medicine and that each interpreter was to specialise in a certain branch but no names are given.¹

Clot maintains in his work² that he had the greatest difficulty at the beginning in persuading the government to allow autopsy in view of popular religious feeling against it, but eventually a *fatwa* was issued by the *mufti* allowing it, thus clearing away this obstacle.³

It was quite clear even to the optimistic Clot that some kind of preparation was necessary before his students could approach their medical and scientific studies and, with this aim in view, he had an annex opened in the grounds of the hospital where the students were taught arithmetic, geometry, cosmography and history while in another department, they were taught French so that they could study medical science in the original texts.⁴

Michaud of the *Académie française* was asked to examine the students in French in March, 1831, and Clot Bey publishes a long appreciation by the examiner in his *Compte rendu*,⁵ but Michaud's account elsewhere⁶ is far from being appreciative and is given here in his own words: "*j'étais ravi de tout ce que je voyais écrit sur l'ardoise; j'ai voulu complimenter les élèves; je me félicitais de voir enfin la langue française devenue une des langues de l'Égypte, mais quelle a été ma surprise, quand j'ai vu que personne ne m'entendait, et que mes paroles étaient comme la voix du désert. Voici comment se fait l'enseignement de notre langue; le professeur de français, qui est un Piémontais, adresse en italien chacune de ses leçons à un professeur qui la transmet en arabe aux élèves; la réponse des élèves est traduite en italien et transmise ainsi au maître de français; au milieu de toutes ces traductions, il y a du miracle qu'on s'entende comme on le fait sur les règles de la syntaxe, mais comme la langue française ne figure que sur le tableau où s'inscrivent les demandes et les réponses, personne n'apprend à la parler, pas même le maître qui s'est approché de moi pour m'expliquer sa méthode, et qui me*

¹ Bourgues, *Histoire du Dr. Clot Bey*, s.d. and I, p. 399.

² *Aperçu*, II/410-411 and *Compte rendu*, pp. 5-6 and 147-8.

³ Sharaf, op. cit., p. 8. Hamont, op. cit., II/90-91, maintains that the people were far too afraid to raise any opposition to any of Muhammad 'Alī's enterprises. He mentions the name of Shaikh Hasan al-'Attār whom Muhammad 'Alī made Shaikh of Al-Azhar—it is to be doubted whether he represented all Egyptian opinion.

⁴ *Compte rendu*, pp. 150-151 and *Aperçu*, II/413.

⁵ Pp. 152-4.

⁶ Michaud et Poujoulat, *Correspondence d'Orient*, Paris, 1833-35, Vol. VI, pp. 86-88.

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l'a expliquée comme il a pu, non sans faire quelques fautes de prononciation."

The addition of this extra preparatory work made it impossible for the original plan of a four years' course to be workable and it appears to have been extended to six years later on; in any case, the first course was extended to a period of five years by the *Nāzir* of *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* to make up for the obstacles that Clot had had to meet with and for the time that had been lost.¹

At the end of each year,² a public examination was held in the hospital when all the state dignitaries and the consuls were invited together with any distinguished visitors who happened to be in Egypt. The original plan had been to promote the students from year to year, to *sous-aides* at the end of the second year, *aides-majors* at the end of the third and *chirurgiens-majors* at the end of the fourth and then they were all to be posted to the various hospitals and with the regiments,³ but actually, this plan was not put into practice for Muhammad 'Alī was so short of medical officers that the students were not allowed to complete their courses.

Already in the second year, Clot reports that some had been taken away and given posts⁴; between the third and fourth years, others were also withdrawn,⁵ and by the end of the fifth year, there remained only fifteen students who had completed five years' training and by that time, eighty-three had already been given employment.⁶ The Examinations' results were classified as follows:—

	1st year	2nd year	3rd year	5th year
Promoted ..	—	20	—	43
First-class ..	20	26	23	24
Second-class ..	38	21	21	7
Third-class ..	43	26	80	6
	101	93	124	80
			Ill and failures	4
			not examined	27
			special	2
				113

¹ Clot, *Compte rendu*, pp. 95-96.

² The scholastic year began 1st Shawwāl and ended 1st Ramaḍān, Clot, *Compte rendu*, p. 13.

³ Clot Bey, *Aperçu* II/399, they acquired practice from work in the hospitals.

⁴ *Compte rendu*, p. 45. Ten students who were useless as medical students were sent to the provinces to teach the "benefits of vaccination," *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵ Clot, *Compte rendu*, p. 84.

⁶ Clot, *ibid.*, p. 96.

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It is impossible to give careful statistics of the numbers of students in the school¹; when Clot Bey was in France in November, 1832, he claimed to have provided the army with one hundred and fifty surgeons² and to have three hundred students at the school during that year.³

Five years after the foundation of the school, Clot Bey maintains that his efforts and those of his collaborators were crowned with success.⁴ There may have been individual cases of success, but generally speaking, there was far too much haste about turning out men who had not learnt enough⁵ and the result was that many were turned back.⁶

There was a great deal of criticism aimed at the system of examinations to the effect that Clot actually gave the questions of the examinations to the students in order to ensure a certain number of successes; otherwise, the opposing parties would have brought about the downfall of the school together with its director.⁷ Muḥammad 'Alī got to hear of these reports and at the end of the third year, asked Dr. Pariset of Paris who was in Egypt doing research work, to undertake the supervision of the examination as president of the committee and to make a report on both the examination and the school.⁸ (Neguib Bey Mahfouz in his rather sketchy account of the History of Medical Education in Egypt⁹ seems to think that Hamont was at the bottom of the insinuations against Clot Bey,¹⁰ but Pariset's report which was published in 1833, ten years before Hamont's book, shows the general trend of feeling regarding Clot Bey and his school, and, in spite of the fact that the report is favourable, one cannot but judge the school by results. The examination may have shown to Pariset that the students were up to

¹ For the first year, see Clot's *Compte rendu*, p. 17, the second, p. 45, the third, pp. 64-5, the fifth, pp. 96, 104, 113-117.

² Clot, *Compte rendu*, p. 215.

³ Clot, *Compte rendu*, p. 215. A certain number of Syrians was also accepted—see also Ibrāhīm Khalīl, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

⁴ Clot, *Aperçu*, II/414.

⁵ St. John, *Egypt and Mohammed Ali*, London, 1834, pp. 402-3.

⁶ Mouriez, *Histoire de Méhémet-Ali*, Paris, 1858, III/111-112, and Marin, *Evénements et Aventures en Égypte*, Paris, 1840, pp. 38-39, and Schoelcher, *L'Égypte en 1845*, Paris, 1846, pp. 42-3.

⁷ The School of Medicine appears to have gone through a very difficult time, for it is reported that in 1829, Muḥammad 'Alī was so discouraged by the progress and work of the school, that he had the full intention of closing it and turning it into a silk factory; v. Carré, op. cit., I/237.

⁸ Clot Bey, *Compte rendu*, pp. 63-76. Pariset wrote a work on the plague in Egypt—see Cattau, op. cit., I/308, 341 and 362.

⁹ Cairo, 1935.

¹⁰ One of Hamont's sources of information was 'Anḥūrī, the translator on the staff of the school—Hamont, op. cit., II/99.

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standard, although the number of passes was lower than in other years, but the knowledge tested was only that of book-learning and memory and no student in the world has a more developed memory than the Azharī; there is far too much evidence to show that he was other than a miserable failure when it came to a question of practical work.¹

The School of Medicine was transferred to Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī in 1837,² but before going on to the other schools, some reference will be made to two other medical schools attached to the School of Medicine, the School of Pharmaceutics and the School of Maternity.

School of Pharmaceutics

The first attempts to establish a school of pharmaceutics goes back to November, 1829, when one was opened in the *Hikmah Khānah* in the Citadel and another at Abū Za'bal³; the former was closed in January, 1830, and amalgamated with that of Abū Za'bal under an Italian, Lulgi Alessandri,⁴ who was succeeded by the Abbé Céléstia.⁵ Already by April, 1832, this school had provided fourteen pharmacists for the army⁶ but, in addition to the native pharmacists, a relatively large number of Europeans was employed⁷ about whom Hamont is rather critical.⁸

¹ Clot Bey was fortunate in having the patronage of officials representing the French Government such as Mimaut, Boislecomte and others, who obviously used their influence with Muḥammad 'Alī to keep the institution going. There was also the question of the Pasha's own *amour propre* in having once started on his enterprise and having attracted the attention of Europe, he could not very well close it down. Duhamel in his report to Nesselrode dated 6th July, 1837, states "L'École de médecine, qui n'a fourni que des sujets médiocres à l'armée, est peut-être celle qui a le plus laissé à désirer jusqu'à présent. Les connaissances variées que l'on est en droit d'exiger d'un bon médecin sont trop au-dessus de l'intelligence commune des Arabes pour qu'on puisse espérer les voir réussir dans cette branche du savoir humain, et on aurait peut-être mieux fait d'envoyer quelques élèves distingués étudier dans les universités d'Europe que de créer une buanderie de médecine en Égypte pour laquelle le pays n'offre pas même les premiers éléments; Cattau, op. cit., II, pt. II, pp. 395-6.

² See above, page 118.

³ *Takwīm*, II, p. 358, where each is called *madrasat as-Saidalah*, also at *Ta'lim*, App. III, p. 47, where only one is mentioned as the *madrasat al-Ajzājiyah* under Husain Aghā; apparently Alessandri, who was the Inspector of this service, had his headquarters in the Citadel; see Clot Bey, *Compte rendu*, p. 156.

⁴ Clot Bey, *Compte rendu*, pp. 56, 78, 98 and 155-6, Verucci Bey, *Il contributo degli Italiani ai progressi scientifici e pratici della medicina in Egitto sotto il regno di Mohammed Ali*, Cairo, 1928, p. 12, Guémard, op. cit., Cairo, 1936, p. 233.

⁵ Clot Bey, op. cit., pp. 98 and 157.

⁶ Verrucci Bey, *ibid.*, p. 12, gives the names of 34 Italians as Pharmacists and 74 doctors.

⁸ Hamont, op. cit., II/108.

⁷ Clot Bey, *ibid.*, p. 98.

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School of Maternity

Another interesting medical training experiment of Clot Bey was the establishment of the School of Maternity—*Madrāsāt al-Wilādah* in between 1831 and 1832 in the School of Medicine itself.¹ For some time, it was not possible to get young girls or women to enter this School of their own free will. The first batch of girl students was made up of ten Abyssinian and Sudanese girls bought in the Cairo slave markets together with two eunuchs sent by Muḥammad 'Alī from his palace. In 1835, ten more slaves were added and ten orphan girls who happened to be under the treatment of the doctors in the Bimāristān and who, when cured, were taken over by the Government, as their parents did not claim them, and trained as midwives; thus the total number of students was thirty-four including the eunuchs who were also made to follow the courses.²

Mlle. Suzanne Voilquin, a Saint-Simonite, was put in charge of the girls' education from 1834-1836³; from 1836, she was succeeded by Mlle. Palmyre Gault who had been a student at the *Maternité* in Paris.⁴

As all the girls were illiterate, they had to be taught Arabic first and later on, Mlle. Gault taught them a little French in addition to midwifery, vaccination, cupping and bandaging, and the elements of *materia medica* and dispensing.⁵

A book dealing with midwifery was translated into Arabic and served as a text-book for the class.⁶

On graduation, the midwives were given the same rank as the men students of the medical school.⁷

The Veterinary School

It was not until 1827 that two European veterinary surgeons, Hamont and Prétot, both graduates of the Alfort School in France, arrived in Egypt.⁸ Up to that time, diseases and sick animals were not given scientific medical care; it fell to the lot of the native farrier to look after the horses, but the other

¹ Clot Bey, *Compte rendu*, p. 99 and pp. 157-160.

² Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 71.

³ Carré, op. cit., I/267 and II/247 and Guémard, op. cit., p. 233.

⁴ Clot Bey, *Aperçu Général*, II/424; Mahfouz, op. cit., pp. 71-2.

⁵ Clot Bey, *Aperçu Général*, II/424 and Mahfouz, op. cit., pp. 71-2.

⁶ Clot Bey, *ibid.*, II/424 and *Compte rendu*, p. 158.

⁷ Clot Bey, *Aperçu Général*, II/425.

⁸ Hamont, op. cit., II/115-162; they seem to have landed in Egypt in October, 1826; see also Guémard, op. cit., pp. 236-239.

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animals seem to have been left to their fate.¹ An unusually grave epidemic broke out among the buffaloes in Lower Egypt and it appears that Muḥammad 'Alī was prevailed upon to seek the assistance of European specialists.

As the epidemic of epizootie broke out in Lower Egypt, Rosetta was chosen first of all for the school of veterinary studies and both Hamont and Prétot had to go to this town to start their activities. Unfortunately, Prétot fell very ill soon after arrival in 1827 and had to leave the country; he went to Smyrna where he died.

Hamont, a Frenchman, was given the services of an interpreter who could not speak French but only Italian, Arabic and Turkish; an Azharī shaikh was also attached to him, and, between these three, it was hoped to teach veterinary science to some ten Egyptians sent from Cairo and, at the same time, to cure the cattle of their diseases. The arrangements for school accommodation were far from satisfactory while the usual intrigues between teachers, interpreters, students and officials seem to have been, if anything, rather worse than in Cairo.

In 1829,² the school was transferred to Abū Za'bal and was given temporary accommodation in the School of Medicine until a new building had been erected,³ but here again, Hamont seems to have met with further difficulties, including the rivalry of Clot Bey, who was anxious to have the School of Veterinary Science under his authority.⁴

Once near the capital, Hamont learnt how to get into contact with responsible people including Shaikh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār, Shaikh of al-Azhar and favourite of Muḥammad 'Alī, and the *Nāẓir* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* who both lent their support. His new school soon had fifty⁵ students and accommodation for the treatment of some one hundred and forty horses; provision was also made for the teaching of French and for the

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/129, gives the translation of a letter from 'Umar Bey the Governor of Tanṭā; "Je vous enjoins de leur faire voir les boeufs malades par accidents connus, afin qu'ils puissent opposer au mal, les remèdes dont ils se disent porteurs. Et pour ne pas les retarder dans leurs excursions, abstenez-vous de montrer les animaux dont les maladies viennent de Dieu, maladies contre lesquelles aucune puissance humaine ne peut rien."

² Sāmī, *Takwīm*, p. 373 and p. 390.

³ Hamont, op. cit., II/138 and Clot Bey, *Aperçu Général*, II/441.

⁴ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/138-9.

⁵ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/140; Clot Bey, op. cit., II/441, gives the figure as 100. It is important to note that the students were placed under a Turkish *Nāẓir* for discipline (Hamont, *ibid.* II/141) as with nearly all the schools.

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services of a second and very able interpreter called Fara'un¹ while Shaikh Muṣṭafā, who had given Hamont so much trouble at Rosetta, now encouraged by the growing importance of Hamont's establishment, seems to have turned over a new leaf and to have given his best to the work.

By an inter-collegiate arrangement, the students of the veterinary school followed certain courses at the School of Medicine, such as physics, chemistry, botany, pharmacy, etc., thus avoiding the necessity of duplicating certain posts, while theoretical and practical subjects connected with veterinary science were taught by Hamont himself. In due course, he was allowed the services of three European specialists by the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyah* and these helped in the practical training in the hospital.²

In addition to the direction of studies at this school, Hamont had to inspect the regimental veterinary hospitals.³ In 1833, he was also called upon to reorganise the *Hārāhs* at Shubrā which, up to that date, had been managed according to the old traditional methods.⁴ The Veterinary School was eventually transferred to Shubrā in 1837⁵ to where the Agricultural School had also been transferred from Nabarōh⁶ and put under the care of Hamont.

OTHER MILITARY SCHOOLS

The Schools of Music

In an endeavour to keep as close to the European model as possible, Muḥammad 'Alī introduced the system of regimental bands. A school for the training of trumpeters and buglers was opened in 1824 under Ḥasan Aghā (*Ujaḥ at-Turunbīlah wa'l-Burūjiyah*),⁷ and another special school for trumpeters in August of the same year under 'Uthmān Aghā, a Turk from Constantinople⁸; both these schools were experiments under Turks and did not last long; the exact dates of the closure of the first one are not given, but the second one was closed in December of the same year.

A more serious attempt was made in August, 1827, at

¹ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/141; Fara'un will be discussed in another volume dealing with translations, literature, etc.

² Hamont, *ibid.*, II/142.

³ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/143.

⁴ Clot Bey, *ibid.*, II/445-6.

⁵ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 54.

⁶ Clot Bey, *Aperçu général*, II/442.

⁷ See below, p. 79.

⁸ Sāmī, *ibid.*, p. 54.

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Khānḳāh under 'Alī Efendī as Director¹; the teachers were French while the direction of studies was in the hands of a Spaniard.² The students, numbered by Clot as two hundred and as one hundred and thirty by Mengin, were taught Arabic by Egyptian teachers.³ This school was closed down in September, 1835, and during the eight years of existence, there were five different directors.⁴

Both Clot and Hamont criticise the school mainly on the ground that French national and regimental tunes and airs were simply copied and that no attempt was made to compose anything Egyptian or Turkish.⁵ The performance was tolerably correct, but entirely without spirit. The object in borrowing European military music could only have been an imitation as it must have been understood that neither the Turks nor the Egyptians would appreciate European music any more than it was possible for the European to understand and appreciate Turkish and Egyptian music; the only instrument the Egyptians did take a liking to was the big drum.⁶ After the abolition of the Music School at *Khānḳāh*, a European music instructor was attached to each regiment.⁷

Another Music School was opened under 'Uthmān Ef. in September, 1834, but was closed in September of the following year⁸; St. John gives the description of yet another such school in the Citadel under a German who taught the Egyptians German and Italian music⁹; the official documents in 'Abdīn Palace mention the closing of four other Music Schools in 1841.¹⁰

The Cavalry School

For a long time Muḥammad 'Alī was not attracted by the

¹ Sāmī, *ibid.*, p. 54.

² Clot Bey, *Aperçu général*, II/87; Mengin, *Histoire Sommaire de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1839, p. 130. Later on Carré, a Frenchman was the Director of Studies—see Rāfi'i, *op. cit.*, III/371-2 and Guémard, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

³ Mengin, *ibid.*, p. 130.

⁴ Sāmī, *ibid.*, p. 54.

⁵ Whether or not patriotic hymns or poems were put to music cannot be ascertained but the *Waṭaniyāt* of Rifā'ah and Majdī certainly do not lack in spirit; Planat, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-6, gives the translation of a soldier's song called *Abū Libdah*.

⁶ Clot Bey, *op. cit.*, II/88 and Hamont, *op. cit.*, II/166; the latter states that the Egyptians "demandaient si l'homme qui faisait le plus de bruit, celui qui frappait sur la grosse caisse, n'était pas le plus savant des musiciens?" See also Rāfi'i, *op. cit.*, III/371-2.

⁷ Clot Bey, *op. cit.*, II/88.

⁸ Sāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁹ St. John, *op. cit.*, II/400.

¹⁰ *Daftar Madāris*, No. 2071, p. 44; *Daftar Madāris*, No. 2072, p. 34; and p. 39 and *Daftar* 862, p. 118.

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European cavalry system and it was not until after Ibrāhīm Pasha had seen French cavalry in action in Morea that he decided to adopt it in Egypt.¹

A cavalry mission was sent from France in November, 1829² and the School (*Madrasat as-Sawārī*) was opened in April, 1831, at al-Gīzah in Murād Bey's palace under the Directorship of Ḥāfiẓ Ef. Ismā'il³ with Lt.-Col. Varin, an old aide-de-camp of Marshal Gouvion Saint-Cyr,⁴ as Director of Studies.

In July, 1833, there were two hundred and twenty Turkish and Mamlūk students and thirty Egyptians who were to become trumpeters⁵; four years later there were four hundred, but⁶ the numbers seem to have fluctuated considerably.⁷

Varin endeavoured to copy the organisation of the Saumur School; even the students were dressed, but for the tarboosh, like the French *chasseurs*. Besides the regular cavalry manoeuvres, the students were taught infantry exercises, fencing, military administration, Turkish, Arabic, Persian and French.⁸

Of all Muḥammad 'Alī's schools, this one seems to have been the most successful from the point of view of organisation and results. St. John, who calls it the *School of Cadets* states that "It is here, indeed, that the greatest proficiency has been effected in every branch of education; these youths, dressed like European cavalry officers, with the exception of the tarboosh, which they still retain, having acquired a degree of general knowledge, and refinement in their carriage and behaviour, foreign to the rest of their countrymen."⁹

Marshal Raguse¹⁰ and Boisilecomte¹¹ both speak very highly of Varin who was responsible for the organisation, and it was through these two Frenchmen that Muḥammad 'Alī promoted him to the rank of Colonel with the title of Bey. Hamont

¹ Clot Bey, op. cit., II/219 and Cattai, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 310-311, Pezzoni to Ribeaupierre, 29th October, 1828 and p. 325, 26th December, 1828, and p. 363, Pezzoni to Nesselrode, 18th November, 1829.

² Cattai, ibid., p. 363, Pezzoni to Nesselrode, 18th November, 1829.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 52, and *Taḥwīm*, II/380.

⁴ Clot Bey, op. cit., II/220.

⁵ Douin, *La Mission du Baron de Boisilecomte*, Cairo, 1927, p. 136.

⁶ Cattai, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. II, p. 394, Duhamel to Nesselrode, 6th July, 1837.

⁷ Clot Bey, ibid., II/220, P. and H., op. cit., p. 133, *Voyage du maréchal duc de Raguse*, Paris, 1837, III/288; Mengin, op. cit., p. 128 gives 200; see also Guémard, op. cit., p. 136.

⁸ Mengin, op. cit., pp. 127-8; Poujoulat, *Voyage dans l'Asie mineure*, Paris, 1841, II/516; St. John, op. cit., II/399.

⁹ St. John, op. cit., II/399.

¹⁰ Raguse, op. cit., III/288.

¹¹ Douin, *La Mission du Baron de Boisilecomte*, pp. 58, 108 and 136; see also Clot Bey, op. cit., ibid., II/219-220 and Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/368-9.

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criticises the school on the ground that the students were taken away and given employment before they had completed the course.¹

The Artillery School

Attention had been given to the development of artillery on European lines almost as soon as Muḥammad 'Alī began his reforms (see above p. 24). M. Gonthard de Veneur was one of the first Europeans to be employed by Muḥammad 'Alī for this branch although he had no school under him²; Adham Bey also gave mathematical instruction to several officers with a view to training for the artillery service³; under Col. Rey, the service was still further developed while Planat taught gunnery at the Staff School.⁴

In June, 1831, a properly organised School of Artillery was opened at Ṭurā (*Madrasat at-Ṭūbjīyah*)⁵ for about three to four hundred students⁶ who were taught Turkish, Arabic, French, Italian, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, drawing, topography, fortification, infantry, cavalry and artillery exercises, construction of batteries and bridge-building.⁷ The School was under Khalil Ef. as *Nāẓir* until May, 1832,⁸ but Col. Seguera, a Spaniard,⁹ was in charge of the organisation and instruction until nearly the end of 1835 when he was dismissed by Muḥammad 'Alī through the intrigues of Sulaimān Pasha and Mukhtār Bey¹⁰; from that time, Bruneau, a graduate of the *Polytechnique* at Paris and a Saint-Simonite, was in charge of instruction,¹¹ but eventually became *Nāẓir*.¹²

The students came from the Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī School and the usual complaint is made that the students were not allowed to complete their courses and were sent out on active service

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/164.

² P. and H., op. cit., p. 133.

³ Planat, op. cit., pp. 155-6.

⁴ Planat, ibid., p. 93.

⁵ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 52 and *Taḥwīm*, II/382.

⁶ Cattai, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. II, p. 394, where Duhamel gives the number as 196.

⁷ Mengin, op. cit., II/129.

⁸ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 52; as with most of Muḥammad 'Alī's establishments, there was a continual change of *Nāẓirs*, from June, 1831, to March, 1840, there were seven changes, the last being Bruneau who kept his post for seven years.

⁹ Clot Bey, op. cit., II/221, states that he was a Portuguese.

¹⁰ Scott, *Rambles in Egypt and Candia*, London, 1837, II/236 and Puckler-Muskau, *Egypt under Mehemet Ali*, London, 1845, II/191; this will be dealt with in some detail below.

¹¹ He was called by the usual title of *ta'limjī* see official register, No. 2021, 'Abdin Archives.

¹² Poujoulat, op. cit., II/516; Carré, op. cit., I/262 and 272.

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before they were fully prepared.¹ Those intended to be officers were either Turks or Mamlūks but there was also an additional class of about one hundred Egyptians who were trained as gunners and were taught English as well as Italian.²

The Infantry Schools

Infantry training was pressed forward but the organisation of training centres seem to have lacked the consistency of the other military establishments probably due to the fact that the directorship was always changing hands.

The main training camp was situated a few miles to the north of Cairo near Khānḳāh at a place called Jihād Abād; an infantry school (*Madrasat al-Biyādah*) was opened at Khānḳāh in September, 1832³ but closed down in May, 1834; it was transferred to Damietta in June of the same year where it continued to function under the Piemontese, Lieut.-Col. Bolognini, until January, 1841, and then it was transferred to Abū Za'bal.⁴ Guémard maintains on the authority of Forni that an Infantry School was opened at Damietta in 1822, but this is not supported by Forni nor any other authority.⁵

The Damietta Infantry School had four hundred students who were trained as officers and under-officers⁶; they appear to have been Turks and Mamlūks for the most part⁷ and were taught military exercises and manœuvres, military administration, Turkish, Arabic and Persian.⁸

¹ St. John, op. cit., II/398-9.

² Douin, *La Mission du Baron de Boislecomte*, p. 137.

³ *Taḳwīm*, II/406 and Artin, op. cit., p. 191.

⁴ *Taḳwīm*, II/423 and *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 51, and Artin, *ibid.*, p. 191; Rāfi', op. cit., III/368. Boislecomte in July, 1833, states that there were no infantry schools in Egypt. According to the *Taḳwīm*, II/431, another infantry school was opened at Damietta in January, 1835; it may simply have been a new building for the accommodation of the students who were probably under canvas. Sulaimān Pasha was Inspector-General at the time and took a lot of interest in this school owing to its proximity to Syria perhaps. Raguse saw only one infantry school in 1834-35—see op. cit., III/287. A certain 'Abduh Ef. was appointed there as teacher of geography in October, 1835 (see *Taḳwīm*, II/451).

⁵ Guémard, op. cit., p. 134, gives his reference as Forni (*Viaggio nell'Egitto e nell'alta Nubia*, 1859), Vol. I, p. 407, but no reference is made to the town in question on this page and, although Damietta is described on p. 470, yet no reference is made to any infantry school there nor to Bolognini. He also quotes Deny (op. cit.), p. 125 in support of his statement, but Deny's date refers to the opening of the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah* (see above, p. 23, note 7).

⁶ Clot Bey, op. cit., I/198 and II/218; Cattani, op. cit., II/pt. II, p. 394; Poujoulat, op. cit., p. 516; Scott, op. cit., p. 239, gives the number of the students as 300; Mengin, op. cit., p. 123, gives the number as 200 and on p. 127 states that the infantry school at Khānḳāh contained 400 "young Arabs" in three companies who were taught the same subjects as those at Damietta.

⁷ Hamont, op. cit., II/165.

⁸ Clot Bey, op. cit., II/218.

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There is record of the opening of another Infantry School at Jihād Abād in July, 1832, but it was closed in April, 1834.¹

The High School

This school was called the *Maktab al-'Alī* and by the French, *École Supérieure* or *École des Princes*;² it was opened rather earlier than the date given by Sāmī³ as it was attended by Artin Ef.⁴ who went to Europe in 1826 as a member of the education mission.

It was organised on European lines as a military school for the training of the sons of Muḥammad 'Alī and other members of his family and the sons of his high officials.⁵

The students of this school, of whom Hamont speaks very highly, were taught Turkish, Arabic, Persian, French, history, mathematics, and the usual military subjects.⁶

The Naval Schools

Reference has already been made to the beginning of naval training (see above, p. 121). The formation of an actual school for the training of Naval Officers seems to have been in 1825⁷ under Ḥasan Bey al-Ḳubruslī.⁸ The training was given in one of the ships and, a little later, another ship was added to this service under Kenj 'Uṭhmān Bey. There appears to have been a strong feeling of animosity between 'Uṭhmān Nūr-addīn and Ḥasan al-Ḳubruslī and, one Friday while the students were absent and 'Uṭhmān Nūr-addīn was on a tour of inspection, Ḥasan set a trap to blow up the powder magazine hoping thereby to get rid of his enemy; 'Uṭhmān escaped but Ḥasan fell into his own trap and was blown to pieces.⁹ This early school is reputed to have done excellent work in producing officers amongst whom can be mentioned Ḥasan Ef. al-Iskandarānī, Muḥammad Ef. Shanān, Maḥmūd Ef. Nāmī, Ḥasan Ef. Sa'rān, who were sent to France to complete their studies and 'Abdal-Ḥamīd Ef.,

¹ *Taḳwīm*, II/402; Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 51; Artin, op. cit., p. 192.

² *Journal asiatique*, 1843, p. 21.

³ *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 55 and Artin, op. cit., p. 180.

⁴ *Revue d'Égypte*, II/424-5.

⁵ *Journal asiatique*, 1843, p. 21; Hamont, op. cit., II/326 and *Hekekyan Papers*, Vol. II, folio No. 36.

⁶ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/326.

⁷ Sarhank, *Hāḳā'ik al-Aḥḥbār*, II/243.

⁸ Sarhank, *ibid.*, II/243 and Cattani, op. cit., I/115, Pezzoni to Bockty, 27th September, 1827.

⁹ Sarhank, *ibid.*, II/243.

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Yūsuf Ef. Ākāh, 'Abdal-Karīm Ef. and Muḥammad Ef. al-Islāmbūlī, who were sent to England.¹

After the destruction of the fleet at Navarino in 1827, Muḥammad 'Alī made up his mind to rebuild another on a much larger scale. Some twelve thousand men were trained under Besson Bey² in a school set up near Ra's at-Tīn in Alexandria, some sixteen hundred were instructed in ship-building and the rest were taught, not only the handling of ships, but also naval gunnery and military tactics, so that they could be used both on land and at sea.³ Besson Bey was helped in his task by Ḥājī 'Umar and another native called Shākir Ef. al-Iskandarānī.⁴ Letellier, another French officer, was the chief instructor of a French Naval Mission brought to Egypt by Livron⁵ and did very useful work for the Egyptian navy, but the real credit for building the new fleet must be given to Cérisy, a French engineer formerly employed at Toulon, who arrived in Egypt in 1829, and took over the direction of the shipyards.⁶

The supply of men for the rank and file of the navy and for skilled labour in the dockyards came from the provinces⁷ through the usual methods of conscription,⁸ but the question of the supply of officers seems to have been more difficult for Muḥammad 'Alī and to have become increasingly so as time went on. We have already mentioned the case where a "requisition" of two hundred students between the ages of fifteen and twenty was made on the *Madrasat al-Jihādiyyah* to be trained in the ships; another reference is found to the effect that Muḥammad 'Alī made a request to his own followers asking them to supply him with three of their Mamlūks, in some cases five, for service as officers "since the matter is of a religious necessity."⁹

Under de Cérisy, the navy grew rapidly and, with the increase in the numbers of officers and men, a better organised school

¹ Sarhank, op. cit., II/243, see also under Education Missions below.

² Sarhank, ibid., II/242.

³ Sarhank, ibid., II/242 and Guémard, op. cit., p. 214.

⁴ Sarhank, ibid., II/237.

⁵ Cattai, op. cit., I/83, Pezzoni to Ribeaupierre, 6th August, 1827, also Guémard, ibid., pp. 216 to 225.

⁶ Cattai, op. cit., I/334, Pezzoni to Ribeaupierre, 28th February, 1829, also Guémard, loc. cit.

⁷ *Fallāḥīn*, see *Taḥwīm*, II/348 and II/391.

⁸ The term *ḥabaḍa 'alā* is generally used when referring to the conscription of provincials.

⁹ *Taḥwīm*, II/383.

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was opened at Ra's at-Tīn for the reception and training of Mamlūk officers under European and local teachers; the names of two of the former are given as Antoine Banansy and Camillo Moskani,¹ both Italians, and Muḥammad Ef. at-Tar-jumān.² The School (*Madrasat an-Nawāṭiyah*) was placed under the *Nāzir*, *Bimbāshī* Ibrāhīm Aghā Istanahālī until October, 1835, *Sāghaḳūl* Aghāsī Muḥammad Amīn Ef. succeeded him until June, 1837, and then Muḥammad Ef. *Khūrshīd* until November, 1839,³ it being the practice of Muḥammad 'Alī to place a Turk in charge rather than a European (unless he was a convert to Islam) as the Moslems were very sensitive about being under the authority of a Christian.⁴

In May, 1834, the number of Mamlūks at this Naval School is given as one hundred and sixty. They were taught arithmetic, geometry, geography and navigation; the students were divided out among the ships when they were in action in order to acquire practical experience.⁵

While the standard of training is reported as being higher in the navy than in the army,⁶ the main criticisms deal with the insufficient experience of the officers; they lacked judgment in the most elementary matters such as the strength of the wind and the amount of sail to carry; they generally waited until something broke down before they realised that action was necessary.⁷

OTHER TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

The School of War Munitions

In July, 1833, a School was set up under the name of *Maktab al-Muḥimmāt al-Ḥarbiyah*⁸ under a certain Muḥammad Ef.

¹ Sarhank, op. cit., II/237, but Avoscani is probably the right name; see Verrucci, op. cit., p. 11, Balboni, op. cit., I/396, and Guémard, op. cit., pp. 218 and 428.

² Sarhank, ibid., II/237.

³ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 53.

⁴ Guémard, op. cit., p. 216.

⁵ St. John, op. cit., II/405 and Cattai, op. cit., Vol. II, pt. I, p. 90, Duhamel to Nesselrode, 25th May, 1834.

⁶ Cattai, ibid., Vol. II, pt. II, p. 472, Duhamel to Besselrode, 2nd October, 1837.

⁷ Cattai, ibid., Vol. II, pt. I, p. 91 (see (2)); Clot Bey, op. cit., II/236-262; P. and H., op. cit., p. 142; Scott, op. cit., I/32-41; Vaulabelle, op. cit., X/255-6; Cadalvène and Breuvery, op. cit., I/17-20; Douin, *La Mission du Baron de Boislecomte*, pp. 119-124; Rifā'ah, *Manāḥij al-Albāb*, 2nd ed., pp. 243-9, and 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Khitāṭ*, Vol. I/88-9 all give some account of the Naval School, but that given by Sarhank contains more detail.

⁸ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 51 and *Taḥwīm*, II/415.

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who was relieved of his post in September of the following year, and, although the date of the closure of the school is given as March, 1836, yet no further names of directors are given. The actual functions of the school are not given; Artin¹ translates the name as *École des ateliers militaires* while Deny,² gives the meaning of the word *muhimmāt* as munitions and so the school probably had some connection with the Cairo Arsenal and Munitions Factory under the authority of Adham Bey (see above, p. 137).³ Hardly any mention is made of this establishment and in view of its short duration, it may be concluded that it was one of the many unsuccessful experiments.

The School of Mineralogy

A more important school, perhaps, was the *Madrasat al-Ma'adin* or School of Mineralogy which was established in Old Cairo in May, 1834 under Yūsuf Kāshif.⁴ Elsewhere, however, it is stated that Lambert, the Saint-Simonite, was in charge of a *School of Mines*⁵ in 1835; this was the school opened in the house of the Daftardār Bey in al-Azbakiyah in *Dhi'l-Ka'dah*, 1250—March, 1835. The order from Muḥammad 'Alī regarding the opening of the School of Mines was issued to Sulaimān Pasha,⁶ and it appears that the arrangements were carried out through Sulaimān Pasha, Adham Ef. and the Saint-Simonite group. Lambert does not appear to have had any connection with the Old Cairo school which was closed down in August, 1836,⁷ probably because the newly organised School of Engineering was able to teach the subjects connected with mineralogy. The School of Mines opened in March, 1835, was probably absorbed into the School of Engineering at about the same time.

The School of Engineering

The School of Engineering or *Polytechnique* of the French writers—*Madrasat al-Muhandisikhānah*, is perhaps one of Muḥammad 'Alī's most interesting experiments at introducing technical training into the country.

It is recorded that this School was opened at Būlāk in May,

¹ Artin, op. cit., p. 193.

² Deny, op. cit., p. 102 et passim.

³ St. John op. cit., II/424, who mentions that there was a *Polytechnic School* in the Citadel.

⁴ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 46, *Takwīm*, II/421 and Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/447.

⁵ Jomard, *Coup d'œil impartial sur l'état présent de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1836 p. 48, Guémard, op. cit., pp. 292, 293 and 295.

⁶ *Takwīm*, II/433.

⁷ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 46.

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1834,¹ under the *naẓīr*ship of Artin Ef. (afterwards Bey) until September of the same year, he was then succeeded by the capable Yūsuf Ef. Hekekyān, who was *Nāẓir* from November, 1834 until September, 1837.² Lambert then became *Nāẓir* and remained in that post until April, 1849, when 'Alī Mubārak took over the school until September, 1854.³ Actually, however, the School was not opened on the officially recorded date but was *reorganised*; the School of Engineering certainly existed in 1834, but owing to the lack of records on the one hand regarding the activities of the school between 1820 and 1834, and on the other, to the efforts of French writers to claim for their nationals all the credit of being the pioneers in introducing engineering studies into Egypt, one is hard put to it to collect sufficient data to enable a full account of the school to be written.

We are in possession of sufficient evidence, however, to support the fact that the School of Engineering was in existence before the reorganisation in May, 1834; we have one order emanating from Muḥammad 'Alī dated 9th *Shawwāl* 1246—23rd March, 1831—appointing al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Aghā as *Wakīl* of the *Muhandisikhānah*,⁴ another dated 23rd *Jamādā* I, 1249—8th October, 1833—where Azharīs were to be attached to the same establishment at forty piastres and fifteen piastres a month⁵ and a third dated *Shawwāl* 1249—February, 1834, ordering the students of that school to go and watch building activities in order to get some practice.⁶

One authority states that Artin was called upon to *reorganise* the School of Engineers which had been transferred to Būlāk,⁷ while Enfantin, to whom much of the credit is attributed in this pioneer work, states quite definitely in March, 1834, that the nucleus for a School of Engineering already existed,⁸ i.e.,

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 47; *Takwīm*, II/421; *Revue d'Égypte*, II/425-6; Artin, op. cit., p. 79 and 193; Weill, *L'École Saint-Simonienne*, Paris, 1896, p. 173.

² Artin, op. cit., p. 193; Sāmī, op. cit., p. 47; but in the *Revue d'Égypte* II/425-6, the date is given as 1835 which must be an error as we have a letter written by Enfantin to Lambert dated 6th September, 1834, pointing out that Artin was being taken away from the School and was being made a member of the Council (presumably Muḥammad 'Alī's *Majlis al-'Alī*) see *Oeuvres d'Enfantin*, Paris, 1872, Vol. XXX, p. 2.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 47.

⁴ *Takwīm*, II/380.

⁵ *Takwīm*, II/418.

⁶ *Oeuvres d'Enfantin*, Vol. II/XXIX, p. 122, letter dated 19th March, 1834 to Linant " . . . faire établir le plus promptement possible et pour un nombre assez considérable d'élèves, l'école polytechnique dont le noyau est déjà ici, et, qui dans un an, sera une pépinière productive, et un magasin d'instruments de travail."

⁷ *Takwīm*, II/416.

⁸ *Revue d'Égypte*, II/425-6.

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two months before the officially recorded date, which, of course, indicates that a School of Engineering of a kind existed in Egypt from the formation of the *Dār al-Handasah* in December, 1820, and continued, in fact, all throughout the reigns of Muḥammad 'Alī and 'Abbās I. It was reorganised on two different occasions, the first time under Coste and Nūr-addīn, in May, 1821; and the second, under the Saint-Simonite group with the help of the ex-Mission students such as Artīn and Hekekyān. From May 1834, however, it came to be known as the *Polytechnic* on account of its being an attempt to make it a copy of the *Polytechnique* at Paris, but actually the Arabo-Turkish name was more or less the same; it started as the *Dār al-Handasah* and with the transfer to Būlāḡ, came to be called the *Madrasat al-Handasah*, but even in the orders before the reorganisation, it is referred as the *Muhandishkhānah* which name it has kept until the present day. (1835)

This school, however, seems to have been intended to serve non-military needs, although Jomard calls it *la grande école militaire*.¹ The military side appears to have been considered for Planat mentions that a School of Military Engineering was contemplated at Khānḡah, but at the time of his writing (1828),² neither the personnel nor the students had been chosen; he suggests that the students were to be the pick of the other schools.³ St. John, however, paid a visit to the School of Military Engineering where he found about one hundred selected young men who were taught surveying, fortification, how to attack and defend places, mining, etc.; he criticises the school in much the same way as the other establishments were criticised, that the students were drafted into active service before they had learnt enough.⁴

The sudden importance of the School of Engineering coincides with the arrival of the Saint-Simonites in Egypt and the total eclipse of the scarcely-mentioned Coste; from that date, the future of Engineering works and studies is linked up with the careers of Lambert, Linant de Bellefonds who, together with Enfantin, Sulaimān Pasha, Artīn, Malus and others, reorganised this branch.⁵ Through the inspiration and influence of the Saint-Simonites under Enfantin, a school was also opened at

¹ Jomard, op. cit., p. 48.

² Planat, op. cit., p. 351.

³ Planat, op. cit., p. 351.

⁴ St. John, op. cit., II/400-1.

⁵ *Oeuvres d'Enfantin*, XXIX/pp. 122, 163-4, 168, 176, 213 and XXX/p. 2, and p. 5.

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the Barrage before the reorganisation at Būlāḡ¹ was started; it was suggested that the Barrage School should be kept open for practical work² under Linant who eventually became Director of Public Works.³

The main avowed object of the Saint-Simonites was the industrial and cultural development of Egypt and the opening of the Suez Canal.⁴ The project of encouraging engineering studies in Egypt, while providing employment for a number of Frenchmen and giving a good opening for the growth of French culture, certainly seemed sincere, and, although it bore fruit in the long run, yet the tradition of the Egyptian engineering service has never been sufficiently strong to remain independent of European experts. In fact, it has really become a part of the traditional system in technical branches of the Egyptian service that serious enterprises are always undertaken by Europeans.

On reorganisation, one hundred students were recruited from the *Darskhānah* (v. infra) and the Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī School⁵; they were taught Turkish, Persian, French, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, drawing, cosmography and mathematics over a period of three years,⁶ but as the real development of this school falls into the period after the reorganisation of the administration of the schools, it is proposed to deal more fully with this below.

The School of Applied Chemistry

Amongst the schools that were opened during this period, mention is made by Jomard⁷ of a School of Applied Chemistry under Heim; Artīn gives its name as the *École de chimie appliquée à l'industrie* and gives its opening date as 1829.⁸ According to the *Taḡwīm*,⁹ a School of Chemistry was opened at Old Cairo on the 8th Jam. II, 1247—14th November, 1831—for five students; the *Waḡā'i' Miṣriyah* confirms that such a

¹ *Oeuvres d'Enfantin*, XXIX/p. 168, letter dated 23rd May, 1834.

² Ibid., p. 164.

³ *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société d'Émulation des Vosges*, July, 1930. Article by Guémard, Mougel-Bey et le Barrage du Nil, p. 2, Bréhier, op. cit., p. 113.

⁴ Bréhier, op. cit., pp. 112-3; Carré, op. cit., I/257-273; Weill, op. cit., pp. 169-180; *Oeuvres d'Enfantin*, Vols. XXIX and XXX and Guémard, op. cit., p. 290 et passim.

⁵ *Taḡwīm*, II/426; Azharis were also attached to Linant to learn mathematics, etc., *Taḡwīm*, II/454 (November, 1835).

⁶ Cadalvène and Breuvery, *L'Égypte et la Turquie*, Paris, 1836, I/127.

⁷ Jomard, op. cit., p. 48, and Guémard, op. cit., p. 293.

⁸ Artīn, op. cit., p. 79.

⁹ *Taḡwīm*, II/385.

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school was in existence and that there also appeared to be some competition between two Frenchmen for post of director; the original director had contracted to teach five students, but another by the name of Roche appeared on the scene and volunteered to teach ten students and to do the work better.¹ Little information is available concerning the attempts to produce chemists; both St. John² and Clot Bey³ mention the existence of a Chemical Works at Old Cairo, the latter in more detail than St. John, and it appears that the object was to provide natives to do skilled work in Muḥammad 'Alī's factories.

The Civil Schools

The system of keeping records and registers in connection with administrative accountancy that Muḥammad 'Alī found on being made Governor of Egypt was in the hands of the *Efendīs* of the Accountancy Department who had had the monopoly of their tasks for generations, while the Copts seem to have the monopoly of tax-collecting and land-assessing. We have already seen that an attempt was made to make a cadastral survey of Lower Egypt (*v. supra*, p. 108), but no attempt to reorganise the system of book-keeping and accountancy appears to have been made until a later date.

The idea of introducing a satisfactory system of accountancy seems to have come from various sources; Jomard, Bowring and others were all asked in turn for suggestions but, as with all Muḥammad 'Alī's innovations, one cannot hardly attribute to any one person the credit of having promoted the adoption of some new idea. It seems to have been the practice of the ruler to have derived ideas and information from anyone who happened to know something about the subject he had in mind. In one case, Commandant Jean Haragli, a Copt who had joined the battalion of the *Chasseurs d'Orient*, and who was attached to the Boyer mission, is credited with having established the new system of accountancy in 1825 with the aid of Jomard.⁴ Elsewhere a certain Zaccar, originally a native of Cairo who had lived for some time at Trieste, but who had been obliged to return to Egypt on account of a change in his fortune, is

¹ *Wakā'i' Miṣriyah*, No. 316, 8th *Jam. II*, 1247—14th November, 1831—page 3, line 24.

² St. John, *op. cit.*, II/423.

³ Clot Bey, *op. cit.*, II/294-5.

⁴ Guémard, *op. cit.*, p. 258. Sakakini, *De l'Égypte et de l'intervention européenne dans les affaires d'Orient*, Paris, 1833, p. 23.

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supposed to have proposed to Muḥammad 'Alī in 1827 that the European system of accountancy should be adopted in Egypt.¹ In June, 1828, it is recorded that Muḥammad 'Alī gave orders to 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn to see that the change was effected, and, in addition to his rank as Major-General, he was made Director of Accounts for the general administration of Egypt while Zaccar was instructed to teach the various employees.²

An order was issued in *Muḥarram*, 1245—July 1829—to a certain 'Abdal-Bākī Ef. al-Mūrulī, the Chief Accountant and Storekeeper of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* to the effect that the account and registers under his control should henceforth be kept according to the European system³ from which it would appear that Muḥammad 'Alī's first order to Nūr-addīn applied only to the *Dīwān al-'Ālī*, probably as an experiment, and not to all the *Dīwāns*; it also points to the wisdom of Muḥammad 'Alī in not wishing to change the whole system at one stroke of the pen, knowing full well that such a sudden change would result in confusion.

There is enough evidence to show that Muḥammad 'Alī was aiming at a higher standard of administrative efficiency and at a system whereby the affairs of the country would be more and more under the control of men who were of his own following and whom he could trust. Everybody in his service was required to learn to read and write; we have, in fact, an order dated 3rd *Jam. II*, 1245—30th November, 1829—dismissing certain *ma'mūrs* who were illiterate.⁴ No mention is made about the disposal of the *ma'mūrs* in question. They were probably given posts of less responsibility, for it is to be doubted whether they were allowed to be unemployed; even the students who were dismissed from the schools either on account of bad behaviour or failure in their examinations were given some task in the government.⁵ No doubt this kind of treatment was meant as an example to the rest of the officers in order to make them keener and more efficient. Even the village headmen (*omdahs*) were ordered to learn to read and write,⁶ after various complaints had been made about their illiteracy,⁷ and the public

¹ Cattani, *op. cit.*, I/253, Pezzoni to Nesselrode, 22nd June, 1828.

² Cattani, *op. cit.*, I/253.

³ *Takwīm*, II/348, and also Douin, *L'Égypte de 1828 à 1830, Revue*, 1935, p. 131, Mémant to Count Portalis, letter dated 22nd July, 1829.

⁴ *Takwīm*, II/358.

⁵ *Art. 24 of the Regulations for the Preparatory Schools.*

⁶ *Takwīm*, II/427, order to Mukhtār Bey dated *Jam. I*, 1250—October, 1834.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II/426.

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weighers (*kabbānīs*) had to exchange their system of figures for Indian numerals.¹

It was impossible to expect clerks and accountants to take to the new system without some kind of training and with the object of giving the necessary instruction, Muḥammad 'Alī set up a school in *Rabī' II*, 1245—October, 1829—which was given the name of *ad-Darskhānah al-Mulkiyah—École civile*²; the students had to know how to read and write on admission and the syllabus included Arabic, Turkish, Persian, letter-writing (*inshā'*) and calligraphy. The *Nāzir* appointed was Muḥammad Ef. al-Adranālī, a scholar in the "three languages"—*al-Lughāt ath-Thalāth*—i.e., Arabic, Turkish and Persian. The school was to be situated in the *Majlis al-Mashwarah* and the students, after having made application for admission, were interviewed and placed in one of the three classes of the school, the first getting one hundred and fifty piastres a month, the second, one hundred, and the third, eighty; they received three hundred and thirty piastres a year for kit allowance and were fed "from the governor's kitchens." Classes started at sunrise; beginners had to learn grammar for an hour then the teacher had to dictate a passage from the *Ta'rikh Vāsif* (Turkish) which, when corrected, had to be re-written in *rik'a* for the teacher's inspection. This dictation and writing exercise took up most of the day as it did not terminate until the afternoon, they then read a passage from the *Tuhfat Vahbī* (Persian) for commitment to memory.

For practical administrative experience, those who knew Turkish could go to one of the offices which dealt with agricultural and administrative matters and problems in order to read and copy out the bulletins which came from the provinces (*jūrnālāt*) and other memoranda for the teachers' inspection. The students had to practice translating Arabic into Turkish and vice-versa, and if they felt inclined, could study arithmetic and book-keeping in the evening.³

The *mu'awins*⁴ worked in the *Darskhānah*, their principal task being the translation of Arabic reports dispatched from

¹ Ibid., II/375 and *Waḡā'i' Miṣriyah*, No. 221, 28th *Jam.* II/1246—14th December, 1830.

² *Taḡwīm*, II/363 and *Waḡā'i' Miṣriyah*, No. 142, 12th *Dhū'l-Ḳa'dah*, 1245—5th May, 1830.

³ For the account of this school, see the *Waḡā'i' Miṣriyah*, No. 142, 16th *Dhū'l-Ḳa'dah*, 1245.

⁴ Deny, op. cit., p. 107.

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the *ma'mūrs* to the *Majlis al-Mashwarah*; these *mu'awins* were divided into three classes, each with a special salary.

Another order was issued 18th *Rabī' I*, 1252—3rd July, 1836—to the *Wakīl* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādīyah* to the effect that a School of Accountancy was to be opened in his administration and that thirty students from the above *Darskhānah* were to be taken to form the nucleus but the *Wakīl* apparently had great difficulty in finding more than eight with the necessary qualifications.¹

The staffing of the provincial offices with qualified clerks was dealt with by Muḥammad 'Alī on the advice of Ibrāhīm Pasha; an order was issued on the 8th *Rajab* 1245—3rd January, 1830—to the effect that accommodation had to be found in the *Majlis al-Mashwarah* for the teaching of the clerks of the *Dīwān*, Turkish, Arabic and subjects connected with agriculture (*aḥwāl al-falāḥah*). By the same order, Muḥammad Ef. Davīdār, who knew both languages and was experienced in provincial affairs, was nominated *Nāzir* of the School with Shaikh Muṣṭafā as teacher of Arabic. The *Dīwān* clerks were to be taught first and then posted in the provinces, others from the provinces taking their places until all the clerks were efficient in their work.²

On 16th *Jam.* I, 1250—20th September, 1834—still another school was opened in the Citadel³; it was called the *Madrasah lit-Ta'līm al-Idārat al-Mulkiyah—l'École d'administration et de traduction*⁴; it was under Artīn and Eṣṭefān and seems to have had Muḥammad 'Alī's special patronage for several translations were done here for his own reading.⁵ But in spite of all these schools, no effective system was introduced into the Accountancy branch.⁶

Other Schools

Other schools were started before the reorganisation of the administration of education, but as the development of most of them belongs to the later period, it is only intended to give a brief reference to them here.

¹ *Taḡwīm*, II/469.

² *Taḡwīm*, II/352 and *Waḡā'i' Miṣriyah*, No. 49, *Rajab*, 1245.

³ *Taḡwīm*, II/434 and 'Abdin Archives.

⁴ *Revue d'Égypte*, II/425-6; Jomard, op. cit., p. 48; Guémard, op. cit., p. 293.

⁵ *Revue d'Égypte*, II/425-6; the subject of translations will be dealt with in another volume.

⁶ Bowring, op. cit., p. 62, and Dodwell, *The Founder of Modern Egypt*, London, 1931, pp. 207-8.

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The School of Signalling

The School of Signalling was begun in *Ramaḍān*, 1245—February, 1830—with fifteen students at thirty piastres a month with an increase of ten piastres when they had completed their training; the students were all Egyptians from the provinces.¹

The School of Arts and Crafts

This School appears to have been the *Madrasat aṣ-Ṣinā'ah* or Industrial School which was opened in *Dhū'l-Hijjah*, 1246—May, 1831—and was probably connected with the factory system of Muḥammad 'Alī.² Boislecomte reports that Mr. Gallaway had a dozen young men under him at Rosetta to whom he taught some general ideas of managing manufactories.³ This school eventually made way for a much larger one under Hekekyān.

The School of Irrigation

This school was begun in September, 1831, under an English irrigation engineer⁴; accommodation was provided for ten students but no further information is available on this early experiment which was quite independent of the *Muhandiskhānah*; the school probably ceased to exist when the students were given employment, and canalisation and irrigation were taught at the reorganised Būlāḡ school.

The School of Translation

This is the School of Translation—*Madrasat at-Tarjamah* which was afterwards called the School of Languages—*Madrasat al-Aṣun*⁵; it was opened in June, 1836, under a certain Ibrāhīm Ef. who remained director until January, 1837,⁶ and was then succeeded by Rifā'ah Bey. The function and development of this school belong to the post-reorganisation period when the work done by this school will be given closer attention.

¹ *Takwīm*, II/363.

² *Ibid.*, II/382.

³ Douin, *La Mission du Baron de Boislecomte*, July, 1833, p. 138. Clot Bey, *Aperçu*, II/194-5.

⁴ *Takwīm*, II/383.

⁵ Ṣāliḥ Majdī, *Hilyat az-Zaman bi-Manāḡib Khādīm al-Waṭan*, d. 1290, Ms. in my possession, p. 24 sq.

⁶ Sāmī, *at-Ta'īm*, app. III, p. 46 and Artin, op. cit., p. 192. It is not clear who this Ibrāhīm Ef. was; there was only one Ibrāhīm Ef. (Wahbī) on the mission to Europe in 1826, but he was sent back without finishing his studies, see Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 47.

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The School of Agriculture

Perhaps the School of Agriculture (*Madrasat az-Zirā'ah* or Model Farm) was one of Muḥammad 'Alī's least successful experiments. He had had recourse to European and even to Indian experts for the introduction or resuscitation of the cultivation of certain products; Jumel helped with the cultivation of cotton,¹ Bengalis with indigo² and a Greek with the cultivation of madder.³ It was not until 1248—1833—that Muḥammad 'Alī made up his mind definitely about the opening of an agricultural school⁴; for this purpose, he set aside one hundred *faddāns* at Nabarōh and ordered thirty students to be sent there who must be the sons of *Shaikhs-balad* or the well-to-do⁵; at the end of April, 1834, two students were sent from the Kaṣr al-'Ainī School.⁶

In the meantime, Muḥammad 'Alī had sent to France for a complete staff of teachers and demonstrators together with the necessary implements and equipment.⁷ The main difficulty at first seems to have been the absence of any school accommodation and it was not until August, 1835, that the lower part of a new building was finished.⁸

M. Grandjean was at the head of this agricultural mission which even included ploughmen and smiths; he was assisted by an Armenian called Yūsuf Ef. al-Armanī, who had been sent to Roville in 1826 to study agriculture⁹; he seems to have acted both as interpreter and supervisor.¹⁰

The school seems to have been so badly managed and there was so much opposition from the people and the local authorities that Grandjean resigned in disgust and left the country.¹¹ The director's post was now filled by Yūsuf Ef. who had rather a lot of influence at the court of Muḥammad 'Alī through his Armenian friends who were well represented there and, in spite

¹ Clot Bey, op. cit., II/278.

² P. and H., op. cit., p. 148.

³ P. and H., *ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴ *Takwīm*, II/411; according to St. John, op. cit., II/406-7, the school had not yet been opened although Muḥammad 'Alī had expressed his intention of doing so.

⁵ *Takwīm*, II/411, Hamont, op. cit., II/280, gives the number as 40.

⁶ *Takwīm*, II/412.

⁷ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/275-7, Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, XVII/3-4.

⁸ *Takwīm*, II/449.

⁹ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 44; the cultivation of the mandarin orange in Egypt is attributed to this Yūsuf Efendi, hence the name given to that fruit, Yūsuf Efendi, Yūsuf Efendiyah and Yūsuf Efendiyāt (plural).

¹⁰ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/278-9.

¹¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/279-9 and Mubārak, op. cit., XVII/3.

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of an increase in the opposition and of ridicule from the local people, nothing was done for a little while.

The school lost all the prestige it ever had and simply deteriorated into a farm of much the same kind as other farms except that the crops that were grown cost twice the price of production, and it was probably this fact that made Muḥammad 'Alī listen to the tales that were told about Yūsuf Ef. and his school. Eventually the Armenian was dismissed and Hamont was asked to report on the failure of the Nabarōh experiment and then to take charge of it. In August, 1836¹ the School was transferred to Shubrā, but Nabarōh still appears to have been kept as a model farm² where the *Hārāhs* were established³ and to where the Veterinary School was transferred in 1837.⁴

The Mosque and Kuttāb System and Primary Education 1824-1836

All the schools dealt with above were essentially intended for special training, mainly naval and military, but even those that were not actually providing officers and men for active service were intended for some auxiliary service connected with the supply and demand of the forces, either directly or indirectly. Not a single institution was set up philanthropically or for the sole purpose of improving the intellectual outlook of the people.

It seems remarkable that Muḥammad 'Alī was able to find students for his special schools without any system of primary or lower grade schools specially so formed for the preparation of students for this higher training. Up to 1833, Muḥammad 'Alī seemed to have drawn his recruits from two different sources. The non-Egyptians provided the officers and students for the military schools; these were for the most part Circassian Mamlūks with a sprinkling of Greeks, Kurds, Albanians and Georgians. The other source was, of course, Egyptian; the Egyptian element provided men for the medical, veterinary, engineering and administrative services and schools and were rarely given any high post of responsibility.

¹ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/283-6 but Sāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 47 for the date who states, however, that the school was opened instead of transferred and reorganised.

² *v. infra* p. 207.

³ Mubārak, *ibid.*, XII/119-122.

⁴ i.e., at about the same time as the Medical School was transferred from Abū Za'bal to Kaṣr al-'Ainī—Mahfouz, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Clot Bey, *op. cit.*, II/445-6 and Hamont, *op. cit.*, II/287.

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The question as to what kind of Egyptian student was recruited into the schools seems easy to answer. There was, practically speaking, only the one class, namely, the *fallāḥīn*. Most of the artisan classes were drawn into the factory system and probably did not provide recruits for the school system. Muḥammad 'Alī certainly drew on the provinces for young Egyptians to serve in the schools and it seems as if they were taken from the *kuttābs* (*makātīb*).

An order issued 7th August, 1829, to the *Ma'mūrs* of Upper Egypt asked for ten youths from the *Makātīb al-Banādir wal-Kurā* in order to study in the dockyards at Alexandria; they were to be between the ages of ten and twenty, sound of limbs and had to know how to read and write.¹ Muḥammad 'Alī, as has been seen above, drew on al-Azhar frequently for student, in large numbers for the various non-military schools and the expression *Makātīb al-Banādir wal-Kurā* (literally—the schools of the chief provincial towns and villages) can only refer to the mosque schools and *kuttābs* dealt with in the first chapter, which Muḥammad 'Alī had drawn into his system for the sake of recruiting and conscription.

The Egyptians were averse not only to military service which they dreaded, but also to joining Muḥammad 'Alī's school, which they rightly regarded as connected with his military system and conscription, the method of which was condemned by every contemporary writer; even Clot Bey states that the system employed was *en effet vicieux, inhumains déplorable*.²

The effect of this aversion was disastrous to the old-established system already dealt with above for it was the cause of frightening people away from the mosque and discouraged fathers from sending their boys to the village *kuttābs*. The mosques and schools had already received a severe blow when Muḥammad 'Alī had confiscated the *wakf* funds and properties which had gradually been accumulating over centuries; the whole economic system and social life of the people were completely disorganised and deflected from their natural course by an entirely arbitrary system which enabled one man to commandeer produce, property and man power alike. It was not until the reign of Ismā'il Pasha that the old order of life gradually returned, and even then, as

¹ *Taḥwīm*, II/348.

² Clot Bey, *op. cit.*, II/255; he deals with the question of conscription in pages 255-262.

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we shall see, the old religious school, including al-Azhar, never regained its previous position in the social frame.

Under Muḥammad 'Alī, very little was available for settlement on private and religious institutions; that part of the budget that was spent on education was devoted to those ephemeral establishments connected with the army.

The authorities for the period make very little reference to the old school system, but the few references that have been made by writers prove the bad state of the *kuttāb* and mosque. Michaud writes an appropriate letter in March 1831, on a visit to a village; it runs as follows:—

"Quand nous sommes rentrés au village, le réis nous a montré une mosquée qui tombe en ruine, et qu'on ne répare point; il nous a fait voir une école pour les enfants, qui est abandonnée. Le Pacha, nous a-t-il dit, s'est emparé de tous les biens qui appartenaient aux mosquées et aux établissements de charité; il s'est bien engagé à payer quelques pensions, certaines sommes annuelles pour la réparation et l'entretien des mosquées et des écoles, mais ce qu'il donne ne suffit pas toujours."¹

Poujoulat in a letter dated 2nd April, 1838² states that "les écoles purement musulmanes qui étaient attachées aux mosquées du Caire, sont tombées tout à fait," and regarding al-Azhar, that it was in a bad state "qui annonce une ruine prochaine."

Olin points out the same in 1839 and states that Muḥammad 'Alī was unpopular with the shaikh class³; Laorty-Hadji refers to the diminished numbers of students in the mosque of al-Azhar owing to the confiscation of *wakf* property,⁴ and what applies to al-Azhar, applies still more to the provinces where there was less resistance, for even Muḥammad 'Alī felt constrained to seek some religious support in Cairo since he posed as a progressive Moslem ruler. From the Muḥammad 'Alī period, we generally find, too, that the Shaikh of al-Azhar was appointed by the ruler rather than by the old system of election. This new practice was far from beneficial to the mosque itself as Muḥammad 'Alī naturally chose a man who was favourable and pliable; Shaikh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār was an opportunist and

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome 3, 3e série, Paris, 1834, p. 671.

² Poujoulat, *Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1841, Vol. II, p. 517.

³ Olin, *Travels in Egypt*, New York, 1843, I/109.

⁴ Laorty-Hadji, *L'Égypte*, Paris, 1856, p. 245; he was in Egypt in 1828-9 and in 1830.

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was a particular example of the type of shaikh that helped to make possible the new order of things.¹

With the support of the Shaikh of the mosque, Muḥammad 'Alī proceeded to introduce his innovations not only independently of the '*ulamā*', as Arminjon aptly remarks,² but even against them.

It seems that the mosque schools and *kuttābs* had begun to disappear in Upper Egypt by 1833 or else they were so badly attended that some kind of action was deemed necessary. In May of that year, we find Muḥammad 'Alī issuing an order for the creation of ten *maktabs* in Upper Egypt, his favourite recruiting field.³ They were as follows:—

Abū Tig	province of Asyūt;	Manfalūt	province of Asyūt;
Asyūt	province of Asyūt;	as-Sāḥil	province of Asyūt;
Ikhmīm	province of Girgā;	Ṣanbū	province of Asyūt;
Girgā	province of Girgā;	Sōhāg	province of Girgā;
Mallawī	province of Asyūt;	Ṭaḥṭā	province of Girgā;

That these schools were definitely for the purpose of recruiting fresh blood for the Cairo military schools cannot be denied for in the very next month (*Ṣafar*) of the same year, Muḥammad 'Alī sent out an order for the "requisition" of eighty youths from these schools; they were to know how to read and write, were to be between the ages of thirteen and twenty and were to be, above all, of good physique and strong; they were destined for the Gīzah school.⁴

On the 19th *Shawwāl*, 1249—2nd March, 1834—Muḥammad 'Alī issued another order to the *Mudīr* of the Sharkīyah province for the building and establishment of four more *maktabs* at al-'Azīziyah, Kufūr Nigm, az-Zakāzīk and al-Wādī.⁵

The first ten schools are shown in the lists given by Sāmī in the appendix of his work on education in Egypt; their date of establishment is shown as May, 1833, and of closure as April, 1835, except in the case of Girgā which is given as April, 1834 (probably a misprint); it would thus appear from these dates that Muḥammad 'Alī's experiments at opening primary schools

¹ Shaikh Sulaimān Raṣad, *Kanz al-Jawhar fī Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo, 1320, p. 140, al-'Aṭṭār was a friend of Hamont's, see above, p. 52.

² *Revue de Paris*, 11th year, Tome 5, September-October, 1904, pp. 317-318.

³ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, pp. 41-43 and *Takwīm*, II/413, order dated Muḥarram, 1249—May, 1833.

⁴ *Takwīm*, II/413; He also asked for thirty students from Cairo, but no school is mentioned.

⁵ *Takwīm*, II/418.

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were not very successful. There is evidence to show, however, that doctors were sent to provincial schools by an order dated 22nd Jam. II., 1251—15th October, 1835, i.e., six months after the date of closure according to Sāmī; the doctors' services were required owing to an outbreak of scabies among the students.¹ There is still another order dated 10th Ramaḍān, 1251—20th December, 1835—regarding the bad state of repair of the provincial *maktabs* at the following towns and villages:—

*Aṭfih
*Banhā
*al-Gīzah
*al-Kalyūbiyah
al-'Azīziyah
az-Zakāzīk

*Hihyā
Kufūr Nigm
*Abū Kabīr
al-Wādī
*Bilbais²

The latter order mentions a *Mufattiḥ al-Makātīb*—Inspector of *Maktabs*. This was Sulaimān Pasha al-Fransāwī, who had inspected these schools and found them falling into ruin, which confirms the observations made by Michaud and Olin. He also reports on the "complete delay of the supply of provisions, furniture, uniforms, kit and yearly allowances made to the students," thus confirming, in the absence of evidence to the contrary to show that other *maktabs* had been set up, that the old *kuttābs* or *maktabs* had been turned to Muḥammad 'Alī's use and made part of his new military system. It should be noted, too, that the students of these schools were treated in the same way as those of the higher and special schools in regard to rations, clothing and allowances. Of the eleven *maktabs* mentioned in this order, seven of them (marked *) have not been given in the lists of primary schools opened by Muḥammad 'Alī and so must have belonged to the old system.

There is no evidence as to the names of those in charge of these schools and there is no reason to suppose that it was not the old *fikh*; he probably came under the stricter jurisdiction of the *Ma'mūrs* and *Mudīrs*. The type of student attending these schools had probably changed and it is more than likely that only the poorest were recruited to them for the sake of material benefits; mothers whose husbands were on active service and who were without support were probably only too glad to let the government take over their sons.

¹ Ibid., II/452; this seems to have been a very common complaint among the students—see St. John, op. cit., II/398.

² *Taḥwīm*, II/457.

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No reference is made to the syllabus of these schools; it was undoubtedly limited to reading and writing and the recitation of the *Ḳo'rān*; all the "requisitions" for students on the provinces demanded a knowledge of reading and writing. It is interesting to note that Muḥammad 'Alī issued an order¹ on 10th *Shā'bān*, 1250—12th December, 1834—for the printing of the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālik with its commentary² and for its distribution to the *maktab* of al-Manṣūrah and the rest of the provincial *maktabs*³; this is the first printed text used by the Egyptian *kuttābs*.

Education Missions to Europe, 1826-1836

Reference has already been made to the earliest missions sent by Muḥammad 'Alī to Europe between the years 1809 and 1818. Between 1818 and 1826, Muḥammad 'Alī appears to have refrained from sending any more men abroad and concentrated on making as full a use as possible of the various missions sent from France, particularly those under Boyer, Rey and Letellier.⁴

The despatch of the first large mission to France in July, 1826, coincides with the period during which Muḥammad 'Alī's enthusiasm for Boyer had cooled down and during which the General himself felt disappointed with his environment. The reasons for his eventual retirement have been set forth above (*v. supra*, pp. 115 and 117).

It was due to Drovetti that Muḥammad 'Alī determined to send his students to France,⁵ where they were placed under the care of Jomard.⁶ This new move suggests rather an abrupt change of policy and the main reason for sending some forty students to France in order to acquire qualifications must be attributed to Muḥammad 'Alī's desire to dispense with the services of the Europeans who cost so much. To have had his own qualified subjects in charge of the various establishments would have been preferable, in his opinion, than the employment of Europeans who, with rare exception, had no particular tie

¹ *Taḥwīm*, II/431.

² *Journal asiatique*, 1843, p. 47. The commentary was Ibn 'Aḳīl's.

³ According to Perron, the *Alfiyah* was first printed at Būlāk in 1252 (*Journal asiatique*, 1843, p. 47), but Sarkis, *Mu'jam*, I/233, gives the date of the first edition as 1251 and the second 1253.

⁴ Boyer states, however, that thirty or forty students were sent to Europe, mostly to Pisa, every year—Douin, *Une mission militaire auprès de Mohamed Ali*, Cairo, 1923, pp. 40-1.

⁵ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶ Douin, *ibid.*, pp. 125 and 132.

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in the country, and who, with the support of their Consuls, could hardly have been as pliable as the Turks and Egyptians. The employment of a relatively large number of Europeans by a Moslem ruler represented an altogether new factor in an Islamic administration. The susceptibility of the Moslem subjects did not allow the employment of these Europeans in other than subordinate positions although they were, of course, superior in knowledge and experience; whenever a European was appointed to a school, a Turk was always given supreme command with the title of *Nāzir*. Muḥammad 'Alī tried to win over several Europeans to his cause by inviting them to embrace Islam as was the case with Sève and Mary¹ but, generally speaking, there were few converts. The European official, as a rule, refused to learn Arabic or Turkish² thus making it necessary for Muḥammad 'Alī either to supply large numbers of interpreters who were inefficient, or else to oblige the Turks and Egyptians to learn foreign languages. The individuality and independence of the majority of his European officials must have been a constant problem; obstinacy and inadaptability on both sides were often the cause of trouble between employer and employee; we have seen the causes of the misunderstandings between Boyer and Muḥammad 'Alī, the same kind of thing happened to Cérisy, Seguera, Hamont and others. As time went on, it became more and more evident that determined efforts were to be made to get rid of the European altogether and to replace him by the Turk.

The idea of sending a large mission to France is attributed to Jomard who is supposed to have proposed the plan to Muḥammad 'Alī through 'Uṭmān Nūr-addīn when this officer returned from France in 1817,³ but Muḥammad 'Alī disapproved of it on the ground that it was premature; this statement may contain the truth concerning Muḥammad 'Alī's opinion but it appears also that 'Uṭmān Nūr-addīn was not in favour of the proposal.⁴

Much ado has been made about the cultural gain to France as a result of Muḥammad 'Alī's being urged to make use of that country for the education of his young men, but this was only

¹ Senior, *Conversations and Travels in Egypt and Malta*, ed., Simpson, London, 1882, Vol. II, pp. 27-28.

² *Takwīm*, II/454, an order was actually sent to the doctors of medicine ordering them to make some effort to learn Arabic which met with their refusal.

³ Jomard, op. cit., p. 45; Clot Bey, op. cit., II/334.

⁴ Douin, *ibid.*, p. 110.

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accidental. Muḥammad 'Alī sent Turks and Armenians to France merely to acquire certain qualifications so that they could aid him in his work of military conquest. At this stage he made use of French enthusiasm for the project thereby hoping to take as full advantage of it as possible for the improvement of his own enterprises. The ruler was not interested in any cultural tie between France and Egypt.

There was, however, a certain amount of good sense in having a large number of students in one country under one direction rather than having them scattered about all over Europe. The official interest taken in the mission in Paris was of great use to Muḥammad 'Alī who could rely on the good offices of the French authorities to see that his subjects would get as much as possible out of their mission.

Forty-four students were sent from Egypt on this 1826 mission; to what extent it was Turkish in composition and character rather than Egyptian is borne out by the following table and figures:—

Name	Place of Birth	Age	Course studied	Monthly Salary	Date returned	Remarks and subsequent posts held
1. Muhurdār 'Abdī Ef. Shukrī	Constantinople	29	Civil Administration	P.T. 2500 from 5/8/26 PT. 4000 and from 12/9/28 PT. 5000	January 1831	son of Ḥabīb Ef., <i>Katkhudā</i> of Muḥammad 'Alī. 'Abdī was the first of the three chiefs of this mission until 3/10/31; appointed Wakil to his father in 1834 and made a member of the <i>Majlis al-'Alī</i> ; became <i>Mudīr al-Madāris</i> in 1850; d. 1854.
2. Artīn Ef. Sikyās al-Armanī	Constantinople	22	Civil Administration	PT. 300	December 1831	Helped organise <i>Muhandishkhānah</i> ; Director <i>Madrasat al-Idārah</i> (p. 149) in 1835; member of <i>Majlis al-'Alī</i> ; Member of School Council, 1836; Muḥammad 'Alī's secretary, 1839; succeeded Boghoş, 1844; retired, 1850; d. 1859.
3. Salīm Ef. al-Kurjī	Georgia	19	Civil Administration	PT. 400	December 1831	fell ill while in France; died soon after he returned to Egypt. made Bimbāshī with rank of Bey, May, 1832 ¹ and sent to Syria as <i>aide-de-camp</i> to Ibrāhīm Pasha ² ;
4. Muḥammad Ef. Khusrāu	Georgia	21	Civil Administration	PT. 500	December 1831	
5. Davitdār Mustafā al-Mukhtār Ef.	Cavala	24	Military Administration	PT. 2916	1st August 1832	

¹ *Takwīm*, II/391.

² Douin, *La mission du baron de Boislecomte*, pp. 241, 244, 248 and 249.

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Name	Place of Birth	Age	Course studied	Monthly Salary	Date returned	Remarks and subsequent posts held
6. Rashid Ef. Abāzah	Abazia	24	Military Administration	PT. 500	1st August 1832	made <i>Nāzir</i> of <i>Majlis al-'Alī</i> then <i>Diwān al-Madāris</i> , 1837 (see below), died 1839.
7. Ahmad Ef. Yakan	Cavala	25	Military Administration	PT. 500	1st August 1832	
8. Sulaimān Ef. Rāshid	Circassia	18	Military Administration	PT. 500	1st August 1832(?)	
9. Hasan Ef. al-Iskan-darānī	Turkey	38	Naval Administration	PT. 4166	1st July 1833	
10. Mahmūd Ef. Nāmī	Circassia	21	Naval Administration	PT. 500	beg. June 1833	
11. Muḥammad Ef. Shanān	Circassia	20	Naval Administration	PT. 400	beg. June 1833	studied at Brest then went to England with 10 and 11 where they stayed one year—their stay in England cost PT. 30,747-20 <i>ḥiḍḍah</i> ; became <i>Nāzir</i> Alexandria Dockyards and <i>Nāzir al-Bahriyah</i> ; made Pasha; drowned in the <i>Miftāḥ Jihād</i> in the Crimean War, 1855. became Captain of <i>al-Iskandariyah</i> ; made Governor of Beyrūt during Syrian Wars, from 1833 to 1840; after Muḥammad 'Alī's death, he joined the civil service and became <i>Nāzir</i> of the Finance Dept. which post he kept until 1859; made Pasha; (grandfather of Ahmad Bey Nāmī, a former Prime Minister of Syria). became Captain of <i>al-Bahriyah</i> ; drowned in the Crimea, 1855.
12. Estefān Ef. al-Armanī	Sebasteia	22	Diplomacy	PT. 500	December 1831	
13. Khusrāu Ef. Sikyās al-Armanī	Constanti-nople	18	Diplomacy	PT. 350	December 1831	
14. Mustafā Ef. Maḥ-ramjī	Cairo	17	Hydraulics	PT. 100	end 1835	

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Name	Place of Birth	Age	Course studied	Monthly Salary	Date returned	Remarks and subsequent posts held
15. Muḥammad al-Baiyūmī	Cairo	17	Hydraulics	PT. 100	beg. 1835	had good library of engineering and mathematical works; became professor <i>Muhandishkh-ānah</i> ; wrote several works; d. 1852.
16. ash-Shaikh Ahmad al-'Attār	Cairo	27	Mechanics	PT. 80	beg. 1832	
17. Muḥammad Ef. Mazhar	Cairo	17	Military Engineering	PT. 400	end 1835	went to England, 1835; filled several teaching posts on his return; colleague of Mougel's; built Alexandria Lighthouse and helped with Delta Barrage; became <i>Nāzir</i> of Public Works; d. 1873.
18. Sulaimān Ef. al-Buḥairī	Cairo	18	Military Engineering	PT. 100	beg. 1832	apparently changed over from military engineering to agriculture at Roville.
19. 'Alī Ef. al-Kurjī	Georgia	18	Military Engineering	PT. 500	December 1831	deserted just as he should have returned to Egypt, was caught, but disappeared in Dec. 1831, and from then, nothing more is heard of him.
20. 'Umar Ef. al-Jarkasī	Circassia	20	Artillery	PT. 500	December 1830	
21. Sulaimān Ef. Lāz at-Tarā-bazūnī	Trebizond	25	Artillery	PT. 500	end 1833	
22. 'Umarzādah Ef. Amīn al-Islāmbūlī	Constanti-nople	?	Metal-founding and arms-making	PT. 400	beg. Sept., 1832	became <i>Nāzir</i> of the Gunpowder Dept.
23. Ahmad Ef. Hasan Hanaff	Cairo	18	Metal-founding and arms-making	PT. 100	beg. Sept., 1832	
24. Hasan al-Wardānī Ef.	Cairo	17	Printing, Lithography and Engraving	PT. 100	beg. 1835	became teacher of Engraving; pensioned off March, 1865.
25. Muḥammad Ef. As'ad	Cairo	15	Printing, Lithography and Engraving	PT. 100	end 1831	fell sick in France.
26. 'Umar al-Kūmī Ef.	Cairo	18	Chemistry	PT. 100	beg. 1832	also studied distillery and sugar refining; later went to America to study sugar refining.
27. Ahmad Ef. Yūsuf	Cairo	20	Chemistry	PT. 100	beg. 1832	given employment in the mint and was also sent gold-mining in Fāzūghlī.
28. Ahmad Ef. Sha'bān	Cairo	17	Chemistry	PT. 100	beg. 1832	also learnt dyeing.
29. Yūsuf Ef. al-'Ayyādī	Cairo	18	Chemistry	PT. 100	beg. 1832	also learnt paper-making.

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Name	Place of Birth	Age	Course studied	Monthly Salary	Date returned	Remarks and subsequent posts held
30. 'Ali Ef. Haibah	Cairo	18	Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy Physiology and Hygiene	PT. 100	December 1833	translated two medical works from the French; d. 1850.
31. ash-Shaikh Muḥammad ad-Daḥṭūfī	Cairo	23	Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene	PT. 150	end 1831	
32. Yūsuf Ef. al-Armanī	Armenia	23	Agriculture	PT. 500	beg. 1832	became director of School of Agriculture at Nabarōh, then assisted Hamont at Shubrā; then made director of Muḥammad 'Alī's gardens.
33. Khalīl Ef. Maḥmūd	Cairo	20	Agriculture	PT. 100	beg. 1832	
34. 'Alī Ef. Husain	Cairo	18	Natural History and Mining	PT. 100	December 1831	
35. Ahmad Ef. an-Najdalī	Cairo	16	Natural History and Mining	PT. 100	beg. Sept. 1832	
36. Ahmad Ef.	Greece	18	Natural History and Mining	PT. 700	end 1834	was known as "the nephew of Muṣṭafā" (Mukhtār Ef. No. 5); also studied Veterinary Science; was in charge of students' stores at Paris; was sent away from Paris for falling into debt.
37. ash-Shaikh Rifā'ah Rāfī'	Ṭaḥṭā	24	Translation	PT. 250	end 1831	sent to Paris as Imām of the mission but was chosen to learn translation; on his return he held several teaching posts and was made <i>Nāẓir</i> of School of Languages; he translated and wrote a large number of works which will be dealt with in in another volume; d. 1873.
38. Kāsim Ef. al-Jindī	—	?	Probably Printing, Lithography and Engraving	PT. 100	end 1831	studied at Marseilles.
39. Muḥammad Ef. Amīn	—	?	Civil Administration	PT. 750 and PT. 1700	end 1836	studies started in Jan., 1828, apparently joined the mission nearly two years after the others; became <i>Nāẓir</i> of the mission in place of 'Abdī Ef. 4/10/1831; fell ill in 1831.
40. Kūṣṭūk Ahmad Ef.	—	?		PT. 300	?	studies started Jan., 1828.

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Name	Place of Birth	Age	Course studied	Monthly salary	Date returned	Remarks and subsequent posts held
41. Husain Ef.	—	—	Probably ship-building at Toulon	PT. 500	July 1828	
42. ash-Shaikh Muḥammad ar-Ruḳaiyyaḳ	—	—		PT. 400	August	Returned on account of unsuitability.
43. Ibrāhīm Ef. Wahbah	—	—		PT. 100	August 1827	Returned on account of unsuitability.
44. ash-Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alwī	—	—		PT. 400	July 1828	Returned on account of unsuitability.

Note.—For the basis of this list and those given below, the useful work edited by H.H. Prince 'Umar Ṭūsūn has been used, but supplemented and corrected by 'Alī Mubārak's *Khitat*, 'Abdar-Raḥmān ar-Rāfī's *Ta'rikh al-Harakat al-Qaumiyyah* and other contemporary works and documents. Some of these names will be met with in due course, however, when discussing the various establishments of Muḥammad 'Alī and also translations and literary work.

Of the forty-four students, the birth-places of thirty-seven are known¹; seventeen were born in Cairo and one in Ṭaḥṭā in Upper Egypt, while nineteen were born outside Egypt in the following places:—

Constantinople	4	Armenia	1
Circassia	4	Abazia	1
Georgia	3	Sebasteia	1
Cavala	2	Trebizond	1
Greece	1	Turkey	1

Of the remaining seventeen, at least three were Egyptian. Forty of the mission were Moslems and four were Armenian Christians; five of the party had the title of shaikh, three were connected with officers of State, while eighteen of them were Osmanli by origin, and twelve were Osmanli who had come to Cairo as adults.

If we classify the students according to age, we have the following results:—

one was 15	two were 22
one was 16	two were 23
five were 17	three were 24
ten were 18	two were 25
one was 19	one was 27
four were 20	one was 29
two were 21	one was 38
	(eight unknown)

¹ Jomard, *Journal asiatique*, 1828, pp. 109-113. Hamont, op. cit., II/188; Ṭūsūn, op. cit., p. 26 seq.; Guémard, op. cit., pp. 438-440; Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyyah*, Cairo, 1914, IV/28-9.

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and according to the period spent in Europe:—

one stayed 1 year	fifteen stayed 6 years
two stayed 2 years	five stayed 7 years
one stayed 4 years	two stayed 8 years
twelve stayed 5 years	four stayed 9 years
	(one unknown)

Twenty-five of the students had studied at Būlāk and at Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī, three at al-Azhar and five in special schools; the maternal tongue of the majority was Turkish; those who had studied at Būlāk and Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī had probably studied a little Italian in addition to Arabic and mathematics¹ which meant, of course, that they had to spend some time learning French before they could be expected to take up any serious course of study.

The mission consisted of picked men, not necessarily on account of their abilities, however, but chosen on account of the fact that they belonged to the ruling caste. They were kept under strict military discipline while in France under three of themselves, 'Abdī Ef., Mukhtār Ef., and Ḥasan Ef. al-Iskan-darānī who were in constant correspondence with Muḥammad 'Alī. Jomard who was, in reality, a kind of liaison officer between the students and the French authorities, arranged the courses of study. After they had spent rather more than one year studying French, calligraphy, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, history and geography at their headquarters in a small hotel in the Luxembourg quarter, an examination was held in February 1828, under a body of eminent French scholars and officials.

Two papers were set at the examination, a one hour paper for French and an hour and a quarter paper for mathematics and drawing; Jomard gives the questions of the latter paper² which show that very little was expected of the candidates and emphasize the fact that they were about to start their advanced studies with a very weak foundation on which to build.

The advanced studies started on the 10th April, 1828 and, according to Jomard,³ the students were allowed free choice in the subjects they wished to take up, but it would appear that Jomard himself had a considerable amount to say regarding that choice.⁴ The courses which are shown in the above list

¹ Jomard, *Journal asiatique*, 1828, II/113.

² Jomard, *ibid.*, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴ Hamont, *op. cit.*, II/192 " . . . le savant directeur de la mission égyptienne a eu l'initiative dans le choix des matières à faire apprendre."

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were given by well-known French professors, Lacour taught military administration, Macarel taught civil administration, laws, etc., Olivier taught engineering and gunnery, and Gauthier de Chaubry taught chemistry.¹

While the students were engaged at their elementary French studies, they were all lodged in the one house, but after the examination, they were sent to various pensions and schools, or to the special teacher's own residence at the expense of Muḥammad 'Alī.² During the first period, they were not allowed to go out except on Sunday, and then only with the written permission signed by 'Abdī Ef.³; once they had started on the special courses, discipline was less severe, they were allowed to go out on Sundays, Thursday evenings, public holidays, and on any evening if they had no preparation, but even then, their movements were regulated by a code of regulations (*Ḳānūn-nāmah*) which aimed at keeping them from going out at night-time, at making them go out in parties of three and four, at discouraging them from keeping company with the fair sex, etc. According to the code, they were to have a monthly examination the results of which had to be communicated to headquarters when they would be forwarded to the over-watchful Muḥammad 'Alī.⁴ The set of rules dealt with the supply of stationery and books and the relationship between the student and his teacher.

In addition to this code, Muḥammad 'Alī used to send letters to the students of the mission exhorting them to complete their studies as soon as possible and rebuking them for their slackness, carelessness and bad results; in one of these letters, besides emphasizing their laziness, he insists on their making out a monthly list of all the work they had done and the names of all the books they had read.⁵

While Jomard seems to have had the direction of studies, all other problems were dealt with by Muḥammad 'Alī whose decisions were communicated to 'Abdī Ef. through 'Uṭhmān Nūr-addīn or one of his other high officials.⁶ 'Abdī Ef. apparently had control of the mission funds for by an order dated 26th *Dhī'l-Ka'dah*, 1246—9th May, 1831—he is instructed to

¹ Jomard, *ibid.*, p. 106.

² Rifa'ah, *Rihlah*, pp. 147-148.

³ Rifa'ah, *ibid.*, p. 148.

⁴ Rifa'ah, *ibid.*, pp. 148-150; the writer gives the whole of the code in his work.

⁵ Rifa'ah, *ibid.*, pp. 151-2, letter dated 5th *Rabi'*, 1245—4th October, 1829.

⁶ *Takwīm*, II/376, order dated 10th *Rajab*, 1246—25th December, 1830—regarding the sending of 'Umar Ef. al-Kūmī to learn sugar refining.

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attach Henri Rūsī to the mission at his expense and to pay him at the same rate of pay as the Egyptians.¹

Regarding the practical work that students were to perform,² the *Takwīm* gives the translation of an order of the same date as the previous one, which expresses Muḥammad 'Alī's view on the matter and also emphasizes the haste and imperfection of many of his plans.³

'Abdī Ef. had written a letter asking permission for the students who had finished their studies to make a tour of the country in order to get practical knowledge and experience in the various factories and institutions. In the order Muḥammad 'Alī definitely refuses to allow them to do so, adding that he himself had established various factories and institutions where he would appoint the mission students and where they could get their practical experience in order to save time; he also ordered 'Abdī Ef. to inform Jomard that he order the students to complete their studies as soon as possible and that he was to arrange the return of two students, who had been sent out late, on account of their bad conduct.

The question must be asked to what extent these oriental students were able to adapt themselves to their new surroundings. The fact that they did not change their garments for those of the west must have greatly inconvenienced them; when they went out, they seem to have been accompanied by one of their teachers who probably took them sight-seeing according to a pre-arranged plan with Jomard. Most of their time must have been taken up with their studies and if the code of rules was obeyed, their liberties must have been very restricted. The following poem composed by Barthélemy and Méry⁴ in 1827, seems to have reflected the thoughts of some Frenchmen concerning their guests:—

Le vigilant Osmin, dans l'intrigue blanchi,
A fait choix d'un palais au quartier de Clichy,
C'est là qu'il établit les cinquante Séides;
Bien loin de les soustraire à des regards avides,
Il veut que chaque Turc, par son goût excité,
Se promène d'abord dans la vaste cité,

¹ *Takwīm*, II/381; see Tūsūn, op. cit., pp. 70, 72, 91-2, Rūsī was a European whose father was in charge of a tannery at Rosetta; his name is spelt in various ways.

² Jomard, *ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

³ *Takwīm*, II/380.

⁴ *La Bacriade, poème héroï-comique*, Paris, 1827; the above extract is from pages 43-45.

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Fièrre de leur séjour, la France hospitalière
Caresse ces héros d'une main familière;
Chaque jour pour complaire à ces fils de visirs,
Elle invente des jeux et de nouveaux plaisirs:
Ils sortent escortés de doctes interprètes;
L'Institut les reçoit aux séances secrètes;
Guilbert-Pixérécourt, si pauvres en nouveautés,
A défaut de public, les a tous invités;
Au faubourg Saint-Germain la sultane tirée
De son noble salon leur accorde l'entrée;
Puymaurin veut couler leur profil africain,
Et Guyon les invite à Saint-Thomas d'Aquin.
Mais rien ne peut charmer leur vague inquiétude,
Leur âme tout entière est à la solitude;
Sur les bords de la Seine ils pleurent leur exil,
Ils cherchent autour d'eux les cascades du Nil, etc.

Muḥammad 'Alī has been criticised for sending students to Europe who were too old to study; Jomard remarked that it was regrettable that there were only a few who were young,¹ but the main objection seems to have been the fact that they lacked anything like a sufficiently strong elementary training even in their maternal tongue or in Arabic. About two-thirds of the first mission stayed in France for five or six years which must have sufficed for the acquisition of the French language, but hardly so for the purpose of specialisation in one or more of the branches of higher training especially in view of the fact that the students not only had to start with the most elementary studies, but even had to acquire an entirely new language which was to be the vehicle of their studies. It seems as though it would have been far more advantageous had the students been made to follow a more uniform course of study, far less pretentious, more easily acquired, where they might have been useful as teachers rather than to have attempted the whole field of science and learning without the necessary equipment and background. The most successful of the batch from an Egyptian point of view was Shaikh Rifā'ah who had never been sent to study, but to serve the mission as the Imām. He was twenty-four when he went to France, he had already passed through al-Azhar and had a natural inclination towards study, especially literature; in France he read historical, geographical and literary works and began to translate them while he was still in France. It was sheer accident that gave to Egypt a revivalist, a reformer and the father of modern Arabic literature; to

¹ Jomard, *ibid.*, p. 105 note and Guémard, op. cit., p. 301.

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have made Rifā'ah take up pure science or military studies would probably have changed the whole of his career.

The students began to return from about 1831 and they naturally had an interview with Muḥammad 'Alī who questioned them as to their studies in France. Both ruler and students were mutually disappointed, the latter at Muḥammad 'Alī's disapproval and lack of understanding and appreciation of what they had done. One, on being asked what he had studied, replied, "Civil Administration," "And what is that?" asked Muḥammad 'Alī, to which the unfortunate student replied "the study of the government of affairs"; "What!" exclaims Muḥammad 'Alī, "you are not going to get mixed up in the administration! what a waste of time! It is I who govern. Go to Cairo and translate military works." The student, on remonstrating that he had not studied military subjects, was cut short with the statement that he knew Turkish and French which were quite sufficient to be able to translate.¹

Another student, who had studied agriculture, on being interrogated, was asked by one of Muḥammad 'Alī's astonished secretaries whether agriculture was looked upon as a science in France and told the student that he should have studied medicine or how to make war.²

The students had been made to specialise in France, but on their return, were misemployed. Mukhtār and Aḥmad who had both studied military administration were both eventually given posts in the civil administration³; Maḥmūd who had studied for the navy was placed in the Finance Department; Estefān, who had studied diplomacy, was put in charge of material and supplies in the *Diwān al-Madāris*; Baiyūmī, who had studied hydraulics, was made a teacher of chemistry and Amīn, who had been made to take up metal-founding, was put into a powder-factory.⁴

Artin reports that, when the students were interviewed on their return, each was given a book on the subject he had studied, they were then locked in the Citadel for three months until they

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/192-3.

² Hamont, ibid., II/193; other cases of this kind are given by the same writer.

³ Mukhtār does not appear to have been Ibrāhīm Pasha's *aide-de-camp* for long, v. *supra*, pp. 159-160.

⁴ Hamont, ibid., II/194-5; Gisquet, *L'Égypte, les Turcs et les Arabes*, Paris, 1848, II/84; Merruau, *L'Égypte contemporaine de Méhémet-Ali à Saïd Pacha*, Paris, 1858, p. 88 and Bréhier, op. cit., p. 115.

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had translated the books into Turkish; the translations were then printed and used in the special schools.¹

The return of these mission students seems to have had temporarily, an adverse effect on the existing order of things, for, instead of being welcomed on all sides, they were criticised and hated by the old Turkish school who were jealous of them²; they were insufficiently strong in numbers to have any immediate appreciable effect on current thought and ideas, and worse still, the Europeans who should have encouraged them, were afraid of losing their posts to these arrivals.³ The young men naturally expected to be given responsible positions, many of which were in the hands of the Europeans⁴; it was obviously for this reason that they had been sent to France and in spite of the fact that there were many Europeans who were superior to them in knowledge, qualifications and experience, yet they considered themselves their equals and fit to take over the administrations and schools.

The members of the mission who seem to have made the most of their sojourn in France were the Armenians, materially, because they belonged to the immediate entourage of Muḥammad 'Alī, morally, because they were Christians and their upbringing and environment undoubtedly helped them to appreciate the West in a way that the Moslem could not.

It must be insisted that, in spite of any adverse criticisms, with the despatch of this mission, the policy of sending students abroad for training either as technical experts or as teachers, remained fixed for all time. Ever since Muḥammad 'Alī began his organised missions which seemed the only solution to Egypt's cultural difficulties, it has always been a feature of Egyptian educational policy to send and maintain a number of men (and later women) in various European countries, particularly France.

There is still one other important aspect of this educational policy; in spite of the hostility to these earlier missions on their return to Egypt, the very fact that most of them were Muḥammad 'Alī's picked men, whether Turk, Armenian or Egyptian, gradually forced the idea in official administrative

¹ Artin, op. cit., p. 73 also Ayyūbī, op. cit., I/172 (quoting Artin); see also *Revue d'Égypte*, II/426.

² Hamont, op. cit., II/195.

³ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 228; Paton, op. cit., II/249; Vimercati, *Constantinople et l'Égypte*, Paris, 2nd ed., 1854, p. 156.

⁴ Merruau, op. cit., p. 88.

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circles that training and specialisation abroad was the hallmark of education. It was these missions that provided the officials for governmental posts and so created a new stratum in society which might be called, whatever may be its quality, the cultured aristocracy. It was through their training that they were enabled to take over posts that led to high salaries, gifts of lands¹ and titles.

Education Missions, 1828-1836

The authorities dealing with Muḥammad 'Alī's foreign educational missions generally refer to that of 1826 as the first, to another of 1828 as the second, to the one sent in 1829 as the third, to that of 1832 as the fourth and to the largest of 1844, as the fifth, but this suggests a method of organisation that did not really exist. As has been seen, the first period covered the years 1809 to 1820 and the second period 1826 to 1844. During this second period, Muḥammad 'Alī, it is true, sent several large missions, but it must be borne in mind that the flow of students during the whole period was more or less continuous, and that in between the dates on which the large batches were sent, Muḥammad 'Alī also sent individuals and smaller groups, many of whose names it has been impossible to trace. Even in the 1826 mission, we find the names of two students who did not leave Egypt until 1828, but were attached to this mission, probably instead of the two who returned in that year.

The following lists are an attempt to give some information as to name, dates of departure and return, subjects studied and rates of pay of the students sent on missions to Europe; where the names of the students have not been traced, numbers have been given.

Name	Destination	Subject studied	Date of departure	Date of return	Rate of pay p.m.
45. Muḥammad Anīs	Toulon	Naval construction	Aug. 1828	end 1830	PT. 150
46. Ḥasan as-Sa'rān	Toulon	Naval construction	Aug. 1828	end 1830	PT. 150

46.—Made Bey and became one of the directors of the Alexandrian dock-yards.

¹ Through these gifts, many Egyptians and Turks became very wealthy; many were able to buy up land at a very low rate per fiddān and with the development of the irrigation system, this land became very fertile and rose in price. Those officials in the Public Works Dept. made a special point of buying up waste land where they knew that irrigation works were contemplated and thus became very rich.

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Name	Destination	Subject studied	Date of Departure	Date of Return	Rate of pay p.m.
47. Muḥammad ar-Rā'ī	Toulon	Naval construction	Aug. 1828	end 1830	PT. 150
47.—Pensioned off January, 1872.					
48. 'Isawī Jād	Toulon	Naval construction	Aug. 1828	end 1830	PT. 150
49. Muḥammad Yahyā	Toulon	Naval construction	Aug. 1828	end 1830	PT. 150
50. 'Arif Ef.	Toulon	Naval construction drawing, carpentry, engineering, maths.	Aug. 1828	beg. 1836	PT. 150
51. Muṣṭafā Nūr-addīn	France	Veterinary science	Sept. 1828	end 1834	PT. 500
(brother of Uṭhmān Nūr-addīn)					
52. As'ad Zādah Aḥmad	France	Engineering	Jan. 1829	end 1836	PT. 100 then PT. 300
53. Sh.'Abdallah	France	Making of Bees' wax	Feb. 1829	Dec. 1831	PT. 100
54. Sh. Muḥammad Mar'ī	France	Making of Bees' wax	Feb. 1829	Dec. 1831	PT. 100
55. 'Alī Ḥasan	Elbeuf	Making of broadcloth	?	Dec. 1831	PT. 100
56. Ḥasan al-Jarkasī	Paris	Civil administration			
57. Ḥusain al-Jarkasī	Paris	Civil administration			
58. Muḥammad Abū'l-'Ainain	France	Making of surgical instruments	Aug. 1829	Dec. 1835	PT. 100
59. Ḥasan ad-Dumyāṭī	France	Descr. geometry, algebra and drawing	Jan. 1830	beg. 1836	PT. 50
59.—Taught in Alexandrian schools.					
60. Ibrāhīm Ram-adān	Lyons London	Engineering and maths.	Jan. 1830	beg. 1836	PT. 50
60.—Assistant to Mazhar Ef. at School of Artillery, then teacher <i>Muhandishkhānah</i> , one of the Suez Canal engineers, made Bey, author of several engineering works.					
61. Aḥmad Dakalah	France	Engineering	Jan. 1830	beg. 1836	PT. 50
61.— <i>Wakīl</i> of <i>Muhandishkhānah</i> , taught algebra and hydraulics same school, author.					
62. Aḥmad Tā'il		Engineering	Jan. 1830	beg. 1836	PT. 50
62.—Assistant to Baiyūmī, then teacher of mechanics and algebra.					
63. Aḥmad Fā'id	Lyons London	Engineering, maths. and chemistry	Jan. 1830	beg. 1836	PT. 50
63.—Assistant to Bahgat in artillery school, then teacher <i>Muhandishkhānah</i> of physics and chemistry, became <i>wakīl</i> of this school, became Chief Engineer of State Railways, the railway station at Suez was originally named after him, <i>Mahattat Fā'id</i> , made Pasha.					
64. Muḥammad 'Abdal-Fattāh	Alfort London	Veterinary science	Jan. 1830	beg. 1836	?
64.—Translated several works in connection with his subject.					
65. Muḥammad Abū'n-Najjāh.	Lyons London	Maths. and Engineering	Jan. 1830	beg. 1836	?

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Name	Destination	Subject studied	Date of Departure	Date of Return	Rate of pay p.m.
66 to 123.	Mission for the study of arts, crafts and industries				
66. 'Abdar-Rahmān	France	Surgical instruments	Oct. 1829	end 1835	PT. 24 then PT. 48 then PT. 96
67. Muhammad 'Annāni	France	Surgical instruments	Oct. 1829	end 1835	PT. 24 then PT. 48 then PT. 96
68. Muhammad Hākim	France	Watch-making	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	PT. 48 then PT. 96
69. Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūki	France	Watch-making	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	PT. 48 then PT. 96
70. Ibrāhīm al-Itāl	France	Goldsmithery and Jewellery	Oct. 1829	end 1835	PT. 48 then PT. 96
71. Hasan az-Zarāri	France	Goldsmithery and Jewellery	Oct. 1829	end 1835	as 66
72. Husain Muhammad	France	Candle-making	Oct. 1829	beg. 1832	PT. 12
73. Muhammad Khalil	France	Candle-making	Oct. 1829	beg. 1832	PT. 12
74. Mustafā az-Zarāri	France (Lyons) London	Silk-weaving	Oct. 1829	Aug. 1834	PT. 24
75. 'Abdal-Marīs	Sudanese.	Silk-weaving	Oct. 1829	Aug. 1834	PT. 24
75, 81, 84 and 95 were					
76. Muhammad Ismā'il		Ornamental painting and sculpture for building	Oct. 1829	April 1836	as 66
77. Muhammad Murād	France	Ornamental painting and sculpture for building	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	as 66
78. Sulaimān al-Bahnāwī	France London	Saddlery	Oct. 1829	end 1834	PT. 24 then PT. 36
79. Muhammad 'Azab	London	Saddlery	Oct. 1829	end 1834	PT. 24 then PT. 36
80. Muhammad Ramaḍān	France	Sword making	Oct. 1829	end 1835	as 66
81. Jād Ghazzālī	France	Sword making	Oct. 1829	end 1835	as 66
82. Muhammad Yūsuf	France	Shoe making	Oct. 1829	d. April 1833	PT. 24
83. Muhammad Baghdādī	France	Shoe making	Oct. 1829	Dec. 1833	PT. 24
84. 'Abdar-Rabb	France	Making of Broadcloth	Oct. 1829	beg. 1833	PT. 36
85. Muhammad 'Atiyah	France	Making of Broadcloth	Oct. 1829	beg. 1833	PT. 36
86. 'Alī az-Zarāri	France	Dyeing	Oct. 1829	beg. 1833	PT. 36
87. Hasan al-Jī-zāwī	France	Dyeing	Oct. 1829	beg. 1833	PT. 24
88. Khalil al-Bakī	Lyons and London	Calico-printing	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	PT. 24, 36 then 96
89. Hasan Muhaisin	France	Calico-printing	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	PT. 24 then 36
90. Henri Rūsi	France	Water marking		beg. 1836	PT. 100
90.—This student was already in France visiting his mother; v. Tūsūn, p. 91, and <i>Taḥwīm</i> , II/381, and above, p. 102.					
91. Hasan Abū'l Hasan	France	Water marking	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	PT. 24, 48 then 96
92. 'Alī ash-Shāmī	France	Gun making	Oct. 1829	end 1832	PT. 12, 48

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Name	Destination	Subject studied	Date of departure	Date of return	Rate of pay p.m.
93. Ahmad ad-Darrās	France	Gun making	Oct. 1829	end 1832	PT. 12, 48
94. Hasan al-Iskandarānī (called as-Ṣaghīr)	France	Making of Sealing Wax	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	PT. 12, 24, 36, 96
95. Muhammad Nubāyal	France	Making of Sealing Wax	Oct. 1829	beg. 1836	PT. 12, 24, 36, 96
96. Muhammad Muhaisin	France	Shawl making	Oct. 1829	mid. 1832	PT. 12
97. Muhammad Husain	France	Shawl making	Oct. 1829	mid. 1832	PT. 12
98. Hasan al-Baghdādī	France	Ship-building	Oct. 1829	mid. 1832	PT. 12
99. 'Alī al-Jīzāwī	France	Ship-building	mid. 1832	Oct. 1829	PT. 12
Remarks :—These numbers agree with those given by 'Abdar-Rahmān ar-Rāfi' (v. op. cit., III/456-463) who, for the four missions of 1826, 1828, 1829 and 1832, gives 144 students; he does not mention the last eight. The following additional references should be noted: Mission for Arts, Crafts and Industries (v. <i>Taḥwīm</i> , II/347 and II/355), Naval Mission to England (v. <i>ibid.</i> , II/345), the four students for fish-drying (v. <i>ibid.</i> , II/382) and the four students for coal mining (v. <i>ibid.</i> , II/473).					
100. Mustafā al-Majdalī	Austria	Making of Broadcloth	Oct. 1829	?	?
101. unknown	Austria	?	?	?	?
102. unknown	Austria	?	?	?	?
103. unknown	Austria	?	?	?	?
104. 'Umar Ef.	England	Making of engineering instruments, telescopes, compasses, etc.	c. 1829	May 1837	?
105. Muhammad Ef.	England	Making of engineering instruments, telescopes, compasses, etc.	c. 1829	May 1837	?
106. Muhammad Rāghib al-Islāmbūli	England	Engineering and ship-building	c. 1829	Sept. 1836	?
106.—Made Bey, became one of the <i>Nāzirs</i> of the Alexandria Dockyards with Sa'rān (no. 46), in 1847, he made a journey in the <i>Sharḥiyah</i> to England, which was built in Alexandria, to have her fitted out with steam engines.					
107. Ismā'il Hanafi	England	Furniture and Carpet making	c. 1829	?	?
107.—Ismā'il had three sons, Ahmad Hanafi Ismā'il, Amīn Hanafi Ismā'il and 'Abdar-Rahmān Hanafi Ismā'il, which he sent to Malta to be trained at his own expense.— <i>Journal of a Deputation sent to the East by the Committee of the Malta Protestant College in 1849</i> , London, 1854. Vol. I, p. xx'v.					
108. another unknown	England	Furniture and Carpet making	c. 1829	?	?
109. 'Alī al-Farārjī	England	Pottery making	c. 1829	end 1836	?
110. another unknown	England	Pottery making	c. 1829	end 1836	?
111. Sayyid Ahmad	England	Mechanics	May 1829	June 1839	
112. 'Abdal-Jawwād	England	Making of Gun parts	May 1829	Aug. 1839	
113. Hanafi 'Uthmān	England	Making of Gun parts	May 1829	Aug. 1839	

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Name	Destination	Subject studied	Date of departure	Date of return	Rate of pay p.m.
114. Ismā'il Ef.	England	Making of Gun parts	May 1829	Aug. 1839	
115. 'Alī Ef.	England	Boat building	May 1829	April 1834	
116 to 123. unknown	England	Mechanics, etc.	c. 1829		
124. Yūsuf Hekekyān	England	Engineering, etc.		1835	

124.—Yūsuf Hekekyān was born in Constantinople where he was taught Armenian and Greek, he was put under the care of an Italian priest; in 1816 his parents moved to Bay Oghlou and took him with them where a Frenchman was engaged to teach him French; his father was called to Egypt where he was employed by Muḥammad 'Alī, but returned from Egypt and sent him off to England in 1817-18. He stayed at the Clapham Academy for three years where he studied English, French, Latin, Geography, Elocution, Arithmetic and Geometry; he received a prize for painting and drawing, was the best at military exercises and became bugler to the Academy. His father died about this time and so Muḥammad 'Alī became his protector and maintained him in England. He was then sent to Stonyhurst College by Briggs, Muḥammad 'Alī's agent in England, where he stayed another three years and from there he went to the Catholic School at Carshalton in November, 1824. From this time, he seems to have been attracted by military studies and he gradually abandoned his classical studies in order to read military works, history, works on fortifications, mathematics. Muḥammad 'Alī sent orders that he was to have a practical training and to study mechanics, he was then sent to Pimlico for this training. He was also allowed to go to Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and other places for practical purposes such as the visiting of textile works and other factories. During the latter part of his stay in England, he learnt French and Italian well and studied other subjects of his own accord such as Hydraulics and Hydrostatics. In July, 1829, he was introduced to the four Turks who were sent to England to be trained for the Navy (nos. 125 to 128), whom he describes as "dirty and filthy beyond measure." He was also introduced to several other Turks in England, Salīm Aghā (name not given by Tūsūn), 'Umar Ef., Muḥammad Ef., who used to translate Hekekyān's Turkish letters from his relations into English as he had forgotten Turkish. He appears to have gone to Egypt (for the first time) in 1830 where he was given a post as teacher in the *Muhandishkhānah* which he helped to organise with Artin and of which he eventually became *Nāzir*. He was also a consultative member of the School Council and became *Nāzir* of the *Madrasat al-'Amaliyāt*. See *Hekekyān Papers*, Vol. I, folios 29-216, for his autobiography; Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 106, *et passim* (although incomplete and misleading); and Senior, op. cit., *passim*.

125 to 128. *Naval Mission to England*

125. 'Abdal-Karīm Ef. England Naval training Mar. 1829 July 1835

125.—Was the brother of Muḥarrām Bey, Muḥammad 'Alī's son-in-law, who was the head of the Egyptian fleet and Governor of Alexandria, made Bey.

126. 'Abdal-Ḥamid Diyār-bakarlı England Naval training Mar. 1829 July 1835

126.—Became captain of one of the warships; served in the Crimea War as captain of the *Nil*.

127. Yūsuf Ākāh England Naval training Mar. 1829 July 1835

127.—Became captain of one of the warships; became involved in the 'Abbās-Sa'id intrigues and eventually fled to Constantinople where he became connected with the "Young Turks."

125, 126 and 127 helped in the translation of works on Naval matters, Marine Law, rules and regulations, etc.

128. Yūsuf 'Ibādī England Naval training Mar. 1829 end 1830.

129 to 132. *Abyssinians sent to France.*

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Name	Destination	Subject studied	Date of departure	Date of return	Rate of pay p.m.
129. Maḥbūb al-Ḥabashī	France	Arabic, French, Italian, Geography, Ornamental painting and sculpture	April 1832	Jan. 1836	PT. 12 and 72
130. Marsāl al-Ḥabashī	France	Arabic, French, Italian, Geography, Ornamental painting and sculpture	April 1832	Jan. 1836	PT. 12 and 48
131. Bilāl al-Ḥabashī	France	Arabic, French, Italian, Geography, Ornamental painting and sculpture	April 1832	Jan. 1836	PT. 12 and 48
132. Wārī b. Kalhū	France	?	?	?	?
133 to 144. <i>Medical Mission to France</i>					
133. Ibrāhīm an-Nabarāwī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 350
134. Muḥammad ash-Shabāsī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 200
135. Mustafā as-Subkī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 320
136. As-Sayyid Aḥmad ar-Rashīdī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 500
137. 'Isawī an-Nahrāwī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 320
138. As-Sayyid Hasan Ghānim ar-Rashīdī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 250
139. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baklī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 150
140. Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'i	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 200
141. Muḥammad as-Sukkārī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 200
142. Ḥusain al-Hihyāwī	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 400
143. Muḥammad Maṣṣūr	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	end 1833	PT. 300
144. Aḥmad Bakht	France	Medicine	Nov. 1832	1838	PT. 200

145 to 152. *Eight students whose names are unknown*

145 to 148 unknown Europe Fish-drying July 1831 ? ?

149 to 152 See note Europe Coal-mining Oct. 1836 ? ?

149 to 152.—See Tūsūn, op. cit., pp. 164-167, who gives the probable names of these four students as Muḥammad Ef. Ibrāhīm, 'Alī Ef. 'Isā, Rajab Ef. al-Ma'danjī and Rizk Ef. al-Ma'danjī; they were apparently employed to look for gold on their return; the first and second are mentioned in the *Waḳā'i' Miṣriyah*, 25th *Rajab*, 1263—9th July, 1847—and Mubārak mentions the fourth in his *Khīṭaṭ*, Vol. X, p. 41.

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The above list shows the following divisions:—

- 69 students sent for the industries.
- 14 for the navy.
- 8 for the study of engineering, mathematics, chemistry, etc.
- 12 for the medical services.
- 2 for the veterinary services.
- 2 for civil administration.
- 1 unknown but probably for the industries.
- 108 total.

Many of the above students were pure Egyptians and were marked out for employment in the factories or else to teach in the schools; the naval missions were partly for employment as officers, one or two were intended for ship-building. The medical mission is worthy of some consideration¹; twelve students were sent with a view to forming Egyptian teachers and so do away with the tiresome method of interpreters and translators.² Clot Bey also made use of the mission to refute the allegations against him and his school,³ for on arrival, the twelve Egyptians were subjected to an examination on medicine, anatomy and surgery, with special reference to what they had been taught and to diseases common to Egypt; they passed the examination which was conducted by a learned body of French medical men and much publicity was made of the fact that the Egyptians had done so well⁴; Clot Bey also used this to reply to some of his calumniators in his *Aperçu général*.⁵

The twelve students seemed to have been the pick of the school who had been allowed to complete the five years' course; Clot Bey maintains that there were twenty who had distinguished themselves at the final examination, the other eight had been retained for teaching purposes.⁶ The students returned in March, 1836, but owing to an error, for they had not acquired their doctorates from the Faculty of Medicine in Paris and Muḥammad 'Alī obliged them to return in September of the same year in order to do so.⁷ They are reported to have returned in 1838, but Mahfouz quotes an official document to

* It should be noted that one student had already been sent to France in order to study medicine, viz., 'Alī Haibah (No. 30).

¹ Clot Bey, *Aperçu général*, II/414, and Hamont, op. cit., II/107.

² Clot Bey, loc. cit.

³ Clot Bey, *Compte rendu*, pp. 219-230, and Mahfouz, op. cit., pp. 32-34.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Clot Bey, *Aperçu général*, II/414. He states that they were kept as *répétiteurs*.

⁷ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 123.

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the effect that Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'ī, Muḥammad ash-Shabāsī, Muḥammad as-Sukkārī, Muṣṭafā as-Subkī and Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baklī did not return until 1840,¹ if this is true then these students took just as long to write a doctoral thesis as they had taken over their medical studies in Paris. Unfortunately, it has not been possible at this stage to find out exactly where the students undertook their studies in Paris and the actual courses they followed. It is interesting to note that three of these medical students married French women during their stay in France, viz.: Ḥusain al-Hiḥyāwī, Ibrāhīm an-Nabarāwī and Aḥmad Bakhīt²; this appears to be the first recorded instance of Egyptians inter-marrying with Europeans in modern times.

These twelve Egyptians, eleven of whom were Azharīs, must be credited with having contributed a major share in the development and nationalising of medical studies in Egypt and in the formation of the governmental health services, although it must be admitted that neither the School of Medicine nor the health services was placed upon a sound footing until after the British occupation; the vicissitudes of the former, however, will be dealt with in due course. The scientific and medical literature built up by these Egyptian doctors and their colleagues will be discussed in a separate volume. In the meantime, it is interesting to note that during their stay in France, Muḥammad 'Alī sent them an order through Boghoş Bey to the effect that each medical student was to translate into Arabic each medical book that he read and that the translation was to be sent to Cairo³; the main object of this was to provide text-books for the students of the medical school in Cairo.

The following biographical details of the above students might be of interest:—

Ibrāhīm an-Nabarāwī

He was born at Nabarōh in the Gharbiyah province and began his education in the local *kuttāb*, when he left school, he went in for commerce in Cairo at which he was not successful whereupon he gave it up and entered al-Azhar and was among the students who were chosen for the Medical School at Abū Za'bal. He was given the rank of *Mulāzim* and attached to the medical mission in 1832 and, on his return, was promoted *Yūzbāshī* and made a teacher of surgery in the school. He

¹ Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 34.

² Ibid., pp. 123-124.

³ *Taḥwīm*, II/414.

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was promoted to *Ṣāghakūl Aghāsī* and then *Amīralāī* and accompanied Muḥammad 'Alī on his trip to Europe in 1848. He became first physician to 'Abbās I, and accompanied the prince's mother on her pilgrimage who, on her return, presented him with one of the women of her household as a wife, as his French wife had died during his absence. He died in 1862, leaving behind a good reputation as a surgeon; he translated three medical works into Arabic.

Muḥammad ash-Shabāsī

On his return, he was made a teacher of anatomy and given the extra duty of visiting the civil and military hospitals. He became one of the medical men who attended the working and employees engaged on the Suez Canal. He died in 1894; he wrote two works on anatomy.

Muṣṭafā as-Subkī

During his stay in France, he specialised in ophthalmology, and when he returned from France, he was made a teacher of that subject until 1849 when he was transferred to *Khartūm* where Rifā'ah had been appointed *Nāzir* to a new school opened by 'Abbās I, although it is not clear what he was delegated to teach. In 1854, the *Khartūm* school was closed, but on his return to Cairo, it appears that he was not given employment immediately, for his resumption of duties at the School of Medicine did not take place until 1856; during the interval, he is reported to have practised medicine in a private capacity; he died in 1860.¹

As-Sayyid Aḥmad ar-Rashīdī

On his return from France, he was made a teacher of physics and chemistry, but he is particularly important for the large output of translations and original works attributed to him, one of which is still sought after on account of its encyclopaedic nature. He died in 1865.

'Isawī an-Nahrāwī

He was made a teacher of general anatomy² in the school after he had finished his studies in France. He was very active

¹ ar-Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/256, states that he died in 1844 which appears to be an error.

² Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 34, quotes a document written by Clot Bey to the effect that an-Nahrāwī was to be made a teacher of medicine; official documents used by Tūsūn and the works he translated indicate that anatomy was his subject.

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in the formation of a technical vocabulary and one work is attributed to him which is a translation of a work on anatomy which he did while he was studying in France.

As-Sayyid Ḥasan Ghānim ar-Rashīdī

Before he went to France, he had been employed as a corrector on the medical works translated in the Medical School on account of his expert knowledge of Arabic. During his stay in France, he specialised in pharmaceuticals and when he returned to Cairo, he taught this subject and *materia medica*.¹ He left translations and works on his two subjects.

Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baklī

This man seems to have been the brightest star of the constellation. He was born in *Zāwiyat al-Baklī*, a village in the province of al-Minūfiyah which, according to 'Alī Mubārak, was famous for producing great scholars and eminent men.² In any case, he was the only member of this mission to receive the title of Pasha, though several of his colleagues were made Beys. He first of all went to the local *kuttāb* and from there to Muḥammad 'Alī's new schools at Abū Za'bal. He was then sent to the School of Medicine and is the only member of this mission who was not an Azharī. His inclusion in this mission seems to have been by accident for he was not chosen until another member by the name of Rīḥān, who had been selected with the others, happened to die shortly before the departure from Egypt.³

He was the youngest of the mission and received the smallest allowance of which he used to allot one-third to his mother. He received credit for being the most accomplished in medical studies and this can only be attributed to the fact that he had started his education young and went to the new schools thus making contact with the new learning at an early age instead of continuing at al-Azhar. He probably had a better knowledge of French than his colleagues; he wrote a thesis entitled *Purulent Ophthalmia in Egypt*. On his return to Cairo, he was made a teacher of surgery and surgical anatomy with the rank of *Ṣāghakūl Aghāsī* and was soon promoted *Bimbāshī*. During the reign of 'Abbās I, he had a quarrel with his European

¹ Mahfouz, loc. cit., leaves out Ḥasan ar-Rashīdī.

² al-Khiṭaṭ, Vol. XI, pp. 84-85.

³ Taḳwīm, II/396, and Waḳā'i' Miṣriyah, No. 399.

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colleagues and was transferred as Health Officer in the Kūsūn district of Cairo which post he kept for five years. Sa'id Pasha made him Director of Medical Services of the Army with the rank of *Kā'im-makām*; he shortly became *wakīl* of the Medical School and Hospital with the rank of *Amīralāi* and private physician to Sa'id Pasha. In 1863, during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha, he was promoted to the Directorship of the School and Hospital in succession to Arnoux Bey and in 1873, was made Pasha.¹ In 1875, he had to retire to private life for some reason, but in 1876, he volunteered for the Abyssinian campaign under Prince Ḥasan Pasha and Rātib Pasha and it was there that he died.

He was the translator and author of several works on surgery and other subjects, but perhaps the most important contribution he made to modern Arabic technical literature was the monthly medical periodical called *Ya'sūb at-Ṭibb*, the "Queen Bee of Medical Science" which he started in 1865 with the help of ash-Shaikh Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūkī, a corrector in the Būlāk Printing Press.

Muhammad ash-Shāfi'i

On his return, he was made a teacher of internal diseases; he became *wakīl* and then Director of the School and Hospital for a short while in between 1849 and 1850 and was the first Egyptian to hold this post. He held the same post for about ten months in 1870-71² and died in 1877. He translated and wrote several important medical works.

Ḥusain al-Hiḥyāwī

He was appointed at the Naval Hospital in Alexandria where there appears to have been some provisions made for teaching. He died in 1840.

Muhammad Manṣūr, Aḥmad Bakḥīt and Muhammad as-Sukkarī

Manṣūr fell ill in France and returned to Egypt in 1833 and nothing else is known about him. Both Bakḥīt and as-Sukkarī were appointed as teachers in the School, the former appears to have taught biology.³

¹ Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 94; from 10th September, 1870, to 26th October, 1871, the post of Director was filled by Muhammad Shāfi'i Bey.

² Loc. cit.

³ From these details, it would appear that the students were sent to France to specialise and not for the purpose of general medical studies.

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The Diwān al-Madāris

It has been seen that as early as 1826, some need was felt for a consultative body for the administration and development of the few schools that then existed and for this purpose, a *commission* was set up under the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah*. The schools are generally described as being under the authority of this *Diwān*,¹ the Civil Schools, however, were controlled by the *Diwān al-Ālī*.² The School of Medicine with the military hospitals were administered by the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah* although the civil hospitals were under the *Diwān al-Ālī*.³ The questions of supplies and the movements of teaching personnel, administrative staff and students were effected through the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah* where there was a council set up in 1830 called the *Majlis Shūrā al-Jihādiyyah*.⁴ The schools were not subject to any general fixed plan of studies and examination system; they had been created as required and in so far as actual instruction is concerned, those in charge of the schools were allowed to arrange their own programmes.

Most of the orders dealing with the recruiting or transfer of students and with the appointment of teachers were sent from the *Diwān al-Ālī* to the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah* irrespective of the school affected by the movement⁵; when the orders dealt with students recruited from the provinces, they were generally sent to the district *Ma'mūrs*⁶ by Ḥabīb Ef., Muhammad 'Alī's first secretary.⁷ Those students intended for missions abroad, once they had been chosen, were transferred to the care of Boghoş Bey who arranged their departure for Europe,⁸ and thereafter the correspondence between the missions and Muhammad 'Alī

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/195. "Les écoles continuaient d'exister sous l'autorité immédiate du divan de la guerre."

² v. supra, p. 148 seq.; also Clot Bey, *Aperçu général*, II/337, and Deny, op. cit., p. 107.

³ Deny, ibid., p. 115. They were probably supervised by the *Majlis as-Siḥḥah wa'l-Isbitalyāt* set up in 1822-1826—(*Takwīm*, II/236, and *al-Muḥāmah*, p. 166) which is not mentioned by Deny. Clot Bey seems to have belonged to this body for in addition to being Director of the School of Medicine, he was General Medical Inspector of the *Diwān al-Bahriyah*, the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah*, and a member (afterwards President) of the *Majlis Shūrā al-Aṭibbā*, and the supervisor of Medical Officers and Pharmacists; v. *Takwīm*, II/418.

⁴ *al-Muḥāmah*, p. 165, 1246 a.h. Deny does not give the date of the establishment of this *Majlis* but mentions it as the *Choura al-djihad* for the year 1252—1836—v. op. cit., p. 454.

⁵ *Takwīm*, II/345, 1829; II/347, 1829; II/383, 1831; II/388, 1831; II/401, 1832; and II/406, 1832. Ḥabīb Ef. is often mentioned in the order, II/387, 1831.

⁶ *Takwīm*, II/348, 1829, and II/363, 1829.

⁷ Ibid., II/413, 1833.

⁸ Ibid., II/355, 1829.

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and the latter's orders were sent through the *Dīwān al-ʿAlī*¹; letters in European languages to Jomard and Briggs were sent by Boghoş.²

Actually, the extent to which the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* had any real voice in the control of the schools, teachers and students was very limited. The *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*, like the other *Dīwāns*, has been translated by French writers as *Ministère de la guerre*,³ but the *Dīwān*, in common with the rest of the *Dīwāns*, had very few of the characteristics of a ministry⁴ as understood either by Muḥammad 'Alī's European contemporaries or during the present day; these *Dīwāns* were no more than Secretariats through which Muḥammad 'Alī himself controlled affairs. The employees of the *Dīwāns* were no more than secretaries and clerks, even the *Nāẓir* was no more than a secretary to whom Muḥammad 'Alī issued his orders and who was supposed to see that they were carried out in his department. Every order emanated from Muḥammad 'Alī and it is quite clear that he did not let his subordinates use any initiative.

Deny, at the beginning of his work on the Turkish Archives of Cairo, gives two principles that governed Muḥammad 'Alī's administration:—

- (1) all matters had to be examined in council and regulated by a majority vote; great importance was attached to deliberation and,
- (2) all matters had to be under the control of Muḥammad 'Alī who centralised everything and who could decide on any problem according to his will.⁵

Deny describes these two principles as contradictory in appearance, the first being liberal and the second domineering and tries to explain them by stating that Muḥammad 'Alī wished to encourage his officials to use their own initiative and reasoning powers, but that the system required a strong ruler to supervise everything. It would appear, however, that there is no contradiction in these two principles from Muḥammad 'Alī's point of view; they represent a sequence of ideas the explanation of which can be best sought in the fact that as ruler of Egypt, he was determined to introduce reforms which affected every activity of social and economic life; Muḥammad 'Alī himself

¹ Ibid., II/376, 1830, and II/380, 1831.

² Ibid., II/414, 1833.

³ Clot Bey, *Aperçu général*, II/377 and II/223.

⁴ The *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* was more concerned with the supply of equipment, uniforms, arms, etc., rather than with the movements of personnel.

⁵ Deny, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

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was ignorant of the working of western institutions that he wished to introduce into his country and did not know that many of them were incompatible with autocratic rule. It was this ignorance that made him have recourse to *majlises* or councils before which administrative problems and new plans were discussed; on some of these councils, especially on that of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*, European experts sat under the presidency of a Turk; thus, for the most part, the new enterprises were discussed and voted upon in council at the order of Muḥammad 'Alī only because he himself was incapable of fully understanding the inner workings of them; he had to rely on his subordinates, who were advised by Europeans, for the drawing of the plans which Muḥammad 'Alī alone brought into effect.¹

Muḥammad 'Alī as we have seen with Boyer and those students who had studied the theory of government while in France, objected to anyone sharing in the government of the country. His attitude towards governing can be best illustrated by the following reports; Artin was once asked to translate Machiavelli's *Il Principe* which he did so at the rate of ten pages a day; on the fourth day, Muḥammad 'Alī commented on the work in the following way: "I have read all that you have given me of Machiavelli. I did not find much that was new in your first ten pages, but I hoped that it might improve; but the next ten pages were not better, and the last are commonplace. I see clearly that I have nothing to learn from Machiavelli. I know many more tricks than he knew. You need not translate any more of him."² When he was told that a School of Administration would be a useful establishment, he accepted the idea, but on finding that the examination papers contained questions on the incidence of taxation, he promptly stopped the examination and had the school closed.³

Hamont expresses the view that the *Dīwāns* were not ministries in the following terms: "*Il n'a jamais existé, à proprement parler, de ministères ou de ministres en Égypte. Les Européens, seuls, ont donné ce nom aux administrations et aux chefs qui les dirigent*"⁴; the *Nāẓirs* he calls secretaries and states that "*aucun d'eux ne peut prendre l'initiative*."⁵

¹ v. al-Muḥāmah, pp. 161-3, where Zaghlūl gives an interesting extract from an official register of 1240-1824—the order contains instructions how the members of the *Majlis al-ʿAlī* were to deliberate.

² Senior, op. cit., II/176-7.

⁴ Hamont, op. cit., II/52.

³ Ibid., I/249.

⁵ Ibid., II/53.

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Hekekyān, a competent observer, stated to Senior that "he (Muḥammad 'Alī) liked able men, but not superior men; he wished for instruments, not advisers"¹ which is not altogether true, he really wanted advisers who were *also* instruments. His ideas for the establishment of schools in particular could only have been inspired by those in his entourage and by foreigners from whom he sought advice; but once the institution had been established, it was he who controlled it. This accounts for the rather impetuous way one establishment after another was opened, sometimes resulting in duplication, without any pause to consider whether he had the material from which he could hope to make them a success; neither the pupils were satisfactory as they were entirely unprepared and were not naturally inclined towards his innovations, nor were there any teachers or administrators upon whom he could depend. Muḥammad 'Alī himself had no idea of any kind of required standard that would make his schemes worth while. He had not only the institution to create, but also the man, the spirit and the tradition.

The beginning of his reforms between 1818 and 1824 was promising because they were on a relatively small scale and the personnel was available; from 1824 to 1836, the feverish rush to make use of all resources, both in material and men, could only make for quantity with ever-diminishing quality; the chief drawback of the whole system was the lack of good officers.²

After the first campaign in Syria, the retirement of Cérisy and the desertion of 'Uṭmān Nūr-addīn, his most trusted officer after Ibrāhīm Pasha, the army had begun to deteriorate³ rapidly. General Dembinsky, a Pole of some reputation, had arrived in Egypt with some exiles and had elaborated an important plan for the reorganisation of the army and the military schools, but, unfortunately for Dembinsky, he showed too high-

¹ Senior, op. cit., I/249.

² Cattai, op. cit., II, Pt. II, p. 77; Duhamel to Nesselrode, 9/5/1834 *Hekekyān Papers*, Vol. I, folio 380, where he compares English officers and men of the Navy with Muḥammad 'Alī's. He states that the former "have respect for laws and are humane," and that such conduct could not be expected from Muḥammad 'Alī's officers, "who were all barbarians bought in the market without education or humanity," and that "our great misfortune was that the Government, Army and Navy were in the hands of Circassians, Abyssinians, and stolen Colmen and Tartars," and further that, "until we abolish slavery we should never alter our position." Hekekyān had been brought up in England and had an entirely different background and was liable to judge his colleagues according to European standards, yet his remarks throw some light on the type of officer Muḥammad 'Alī was obliged to use.

³ Loc. cit.

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handed an attitude, and Muḥammad 'Alī, only too glad to rid himself of him, paid for his passage and for that of his colleagues to France.¹ Muḥammad 'Alī made use of the plan, however, the carrying out of which fell to Sulaimān Bey (Sève) who was now to fill the place that 'Uṭmān Nūr-addīn had filled and who was supported by his Saint-Simonite friends² and Adham Ef. (later Bey), who had also been attracted by the ideas of that group³; Marmont's interest had also been roused by the flattering attentions paid to him and his advice was sought regarding the reorganization.⁴

The path had now been cleared for the rise of Sulaimān by the desertion of 'Uṭmān and one of his first promotions was to the post of Inspector-General of the military schools in April,⁵ 1834, a post which had not previously existed although 'Uṭmān Nūr-addīn as Major-General of the Staff appeared to have the supervision of the schools entrusted to him in addition to most of the other innovations.

Serious attention was paid to the organisation of the schools and the army from the first half of the year 1834,⁶ and by February, 1835, the proposed plan for the new army was prepared.⁷

The most interesting feature of this new promotion of Sulaimān's as Inspector-General was his intention to convoke a *Commission of Public Instruction*, an expression entirely French as we shall presently see, composed of men who, "ont le plus de lumières, et en même temps le plus d'affinité avec la France;" amongst the men earmarked for the *commission* by Infantin who supported the plan most enthusiastically, were Ḥusain Bey, Kiānī Bey, Muḥtār Bey, Artin Efendī and others, most of whom had been to France as mission students.⁸

At this particular period, the Saint-Simonites were in great

¹ Cattai, op. cit., pp. 11-12, and Scott, op. cit., I/182 seq.

² *Œuvres d'Infantin*, Vols. XXIX and XXX, *passim*, and Carré, op. cit., I/262 seq.

³ Carré, *ibid.*, I/268.

⁴ Cattai, op. cit., II, Part I, p. 250; Duhamel to Nesselrode, 4th February, 1835.

⁵ *Œuvres d'Infantin*, Vol. XXIX, p. 142; also *Takwīm*, II/431, where he is called *Mufattiḥ 'Umūm al-Makātib*; also Vingtrinier, *Soliman-Pasha (Joseph Sève) ou l'histoire des guerres de l'Égypte de 1820 à 1860*, Paris, 1886; it appears that, not only had 'Uṭmān deserted, but there was a general defection on the part of French teachers, pp. 256-7 (and Hamont, op. cit., II/105); Vingtrinier also mentions that Sulaimān was made director of the schools, pp. 257-9; Hamont, op. cit., II/50, also records this promotion, *v. infra*, p. 187, n.3.

⁶ *Œuvres d'Infantin*, Vol. XXIX, p. 142, letter dated April, 1834.

⁷ Cattai, op. cit., Vol. II, Part I, p. 250.

⁸ *Œuvres d'Infantin*, Vol. XXIX, p. 142.

favour¹; there were over fifty of them in Egypt, several of whom were employed as doctors, engineers and teachers,² and there was great hope of a further demand for Frenchmen after the completion of the reorganisation³ which Sulaimān was undertaking in connection with the educational system and of which he was considered to be the director.⁴

The *Commission of Public Instruction*, the ambition of Sulaimān Bey and the Saint-Simonites, was to be independent of the Councils of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* and other *Dīwāns*⁵ and, as a step towards this creation, Sulaimān was made a Pasha in May, 1834,⁶ and a *firmān* was issued by Muḥammad 'Alī making him Inspector-General of *all* the schools in Egypt⁷; this was an occasion of great joy on the part of Enfantin and his followers.⁸

It would appear that this second stage in the development of Muḥammad 'Alī's educational policy consisted of the institution of a *Commission of Inspection* of the schools, arsenals, etc., and that Sulaimān Pasha was made the chief inspector, but so far, it has not been possible to trace the names of all the members. Seguera, the Spanish Colonel in charge of the Artillery School, was one of the members,⁹ and also Adham Ef.

The material available does not offer sufficient data to help one to fix the exact duties of this *Commission of Inspection*, but from the evidence at hand, the *Commission* must have been set up shortly after the date Sulaimān was promoted to Inspector-General in May, 1834. Enfantin wrote a letter in May, 1834, expressing his hopes that "*le projet de Solaiman pour organiser une commission de l'instruction publique . . . se réalisera sous peu. . .*"¹⁰ Zaghlūl gives us a date for the opening of a *Ḳalam al-Madāris* (*Department of Schools*) on the 11th Jam. I, 1250—15th September, 1834,¹¹ and it was probably this *Ḳalam* that

¹ Ibid., p. 157.

² Ibid., pp. 157-8, and Carré, op. cit., I/271-2.

³ *Œuvres d'Enfantin*, Vol. XXIX, p. 157.

⁴ Ibid., p. 158.

⁵ Ibid., XXX, p. 164.

⁶ Ibid., XXIX, p. 168.

⁷ Ibid., XXIX, p. 173, letter dated 31st May, 1834, to Sulaimān Pasha congratulating him.

⁸ Ibid., XXIX, pp. 173, 176 and 180.

⁹ Cattani, op. cit., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 428-9; Bokty to Duhamel, 18th December, 1835.

¹⁰ *Œuvres d'Enfantin*, XXIX, p. 164, letter dated 23rd May, 1834; also Cattani, op. cit., II, Pt. I, p. 76, Duhamel to Nesselrode, 9th May, 1834, "C'est Soliman-bey (Sève) qui est chargé de ce travail, ainsi que d'un nouveau règlement pour les écoles."

¹¹ *al-Muḥāmah*, p. 166.

was under Sulaimān Pasha but, of course, it was still attached to the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* at that time.

This *Commission* was certainly functioning from an early date for we have the text of an order dated *Dhū'l-Ḳa'dah*—March, 1835—addressed to Sulaimān Pasha instructing him to open a School of Mineralogy in al-Azbakiyah in conjunction with Adham¹ which confirms the connection with the Saint-Simonite group with whom both Sulaimān and Adham were friendly. Lambert, a Saint-Simonite, was made its director (*v. supra*, p. 142). Adham had already been made head of the Cairo Arsenal.

The letter written by Bokty to Duhamel dated 18th December, 1835 (*v. supra*, p. 186, note 9), points to its continuity and to Seguera being one of the members, but, the most convincing evidence, however, that the *Department of Schools* was a separate department from 1250-1834, although still attached to the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* owing to its military character and to Sulaimān's rank in the army, lies in the fact that it had its own registers from that year,² which coincides with the date of the year of Sulaimān's appointment as Inspector-General and Zaghlūl's date for the opening of the *Ḳalam al-Madāris*.

The above data is sufficient to enable one to conclude that the school system had its first recognised administration in 1834, and that the first director was a Frenchman, namely, Sulaimān Pasha. During the period that the schools were under the *Commission of Inspection*, certain improvements can be attributed to it, or perhaps more directly to Sulaimān Pasha.³ The attention given to the infantry schools had some bearing, of course on the plan for the reorganisation and improvement of the army; the idea of developing the Damietta Infantry School, to where the *Khānḳāh* School had been transferred in June, 1834 was on account of its proximity to Syria. There is evidence, too, that some improvements were made on the teaching staff.⁴

The School of Mines or Mineralogy at Old Cairo may have been opened through Sulaimān's influence but certainly the

¹ *Taḳwīm*, II/433.

² Deny, op. cit., p. 435; *Register No.* 1999 onwards of the Official Archives in 'Abdīn Palace, Cairo.

³ Hamont, op. cit., II/50, testifies to the zeal Sulaimān showed in carrying out his duties as Inspector-General: "Pendant la paix, le vice-roi l'a nommé inspecteur général des écoles. Dans l'une comme dans l'autre, Soliman-Pacha a déployé un jugement supérieur, et il a été le défenseur zélé des institutions utiles que son souverain a introduites en Égypte."

⁴ *Taḳwīm*, II/451. Appointment of 'Abduh Ef. as a teacher of geography.

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School of Mines under Lambert mentioned above, was due to the Inspector-General. Perhaps the most important development of all was the reorganisation of the School of Engineering owing to the support of the Saint-Simonite group which undoubtedly had a great deal to do with Sulaimān's plans and accounted for the growth of French cultural influence at the time.

Although no attention was given to the further development of any kind of primary education by Sulaimān, yet his beneficial care can be traced in the dispatch of doctors to the provincial schools in October, 1835, to treat students for scabies¹; it was also due to his report that Muḥammad 'Alī gave orders that certain provincial schools that were falling into ruin should be rebuilt and the students thereof should receive their allowances, rations and clothes.²

Unfortunately, the war in Syria did not allow Muḥammad 'Alī to spare Sulaimān for the business of reorganisation, and he was sent to command the Egyptian armies in that country on 4th December, 1835.³ It is quite clear that the *Commission* deprived of its Inspector soon showed signs that it lacked the power to keep things in order and events following which obliged Muḥammad 'Alī to reorganise the administration on an entirely different basis.

The trouble can be traced back to the usual intrigues and the clashes of ideas and selfish motives of the various interested groups and individuals. Seguera Bey, one of the best European officers employed during this period, had been made a general by Muḥammad 'Alī during the course of an inspection, so much did he appreciate him,⁴ but Seguera disliked his French colleagues and was averse to their influence and interference; he claimed that he was employed by Muḥammad 'Alī and would not take orders but from him directly.

Seguera's anti-French feelings were directed particularly against Sulaimān Pasha, who, in spite of his conversion to Islam and his promotion to high rank in the service of Muḥammad 'Alī, was nevertheless still attached to his mother country although his loyalty to Muḥammad 'Alī cannot for a moment

¹ Ibid., II/452.

² *Takwīm*, II/457.

³ Cattani, op. cit., II, Pt. I, p. 428; Duhamel to Bouteneff, 9th December, 1835.

⁴ St. John, op. cit., II/398; Hamont, op. cit., II/164; and Clot Bey, op. cit., II/221.

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be doubted.¹ Many of his contemporaries criticised him on account of his being a renegade, their feelings can easily be understood, but in spite of his position with the Turks, he always kept open house for his French friends, and his attachment to the *Enfantin* group caused him to give them all possible help. Sulaimān was particularly favourable to the mission students who had been to France.

Mukhtār was also one of Seguera's enemies; he had been to France and was well-connected; his feelings were distinctly pro-French; he was a friend and a favourite of the Saint-Simonites, but, unfortunately, he was also a bad character, inefficient in his work and a drunkard to boot.²

At this period, Mukhtār was *Nāzir* of the *Majlis al-Mulkiyah*, it is possible also that he was one of the members of the *Commission of Inspection* for the schools, he is already mentioned in several orders that affect the schools.³ His close connection with Muḥammad 'Alī, his training in Paris, his experience as *aide-de-camp* to Ibrāhīm Pasha in Syria and friendly relations with the Saint-Simonites and Sulaimān Pasha would suggest that he could hardly have been left out of any council or commission that was considering the future of the schools. Tūsūn suggests that he was *Mudīr* of the *Dīwān al-Ḥarbiyah* in 1835,⁴ meaning probably the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyah*, but this could hardly have been so.

Clot Bey approves of the lack of uniformity in the educational system of this period in these terms: "*Il y eut en effet entre elles (the schools) une heureuse émulation, et chacune fut poussée par son directeur avec rapidité, sans être astreinte à un développement dont les progrès eussent été ralentis si on les eût calculés d'avance et si l'on eût empêché leur libre essor.*"⁵ This statement suggests a state of affairs that was absolutely non-existent. The inefficiency of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyah*,⁶ the struggle that was going on with the various school directors and the perpetual intrigues reached a climax in the autumn of 1835.

Seguera, Hamont and Clot, all three being of pronounced views regarding the working of the schools in their charge, refused to accept certain individuals sent by the *Dīwān al-*

¹ Cattani, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 501; Basili to Medem, 29th September, 1840.

² Puckler Muskau, op. cit., I/191.

³ *Takwīm*, II/457 and II/471.

⁴ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 36.

⁵ Clot Bey, op. cit., II/337.

⁶ Hamont, op. cit., II/195-6.

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Jihādiyyah to their establishments. In the case of Seguera and Hamont, it appears that these individuals were inspectors to whom they objected on the grounds that they were hostile either to them personally or to their schools.¹ From the evidence available, one cannot but conclude that these intrigues were the combined machinations of the Saint-Simonites and the ex-mission students against three officials who were not of their way of thinking, as neither Clot nor Hamont belonged to that group and Seguera was altogether anti-French. The mission men were of the opinion that they had the qualifications necessary to fill their posts; they sought to create a situation by their intrigues whereby they might bring about the elimination of these officials for their own advantage and advancement.

Muhammad 'Alī heard of this conflict and called a Council in December, 1835,² to investigate the reasons for the insubordination of these directors.³ The Council consisted of Ḥabīb Efendī, Adham Bey, Kiānī Bey, Aḥmad Pasha (*Nāẓir* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*), Mukhtār Bey (*Nāẓir* of the *Majlis al-Mulkiyah*), the directors of the schools and several others; Muhammad 'Alī remained in an adjoining room.⁴

Seguera, in his defence, stated quite frankly that the affair was the outcome of an intrigue to bring about the dismissal of Hamont, Clot and himself in order to put the mission men in their places; when his statements were carried to Muhammad 'Alī, he decided to dismiss him on the spot.⁵ Clot did not turn up to defend himself, a move for which no explanation is offered; when Hamont was called upon to answer the charge, he turned the case against the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* and accused the members thereof of violating regulations. These accusations were reported to Muhammad 'Alī who immediately ordered the setting up of a *Commission* to investigate school matters and the possibilities of reorganisation.⁶

The decree issued by Muhammad 'Alī in which he ordered a General Council⁷ to sit and to investigate educational problems

¹ Ibid., II/196.

² Cattaui, op. cit., II, Pt. I, pp. 428-9; Bokty to Duhamel, 18th December, 1835.

³ Hamont, op. cit., II/196-7. It is unfortunate that Hamont rarely gives a date.

⁴ Ibid., II/197.

⁵ Seguera did not resign as suggested by Guémard, op. cit., p. 135.

⁶ Hamont, ibid., II/197-8. The Seguera affair is also confirmed by Bokty's letter to Duhamel quoted above, and by the *Official Register Sijil* 212, 'Abdīn, p. 39, Document No. 177.

⁷ Hamont, ibid., II/198, calls it a *Commission*.

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was dated 19th *Ramaḍān*, 1251—11th January, 1836.¹ This Council was held in a room of the *Majlis al-Mulkiyah* (Mukhtār's department) and was composed of the following members under the Presidency of Mukhtār Bey²:—

Clot Bey,	Director, School of Medicine.
Kiānī Bey,	Colonel.
Artin Bey,	Muhammad 'Alī's 2nd Secretary and Director: School of Administration.
Eṣṭefān Efendī,	School of Administration.
Varin,	Director, School of Cavalry.
Hekekyān,	Director, School of Engineering.
Rifā'ah,	Director, School of Languages.
Baiyūmī,	Teacher, School of Engineering.
Lambert,	Director, School of Mines.
Hamont,	Director, School of Veterinary Science.
Dozol as secretary,	Teacher of Muhammad 'Alī Bey, the youngest son of the ruler.

Ḥabīb Efendī, Muhammad 'Alī's first secretary, Aḥmad Pasha (*Nāẓir* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*), the *Khazīnah-Dār* Bey, Ḥusain Bey, *Khazīnah-Dār* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*, were also invited to attend the Council, Ḥabīb Efendī probably to report to Muhammad 'Alī the progress of the Council meetings and the others to offer suggestions.

The text of the decree containing Muhammad 'Alī's instructions is an interesting example of the way he used to order the members of a council how to carry out their duties as such. They were to investigate educational problems and to examine the connection between them and the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*. Each member was to write down his suggestions which were to be considered by a special committee (*lajnah*) which was to form from among the members of this Council. Muhammad 'Alī made special reference in his orders to Mukhtār Bey, Artin Bey, Eṣṭefān Efendī, and Shaikh Rifā'ah who *had* to be members of the new committee; he also insisted that the other members should be drawn from among those who had graduated from European schools, a fact which points to a decided change of policy, undoubtedly already contemplated, but finally determined by Seguera's insubordination and Hamont's attack on the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*. The incident also confirms that Muhammad 'Alī had strong objections to his subordinates showing any lack of adaptability to his system, and, in spite

¹ *Sijil* 212, Abdīn, p. 39, Document No. 177.

² Also Hamont, op. cit., II/198-9.

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of the qualities of Seguera and the splendid services he had rendered, the ruler did not hesitate to get rid of him.

The question may be asked at this point regarding the source of Muḥammad 'Alī's inspiration in his new idea of reorganisation; the Seguera incident could only have been one of many. Up to this point, he could not conceive of the schools' department being severed from the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* simply because he looked upon them as being a necessary part of his military organisation. It is recorded that Artīn Bey was responsible for the suggestion of the formation of a *Council of Public Instruction*,¹ but it is more than likely that it was the combined idea of the Saint-Simonites and the mission students and that Artīn, on account of his close association with Muḥammad 'Alī as his secretary, was able to act as their spokesman and to press the idea upon Muḥammad 'Alī.

Both parties had something to gain from this new administrative development; the Saint-Simonites held the idea that it offered further possibilities of the employment of a number of their party,² in addition, of course, to the certainty of extending and strengthening French cultural contacts in general and their own doctrines and ideas in particular. The mission students had much to gain from this new move; they would find themselves under a separate administration with a *Nāzir* who had himself been a mission student and who also had another more important post as *Nāzir* of the *Majlis al-Mulkiyah*, which probably kept him in close contact with the ruler. The new administration could serve as a rallying point for these *new men* around which they could build up a position not previously possible under the old Turks.

The new committee of investigation was under the presidency (*Nāzirship*) of Mukhtār Bey, with the following members:—

Clot Bey,	Rifā'ah,
Hamont,	Baiyūmī,
Kiānī Bey,	Lambert,
Artīn Bey,	Bruneau,
Eṣṭefān Efendī,	Linant,
Varin,	Dozol, secretary. ³
Hekekyān,	

After it had drawn up its report and plan of reorganisation,

¹ *Revue d'Égypte*, II/426. In French, *Conseil d'instruction publique* (see Artīn, op. cit., pp. 78-9) or *Comité*.

² *Œuvres d'Enfantin*, XXIX, pp. 157-8.

³ Hamont, op. cit., II/198-9.

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both Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm Pasha had to approve of the scheme; this was done during the first half of the month *Dhū'l-Ka'dah*, 1251—February, 1836, i.e., less than two months after the first order convoking the council of investigation, for an order was issued by Mukhtār Bey on the 17th of that month, i.e., 6th March, 1836, to the *Nāzirs* of the Medical, Veterinary and Cavalry schools, informing them that he had been made *Nāzir* of the *Majlis Shūrā'l-Madāris wa'l-Makātib* on the 9th *Dhū'l-Ka'dah*, i.e., 26th February, 1836, and that all business connected with the schools would be dealt with by this Majlis.¹

The committee in deliberation at the *Majlis al-Mulkiyah* had, in fact, produced a plan of some length giving elaborate details of the types of schools required, and dealing with all questions affecting school administration such as the rations, salaries of teachers, staff, students, admission of students, teaching method, inspection, examinations, text-books, discipline, holidays, school equipment, etc., and for the purposes of control, a *Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique* was created with a president and three permanent members; six other consultative members with the right to vote and a secretary made up the rest of the Council.² This *Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique* is the French title for the *Majlis Shūrā'l-Madāris*, the *Nāzir* of which was Mukhtār Bey and the three permanent members, Artīn Bey, Eṣṭefān Efendī and M. Lubbert, who had been director of the French Opera in Paris.³

Attempts have been made to give a complete list of both permanent and consulting members by Amīn Sāmī,⁴ Artīn,⁵ and ar Rāfi'ī⁶; they have, unfortunately, confused the names of the members of the various commissions, committees, councils and the subsequent *Dīwān al-Madāris*. They all mention Clot Bey, Hamont and Hekekyān as being members; they were probably invited to attend occasionally when matters affecting their schools were to be discussed, but neither Hamont nor Clot state that they were members; Hekekyān states at a later date that he attended the meetings.⁷ In one of the

¹ *Daftar 2001*, Document No. 2; this is the third *Madāris* register.

² Articles 52, 53, 54 and 55 of the regulations.

³ Hamont, op. cit., II/201. For remarks on Lubbert, see Guémard, op. cit., p. 295, and Carré, op. cit., *passim*.

⁴ *at-Ta'līm*, p. 9.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 75.

⁶ Op. cit., III/448.

⁷ *Hekekyān Papers*, Vol. II, folio 5, 1841, et *passim*.

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official registers,¹ the following interesting list is given at the end of the minutes of a meeting :—

Mukhtār Bey,	
Eṣṭefān Efendī,	
Lubbert,	
Lambert,	
Mazhar Efendī,	Engineer.
Bruneau,	<i>Ta'limjī</i> , School of Artillery (see below).
Bahgat Efendī,	Director, School of Artillery (see below).
Muḥammad Amīn Bey,	<i>Khazīnah-Dār</i> of the <i>Shūrā'l-Madāris</i> . ²
Wāsil Bey,	Director, School of Cavalry.
Linant,	Chief Engineer.
Adham Bey,	

Six of these members are Turks or Circassians, four are French and one is Armenian, there was no Egyptian representative at this particular meeting; Mukhtār, Eṣṭefān, Mazhar, Bahgat and Amīn were all mission students; Lambert, Linant and Bruneau were Saint-Simonites and Adham was sympathetic to both groups; the list indicates the extent to which these two parties had co-operated and had taken over the control of the schools.

As an example of the application of the new policy, it is significant that the *Nāẓir*ship of the School of Artillery was given to Muṣṭafā Ef. Bahgat in February, 1836³ with Captain Bruneau as *ta'limjī*.⁴

An interesting incident illustrating Muḥammad 'Alī's method of treating his subordinates is found in his dismissal of Mukhtār Bey from his post as *Nāẓir* of the *Majlis al-Mulkiyah* on account of his arrogance, tyranny, inefficiency and general unfitness for such a high post. Muḥammad 'Alī hoped that the disgrace would be a lesson to him and, in order to give him another chance, he retained him in his post as *Nāẓir* of the *Majlis Shūrā'l-Madāris*, and in the text of the order threatened him with still further disgrace should he be reported on account of

¹ No. 2021, 5th *Dhū'l-Ka'dah*, 1252.

² *Takwīm*, II/480. He was made Director of the Naval School later.

³ Amīn Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 52; Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/515; see also Puckler, op. cit., II/194. Bruneau was then subordinate to Bahgat. Guémard, op. cit., p. 135, quoting Jomard, states that Mazhar Ef. was appointed as *adjoint* to Bruneau; actually Mazhar was given the post of teacher at the School of Artillery with Ibrāhīm Ef. Ramaḍān as his assistant (*mu'īd*), v. Tūsūn, op. cit., pp. 60-61. In 1252-1836—he was Engineer of the *Hauḍ al-Khairiyah*, v. *Daftar* 2021, loc. cit. Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/517, states that he was made *Nāẓir* of the School of Artillery.

⁴ Puckler, loc. cit.

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any other misbehaviour.¹ This can hardly be called a propitious beginning for the budding administration.

The new organisation was an excellent one on paper and gives the impression that some real effort was to be made for the improvement of the existing schools and for the spread of education in the country.

Three types of schools were to be organised; primary, preparatory and special. There were to be fifty primary schools in the towns and provinces which were to provide students for the preparatory schools and were to spread elementary education in the country. Four of them were to be situated in Cairo and one in Alexandria with two hundred students in each; the remaining forty-five were to accommodate one hundred students each thus making a total of 5,500 primary students.

The system of discipline, teaching and administration was to be uniform in all the primary schools; the students had to be between the ages of seven and twelve years, in good health and without any physical deformity. The course of instruction was to be of three years' duration with an extra year at the discretion of the inspector. Each school was to have three classes, for first, second and third year students and in order to be promoted from one class to another, the student had to pass an examination. The subjects of study were to be :—(1) reading and writing, (2) Arabic, (3) elementary rules of arithmetic, and (4) religious instruction.

Each school was to have a *Nāẓir* who also had to teach and two other teachers in addition to the following staff; a bursar, a clerk, a cook, a scullion, a tailor, two laundrymen, two servants, two water-carriers and a door-keeper; a surgeon-barber was also to be in attendance. The students were to be fed, lodged and clothed in the school; discipline was to be strictly military and punishments were to be graded according to the misdemeanour; a student could be reprimanded in the presence of the whole school, confined to school, imprisoned and given bread and water, beaten with the *kūrbāg* or dismissed from the school. The schools were to be inspected every three months by a delegate of the *Majlis*; the inspectors had to report on the students' progress, the teachers' zeal and the administration of the school;

¹ *Daftar* 212, 'Abdīn, p. 86, Document No. 407, and *Daftar* 213, 'Abdīn, p. 245, 21st *Jam.* I and 1st *Jam.* II, 1252—3rd and 13th September, 1836, respectively. The second order was sent to Ibrāhīm Pasha informing him of Muḥammad 'Alī's action.

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they were also to suggest any improvements to be made. The results of the final examination, which was to be held under the staff teachers and the *Majlis* delegate, decided which students were to be drafted into the preparatory schools.

The Preparatory Schools were intended for the continuance of the instruction of those who had passed out of the primary schools with the object of preparing them for the special schools. There were to be two, one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria, the former was to accommodate 1,500 pupils and the latter, 500. Both were to be run on similar lines. The course was to be of four years' duration with the possibility of a fifth year at the discretion of the teaching committee of the school; there were to be four classes in which the following subjects were to be taught:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| (a) Arabic, | (f) elementary geometry, |
| (b) Turkish, | (g) general notions of history, |
| (c) Persian, | (h) general notions of geography, |
| (d) arithmetic, | (i) calligraphy, |
| (e) elementary algebra, | (j) drawing (linear, figure and landscape). |

The division of the subjects among the teachers was to be decided by the teaching committee of the school for the final approval of the *Majlis*.

The teaching staff of the Preparatory School in Cairo was to consist of the *Nāẓir*, the *Wakīl*, three prefects, twelve assistant masters, twelve teachers of Arabic, Turkish and Persian, one history teacher, one geography teacher, three drawing teachers, four calligraphy teachers (two for *sulus* (*thuluth*) and two for *rik'a*). The teachers and prefects were to serve under the direct orders of the *Nāẓir* and the *Wakīl*; the assistant masters were to help the teachers but their special functions were to consist of the supervision of the students out of class-hours during their walks, recreation and in the dormitories.

The administrative staff was to serve under a separate *Nāẓir* and to consist of one accountant, two clerks, one bursar, one storekeeper for linen, one storekeeper for school equipment, two stewards, cooks and scullions, one weigher, tailors, boot-makers, laundrymen, barbers, dormitory servants, refectory servants, lighting servants, drummers and fifers, doorkeepers, and wood-breakers. The Preparatory Schools were also to have their own medical staff consisting of twenty-two members, three doctors, two pharmacists, seven orderlies, a barber and others.

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The Alexandria Preparatory School was to have the same kind of staff in proportion to the number of students accommodated.

The Preparatory Schools were to be essentially military establishments; the students were to be subject to severe military discipline and were to be barracked like soldiers; they were to form three battalions in the Cairo school, each company consisting of four companies with one hundred and twenty-five students in each company; the junior officers and corporals were to be chosen from among the students, the assistant masters were to command the companies, and the prefects the battalions.

Punishments were of twelve different degrees, which ranged from public reprimand to dismissal from school; a student could lose his rank if he were a junior officer or a corporal or be withheld from promotion by way of punishment; the *kūrbāg* also figures in the list of punishments.

At the Preparatory Schools, a board of instruction and discipline was to be formed which had to meet once a month and to send its minutes and suggestions to the *Majlis*, the board was to consist of the *Nāẓir* of the teaching staff, the *Wakīl*, one prefect, two teachers, and one assistant master as secretary without the right to vote; it was to deal with school discipline, with the methods of teaching and with the progress made at the school; it had the right to dismiss a student in the last resort and a student thus dismissed was to be given an inferior post in one of the administrations.

Inspection was to be carried out every quarter by a delegate sent by the *Majlis* in the same way as with the primary schools; at the end of the scholastic year, examinations were to be held for each class to determine class promotions; the final examination results were to decide which students were to be sent to the special schools. They were to be conducted by a delegate sent by the *Majlis* and the School Board; the results were to be sent to the *Majlis*. Students who failed were to be employed in inferior posts in the government.

The existing system of Special School was to be entirely reorganised and in place of the numerous schools then functioning, seven special schools were to be recognised as sufficient for the needs of the State. They were to be:—

- (i) *The School of Languages* which was to form translators from French into Arabic and Turkish and to provide students knowing these languages for the other special schools.

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(2) *The Polytechnic School* which was destined to form students for the Artillery School, naval engineering, roads and bridges construction, for mining and for all other services where a knowledge of mathematics and the physical sciences was deemed necessary.

(3) *The School of Artillery* for the training of artillery officers.

(4) *The School of Cavalry* for the training of cavalry officers.

(5) *The School of Infantry* for the training of infantry officers.

(6) *The School of Medicine* was to supply health officers, doctors and pharmacists both for the army and for the administrations.

(7) *The Veterinary School* for the training of veterinary doctors for the army.

All these Special Schools were to be subject to uniform discipline and to the same administration, but the teaching syllabus of each school was to be regulated by its own Board for its own special purposes and needs. Special arrangements were to be made for the practical application of technical studies in schools called *écoles d'application*; it appears that these schools were to be attached to the actual relevant service.

The arrangements in the special schools were as follows¹:—

The School of Languages

The course of instruction was to be of five years' duration with the possibility of the extension of another year; there were to be five classes and yearly examinations were to be held for the promotion of the students from class to class. The subjects to be taught were Arabic, Turkish, French, elementary mathematics, history and geography. The school was to have its own Council which could modify the syllabus.

The teachers were to consist of a *Nāzir*, two assistant masters, two Arabic teachers, one Turkish teacher, three French teachers; the French teachers were also to give the lectures in history, geography and mathematics while the two assistant masters were to take care of the students out of school hours. The organisation of the school was to be military, there were to be one hundred and fifty students divided into two companies of seventy-five each under an assistant master.

¹ The regulations do not give the details for the Special Schools; they are given by Bowring in his *Parliamentary Report*, pp. 127-135.

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The Polytechnic School

The Polytechnic was to be formed on the model of that at Paris; there were to be three departments, a Central Department, a Mining Department and a Public Works Department. The course was to take three years; in the Central Department, the following subjects were to be taught:—

higher geometry,	physics,
higher algebra,	chemistry,
rectilinear and spherical trigonometry,	astronomy,
descriptive geometry,	mineralogy,
statics,	architecture,
analytical geometry,	geology,
differential and integral calculus,	outlines and construction of machines,
mechanics,	plan drawing,
geodesy,	linear and topographical drawing.
machines,	

In the Mining Department, the following subjects were to be taught:—

industrial chemistry applied to manufactures, raw materials, and to useful objects found in or imported into Egypt; the pupils were expected to do practical work and to attend the factories; mineralogy and geology; the students were to go out into the open and acquire practical experience; machines and the management of mines; drawing of machines and furnaces, etc.; drawing of quarries, construction of models; manufacturing of tools and turnery.

In the Public Works Department, the following subjects were to be taught:—

hydraulic constructions, bridges, sluices, jetties, dykes, canals, roads, etc.; descriptive geometry as applied to roofing and stone-cutting; mineralogy.

Provision was to be made for two hundred and twenty-five students and the teaching staff was to be made up of the *Nāzir*, the *Wakīl*, two professors of mathematics, two assistants, one professor of physics, chemistry and astronomy and one assistant, one professor of geodesy, plan making and linear drawing, one professor of mining, geology, mineralogy, and a cabinet keeper, one professor of architecture, constructions, and hydraulic

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works, one professor of machine-making, a keeper of the models, one model-maker and two turners.

The Artillery School

The students were to be taught the following subjects:—

mathematics,
linear topography and plan-drawing,
theory of infantry and cavalry manœuvres,
theory of artillery manœuvres,
the construction of batteries,
making of fireworks of war,
artillery service in regiments, in the field and in forts,
transitory and permanent fortifications, attack and defence of fortresses,
bridge building,
construction of fascines, saucissons, gabbions, clay sand-bags, etc.

The students were to be drawn from the Polytechnic and should there not be enough, then they could be drawn from the Preparatory School; there was to be accommodation for three hundred pupils divided up into four classes of seventy-five each. The teaching staff was to consist of the *Nāzir*, the *Wakīl*, two artillery captains, two lieutenants, one professor of mathematics, one for fortifications, one for the theory of manœuvres and artillery, a master of arms, a provost of arms, and three assistant junior officers.

The Cavalry School

The students were to be taught cavalry service in campaigns, forts and quarters, riding, foot and horse exercises, rifle and pistol shooting, manœuvres, knowledge of and management of horses; the teaching staff was to consist of the following:—the *Nāzir*, the *Wakīl*, two squadron leaders, eight captains, one master of the stables, a secondary master of the stables, a master of the horse, a riding master, a drawing master, a music master, a fencing master, two provosts, a veterinary teacher, and three junior officers.

This school had to receive officers from the regiments who were destined to become instructors, each regiment of cavalry and horse artillery was to send an officer every year, the squadrons of train artillery were to send one every two years; the officers chosen for this service were to be thirty years of age at least and to be of the rank of lieutenant, were to be of good conduct

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and recommended by the Inspector-General; they were to stay at the school two years or at most three. The school could also receive students from the Preparatory Schools; these had to pass a preliminary examination and were to stay for at least three years and no more than four, they were then to be posted to the different regiments. There was also to be a special department for the training of young soldiers as non-commissioned officers, bombardiers and trumpeters.

The cavalry pupils were to be divided into two squadrons, each one to contain one hundred and twelve students, sixteen bombardiers, eight sergeants, four trumpeters, one farrier and the sergeant major in charge; the junior officers and the bombardiers were to be chosen from the pupils.

The Infantry School

This was to contain three classes for students drawn from the Preparatory School who were to undertake a three years' course; they were to be taught elementary fortifications, attack and defence of forts; topography and plan drawing; theory and manœuvres of infantry, and exercise of the bayonet; duties of home service, police, discipline of garrisons, quarters and campaigns.

The staff was to consist of the *Nāzir*, a *Wakīl*, a sub-commandant, a teacher of topography and plan making, a teacher of fortifications, attack, and defence, four infantry captains, four lieutenants, a master of arms, a provost of arms and a master of gymnastics.

The Medical School

The students were to be provided by the Preparatory Schools; the course of study was to be extended over a term of five years and, in some cases, six. There were to be five classes representing the years of study and the subjects to be studied were as follows:—

anatomy,
physiology,
surgical pathology,
medical pathology,
hygiene,
zoology,
pharmacy,

chemical surgery,
chemical medicine,
pharmaceutical chemistry,
physics,
botany,
materia medica,
midwifery.

The teaching staff was to be made up of the following:—a director who would also give lectures, six professors, three

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auxiliary professors, seven assistants to be taken from the students who have finished their studies, one drawing master, two translators, and two revisers. The students were to follow military discipline; they were to make up three companies with one hundred students in each company; the junior officers were to be chosen from among the students.

The Veterinary School

This school was to receive its students from the Preparatory School and the School of Languages; the course was to be over a period of five years with an extra year if it was deemed necessary. The subjects to be studied were:—

anatomy,	physiology,
surgical pathology,	medical pathology,
hygiene,	chemical surgery,
chemical medicine,	chemistry,
physics,	botany,
<i>materia medica</i> ,	farriery.

and they were to be taught by the director, three professors, two auxiliary professors, four *répétiteurs*, two translators, two revisers, and one master farrier.

These special schools were also to be provided with an administrative and medical staff similar to that of the Preparatory School in Cairo. The *Majlis* was thus aiming at making each establishment self-sufficient in regard to staff, services and supplies, responsible only to the *Majlis* in much the same way as a military garrison or barracks is administered and is dependent on general headquarters. The system of discipline and examinations, too, was the same as for the Preparatory Schools; students who were recommended for dismissal were referred to the *Majlis* and those who failed in the final school examinations were to be given inferior posts or else made to join the army as privates.

The programme of reorganisation was, indeed, a very ambitious one, the military character of which cannot be disguised. The fact that no provision was made for the teaching of French in any of the schools denotes another important change. It was expected that the School of Languages would provide enough translations for the schools to use Arabic and Turkish as the linguistic mediums for teaching and that the ex-mission students would be able to carry on the instruction thus eliminating the

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foreign teacher altogether. The linguistic question will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter. The more immediate question of the administration of the schools will be considered at present.

The *Mukhtâr* party imagined that it had succeeded in getting the schools under its control, but, unfortunately for the schools, the new *Majlis* had placed itself in an entirely false position. It would hardly appear conceivable that Muḥammad 'Alī could have allowed this to happen, for according to the wording of the new regulations, the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* was placed in a subordinate position to the newly created *Majlis* in regard to a number of important institutions for which the *Dīwān* itself had been brought into existence. It is possible to draw one of two conclusions, either that the *new men* were trying to force Muḥammad 'Alī's hand into creating a new department in which they would have a free hand, but that they had to tread warily with the jealous ruler and to give the new *Majlis* a trial, or that Muḥammad 'Alī had given instructions for a reorganisation, the full import of which he could not understand. For this latter view, we have the support of the Russian Consul-General, Colonel Duhamel,¹ whose valuable reports and correspondence have been so useful in writing this work; his opinion bears out the point of view suggested at the beginning of this chapter regarding the principles of Muḥammad 'Alī's method of government.

Most of the schools were essentially military establishments; if one or two of them were not called military, they were either recruiting depots for the military services or else they were destined to provide for the technical needs of the army as in the case of the Medical, Veterinary, and Polytechnic Schools.

According to the new regulations, the *Dīwāns* had to correspond with the new *Majlis* regarding any observations they had to make about the schools while the *Majlis* had to send its decisions to the *Dīwāns* regarding personnel and material with which the *Dīwāns* were expected to comply.² Thus, if the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* had some suggestion to make about the Schools of Cavalry, Infantry or Artillery, schools which should have been under this *Dīwān*, it had to correspond with the *Majlis*, while the *Majlis*, with no supplies under its control, had to send requisitions to the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* for these very

¹ Cattai, op. cit., II, Pt. II, p. 314; Duhamel to Nesselrode, 24th May, 1837.

² Regulations, Arts. 46-47.

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same schools. All the material, equipment, horses, etc., were supplied from the stores of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*, now that the schools were no longer under its authority, their requirements were not given any attention until after those of the army had been dealt with, even though it was bound to affect the efficiency of the officers posted to the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* in the long run.

When the *Majlis* made requisitions for supplies, the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* raised all sorts of objections with the result that the *Majlis* was rendered incapable of carrying out the reorganisation, and, if anything, the schools deteriorated more than ever.¹

The Saint-Simonites by now, seemed to have lost a great deal of their enthusiasm, for Père Enfantin returned to France in October 1836²; many of the Saint-Simonites still remained in the service of the ruler, and although Saint-Simonism still continued in Egypt, yet it no longer had the influence of the previously organised group. They had also lost Sulaimān Pasha's support owing to the fact that he was away in Syria³ while Adham, another supporter of the movement, had fallen into disgrace and was on the unemployed list for the greater part of 1836.⁴

The climax of all this came while Muḥammad 'Alī was on a tour in the provinces south of Cairo; the case must have been put to him while he was travelling and he had no alternative but to turn the *Majlis Shūrā'l-Madāris* into a *Dīwān* with the name of *Dīwān al-Madāris* as an independent administration with its own *Dīwān* staff of *Nāzir*, clerks and storekeepers.⁵ Mukhtār automatically became *Nāzir* of the newly created *Dīwān*.

The date of the establishment of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* is given by Deny,⁶ and Amīn Samī,⁷ who both made use of the official documents at present in 'Abdīn Palace, as 1st *Dhū'l-Hijjah*, 1252—i.e., 9th March, 1837; several other writers refer⁸

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/202.

² Carré, op. cit., I/268.

³ Guémard, op. cit., p. 295, maintains that Sulaimān Pasha was entrusted with the inspection under the new arrangement; Sulaimān's promotion to Inspector-General was made in May, 1834, twenty months earlier; at the time of this organisation, he was in Syria.

⁴ *Taḥwīm*, II/458, and Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/375.

⁵ *Daftar* No. 904, *Kalam al-Khasinat al-Khidiwiyah*, p. 39, Document No. 9, dated 12th *Dhū'l-Ka'dah*, 1252 (19th February, 1837).

⁶ Deny, op. cit., p. 122.

⁷ *at-Ta'lim*, p. 9.

⁸ Clot Bey, op. cit., II/183 and 337-8; Mengin, op. cit., pp. 122-3; Mouriez, op. cit., III/119-120; Merruau, op. cit., p. 83; Hamont, op. cit., II/202-3; Artin, op. cit., p. 74 seq.; Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/448.

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to the *Dīwān*, but as there appears to have been some confusion regarding this date, only an examination of the official documents dealing with the schools can be expected to give us the desired information.

It would appear that the *lā'ihah* (regulation) in Turkish which Muḥammad 'Alī had written separating the whole of school administrative affairs from the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* and transferring them to the newly established *Dīwān al-Madāris* was registered in Cairo on Saturday, 5th *Dhū'l-Ka'dah*, 1252, i.e., 12th February, 1837, after it had been received from Muḥammad 'Alī while he was on a tour of inspection between Banī Suef and al-Fashn.¹ The *lā'ihah* was possibly received during the previous week and not registered until Saturday, Friday being a holiday. In another register,² however, the last date on which Mukhtār signs as *Nāzir Shūrā'l-Madāris* is the 25th *Shawwāl*, 1252³; his next signature in the same register is at the end of the minutes of the meeting held on the 28th of the same month and here he signs as *Nāzir Dīwān al-Madāris*. The order given by Muḥammad 'Alī establishing the *Dīwān* may have been verbal and confirmed by his *lā'ihah* of the 5th *Dhū'l-Ka'dah*, but since this document is missing, nothing more accurate can be given.

Two further orders were sent by Muḥammad 'Alī while at al-Fashn on the 10th *Dhū'l-Ka'dah* one to the *Wakīl* of the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*, confirming the fact that the *Dīwān al-Madāris* was now an independent administration⁴; the other was sent to the *Dīwān al-Madāris*⁵; both orders refer to the sealing and comment on future decisions (*khulāṣāt*) of the new *Dīwān*.

The contents of the missing *lā'ihah* may have thrown some extra light on the development of this administrative change, but in view of the above evidence, it cannot but be concluded that the *Dīwān al-Madāris* came into existence on the 28th *Shawwāl*, 1252, i.e., 6th February, 1837, the first recorded date on which Mukhtār⁶ signed as its *Nāzir*.

¹ *Daftar* No. 2009, *Fihris Kaid al-Khulāṣāt*, p. 33, Document No. 1. The original *lā'ihah* is missing from the archives.

² *Sijil* 2020.

³ The last order traceable to Mukhtār from Muḥammad 'Alī addressed to him as *Nāzir Shūrā'l-Madāris* is dated 26th *Shawwāl*, 1252; see *Taḥwīm*, II/480.

⁴ Carton (*Mahfazah*) No. 1, *Jihādiyyah*, Document No. 7.

⁵ Carton No. 1, *Madāris*; see also *Daftar* No. 904, loc. cit.

⁶ See also *Dīwān Shihāb-addīn*, Cairo, 1277, pp. 71-73, poem addressed to Mukhtār on his appointment; the poem ends with the chronogram 1253.

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Educational Developments under the Majlis Shūrā'l-Madāris

The preceding pages dealt with the years 1834-1837 which might conveniently be called the transitional period; they refer to the work of Sulaimān as Inspector-General, the intrigues which led to the creation of the *Majlis Shūrā'l-Madāris*, then the *Dīwān al-Madāris* and the plan of organisation of the latter. A few words might be added here regarding the several changes which occurred during the transitional stage under Mukhtār, some of which have already been touched upon.

In 1251 (1835-6), Muḥammad 'Alī opened a library which was called *al-Kutubkhānah al-Khidwīyah*, referred to by Amīn Sāmī as *al-Maktabat al-Khidwīyah*¹; this was probably for the use of the translators. The school of languages was opened in June, 1836.² The *Maktab al-'Ālī* is also reported to have been opened in the same year,³ but evidence pointing to its having been in existence before that date has already been dealt with⁴; Artīn had attended this school and during the period under consideration, was a member of the *Majlis*. It is quite probable that Muḥammad 'Alī had asked him to find out something about similar institutions in France and that in 1836, there was some kind of reorganisation and perhaps a new name given to the school. A reference is made in the *Wakā'i' Miṣriyah* of the 8th July,⁵ 1832, to a certain 'Abdar-Rahmān Efendī, librarian and teacher of *ghilmān Efendīnā* (i.e., Muḥammad 'Alī's slaves) who was to have an increase of pay. The library was kept in the Citadel and the *ghilmān* were probably Muḥammad 'Alī's private attendants who were also kept in the Citadel with him and accompanied him on his travels; they were not connected with the *Maktab al-'Ālī*, although some of the *ghilmān* were probably sent there when they grew older. The maintenance of slaves as private attendants appears to have been a relic of the old system of *chambrées des pages* which was still in use under Muḥammad 'Alī.⁶

Mukhtār was ordered on the 18th *Rabī'*, 1252 (2nd August, 1836), to chose one hundred students from the *Madrasat at-Tajhīziyah* for the purpose of learning book-keeping so that

¹ *Takwīm*, II/464.

² *Takwīm*, II/470.

³ No. 401, 9th *Safar*, 1248 (8th July, 1832), and *Takwīm*, II/398.

⁴ Artīn, op. cit., pp. 69-70. Olin, *Travels in Egypt*, New York, 1843, Vol. I, p. 34: "The practice of educating Circassian slaves is still continued, though it is no longer the exclusive policy. A gentleman of high respectability told me that he saw, only a few days previous to our visit, twenty-three boys presented for sale to the Pasha, who purchased them in his presence."

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they might be dispatched to Alexandria where administrative affairs had increased considerably.¹ This is an example of the ever-increasing demand for personnel for employment in the administrations, a demand which must have aggravated the difficulties of finding a sufficient supply of trained men.

In August, 1836, the School of Agriculture at Nabarōh was reorganised and transferred in part to Shubrā where it was placed under Hamont.² The Nabarōh establishment was kept on as kind of model farm; a plan of reorganisation appears to have been drawn up by Mukhtār, probably with the help of Hamont and Yūsuf Ef. Mukhtār suggested that Turks should be sent to the school to learn agriculture, but Muḥammad 'Alī turned down the idea on the ground that Turks do not like agriculture.³ An order dated 18th *Jam. II*, 1252 (1st October, 1836), refers to the despatch of thirty students from the *Madrasat at-Tajhīziyah* at Qaṣr al-'Ainī to the Nabarōh establishment which indicates that the school or farm was still in use for the purposes of instruction.⁴

At the end of *Jam. II*, 1252 (October, 1836), an order was sent to the *Nāzir Shūrā'l-Madāris* regarding the building of the *Madrasat al-'Amaliyāt* or School of Arts and Crafts in the Azbakiyah quarter. The planning of it was carried out by Aḥmad Bey, *Nāzir al-Abniyā* (*Ebniya-maṣlahati*) and Hekekyān Efendī.⁵ The school was not opened until a later date.

In October, 1836, the *Madrasat at-Tajhīziyah* at Qaṣr al-'Ainī was transferred to Abū Za'bal and the Medical School from Abū Za'bal to Qaṣr al-'Ainī.⁶

About the same time, another order was issued appointing a French doctor as inspector over the Egyptian doctors who had been sent previously to the provincial schools in connection with the outbreak of scabies.⁷ The appointment was made on the recommendation of Jomard and Clot.⁸

In December, 1836, another scheme was drawn up for a School of Accountancy; the order was sent to a certain Zakī Ef. regarding the establishment of a *Maktab Ra'īs al-Muḥāsabah* in which fourteen capable clerks were to have twenty pupils each. When the *Bāshkātib al-Maṣāliḥ* found out about the arrangement, he and his staff also wished to participate in the

¹ *Takwīm*, II/471.

² *Takwīm*, II/472.

³ *Ibid.*, II/472.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II/452, and *supra* p. 188.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II/478.

⁶ *supra*, p. 152, and *Takwīm*, II/471, 472 and 473.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II/473.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II/477 and pp. 118-9 and 131 *supra*.

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teaching and so eight students were given to each of his subordinates for instruction. A similar kind of arrangement was made at Alexandria where Muḥammad 'Alī had previously chosen one hundred and twenty students from the Naval School in order to learn accountancy; Shākir Ef. and another official of the *Dīwān al-Baḥriyah* were sent to inspect them and to report on their progress; the usual speed in learning is urged by Muḥammad 'Alī.¹

The foregoing changes and developments point to very little change in policy but rather to the continued lack of method; it is to the next period that we must turn in order to investigate the responsibilities of the new *Dīwān* and its efforts to carry out the elaborate plan of centralisation.

Educational Developments under the Dīwān al-Madāris, 1837-1849

The reorganisation of the School system and the creation of a separate *Dīwān* took place between the two Syrian campaigns.

The official documents quoted above do not specify what other branches were placed under the administration of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* but the *Ḳānūn as-Siyāsah-Nāmāh* promulgated in *Rabī' I*, 1253 (June, 1837),² gives the following list of departments³ :—

- (1) The Primary, Preparatory and Special Schools.
- (2) the Libraries, Laboratories and Museums;
- (3) the Delta Barrage;
- (4) The Būlāḳ Printing Press;
- (5) the *Waḳā'i' Miṣriyah* or Official Journal;
- (6) the Engineering Services;
- (7) the Shubrā Stables;
- (8) the Merino Sheep-farms.

The Delta Barrage and the Engineering Services were attached to the *Dīwān al-Madāris* on account of their obvious dependence on the Polytechnic School; it was this sphere of activity in which the Saint-Simonites were interested and Lambert and Linant took a leading part. The inclusion of these services

¹ *Taḳwīm*, II/479.

² *Zaghlūl, al-Muḥāmah*, p. 170. Deny, op. cit., p. 105, gives the date as *Rabī' II*. Duhamel to Nesselrode letter dated 24th May, 1837, states that the administrative reorganisation was of recent date, v. Cattai, op. cit., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 313-4; *Taḳwīm*, II/464, gives the date as 1251—1835-6.

³ Deny, op. cit., pp. 122-123; *Zaghlūl*, op. cit., pp. 177-178; Hamont, op. cit., II/135.

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in the *Dīwān* under Muḥtār is sufficient to show that he was *Nāzir* of the combined administration of *Schools and Public Works*; the *Dīwān*, in fact, is often rightly called the *Ministère de l'instruction et des travaux publics* by Duhamel.¹ The Department of Public Works was originally opened in 1245 (1829)² and, until 1837, was included in the departments administered by the *Dīwān al-Ḳhidīwī*.³ The Shubrā Stables and Merino Sheep farms were under the management and inspection of Hamont, who was director of the Veterinary School to which these services were subsidiary; this seems to be the only reason for their inclusion in the newly created *Dīwān*.

The *Dars-ḵānah*⁴ was abolished, the older students being distributed among the various administrations both in the capital and the provinces, and the younger ones sent to the other schools.⁵

If the new policy was to employ Turks and Egyptians in the schools instead of Europeans and *all* the schools were to be run on western lines, then much had to be done yet before a sufficient number of teachers could be trained to take over the posts.⁶ As the mission students returned from Europe, they were given employment by Muḥtār in the schools under his authority.⁷ The number of students sent to Europe to study subjects that would enable them to teach was far less than the number of teachers required; counting in *Nāzirs*, *Wakīls* and teachers of all grades for the three types of schools, over three hundred would have been required and, excluding the number of students who had been sent to Europe for the study of industrial subjects between 1824 and 1836, there were only about seventy or eighty who could have been used as teachers. Of this number, several had been given purely administrative duties to perform and so were not available for teaching.

Whether at this time there was an exodus of Europeans from Egypt due to Muḥammad 'Alī's desire to replace them by his own subjects, as Hamont declares,⁸ cannot be confirmed as

¹ Cattai, op. cit., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 314, Duhamel to Nesselrode, 24th May, 1837; and p. 371, Duhamel to Nesselrode, 6th July, 1837.

² *Zaghlūl, al-Muḥāmah*, p. 166; and Deny, op. cit., p. 125.

³ Deny, op. cit., p. 115. It was not made a separate *Dīwān* until 1281 (1864-5) with the name of *Dīwān al-Ashghāl*.

⁴ v. *supra*, p. 148 *seq.*

⁵ *Zaghlūl*, op. cit., p. 178.

⁶ Cattai, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 2; p. 392, Duhamel to Nesselrode, 6th July, 1837.

⁷ Hamont, op. cit., II/203; Cattai, *ibid.*, p. 393.

⁸ Hamont, *ibid.*, II/203-4.

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there are no names recorded of those who were replaced in this way, but, simultaneously with this supposed change of policy, we have evidence of Muḥammad 'Alī's growing coolness towards the Saint-Simonites,¹ and what was still more unfortunate, the terrible plague that broke out in Cairo, so graphically described by Kinglake.² This caused the death of many Europeans,³ and made others withdraw from the capital,⁴ if not from the country altogether.

The question of the provision of qualified teachers must have been serious although it was not dealt with as such by Muḥammad 'Alī's amateur administrators. References will be made to this problem in dealing with the various schools which were either created or brought under the *Dīwān*.

The New Primary Schools.

Almost the first change attempted by the *Dīwān* was the creation of the primary schools in Cairo and in the provinces. In the official regulations, they are called by the new name of *mubtadiyān*,⁵ i.e., primary, although in practice, this name seems to have been given to two only, that of Cairo and the other at al-Gīzah.⁶

According to the lists of provincial *maktabs*, for such is the name still given to them, forty-one were opened or reopened in February, 1837.⁷ The following is a complete list of them with the names of the *Nāzirs* and the dates of appointment:—

School	Nāzir	Date of appointment	Date of removal
Abū Tīg	Sh. 'Abdal-Ḥalīm Abū'l-Jaud	Feb. 1837	Sept.-Oct. 1841
Ashmūn Garīs	Sh. Darwish Muṭāwa'	Feb. 1837	Oct. 1837
	Sh. Jādallah al-Munīr	Nov. 1837	Sept. 1841
Asyūṭ	Sh. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā	Feb. 1837	July 1839
	Sh. Aḥmad 'Alī	Aug. 1839	Sept. 1841
Banhā ⁸	Sayyid Aḥmad Ibrāhīm	Feb. 1837	Dec. 1837
	Zakzūk		
Banī Mazār ⁹	Sh. Muṣṭafā as-Subkī	Feb. 1837	Mar. 1837
	Sh. Khalīl 'Isā	April 1837	June 1837
	Sh. Aḥmad ash-Shāwī	July 1837	Sept. 1837

¹ Carré, op. cit., I/264 seq.

² Carré, op. cit., I/265 and 271-2; also Cattani, op. cit., p. 265 seq., 281 seq., and 288; Voilquin, *Souvenirs d'une fille du peuple*, Paris, 1866, pp. 295-359.

³ Carré, op. cit., I/265.

⁴ Deny, op. cit., p. 125, and Zaghlūl, op. cit., p. 177.

⁵ *Takwīm*, II/481, and Sāmī, *al-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 44.

⁶ Sāmī, *ibid.*, pp. 34-44.

⁷ Closed January, 1838.

⁸ Closed September, 1837.

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School	Nāzir	Date of appointment	Date of removal
Banī Suef	Yūsuf Aghā	Feb. 1837	Nov. 1838
	Sh. Husain ash-Shādhilī	Dec. 1838	Jan. 1840
Bilbais	Sh. 'Alī Murād	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1840
	Sh. Sayyid Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭār	Sept. 1840	Feb. 1841
	Sh. Yūsuf Juma'ah	Mar. 1841	Sept. 1841
Būsh	Sh. 'Abdal-Fattāh Kāsim	Feb., 1837	July 1841
	Sh. Muḥammad Khalīl	July 1841	Sept. 1841
al-Faiyūm ¹	Sh. Muḥammad al-Jamal	Feb. 1837	April 1838
Farshūt ²	Sh. 'Ibādah Aḥmad	Feb. 1837	Feb. 1839
al-Fashn ³	Sh. Khalīl 'Isā	Feb. 1837	Mar. 1837
	Sh. Muṣṭafā as-Subkī	April 1837	Oct. 1838
Fūh	Sh. Sulaimān al-Khaṭīb	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
al-Ga'fariyah	Sh. al-Husainī 'Alī	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
Girgā	Sh. Aḥmad al-Misrī	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
al-Gīzah ⁴	Sh. Aḥmad Rāshid	Feb. 1837	April 1838
	Sh. Aḥmad Rajab	April 1838	Jan. 1842
	Husain Ef.	Feb. 1842	Aug. 1844
Ibyār	Sh. Yūsuf al-Bardā'i	Feb. 1837	Oct. 1837
	Sh. Muḥammad Ḥasan	Oct. 1837	Oct. 1841
Ikhmīm ⁵	Sh. Muḥammad Aḥmad	Feb. 1837	May 1837
	Sh. Farrāj Aḥmad	Aug. 1837	Oct. 1839
Isnā	Sh. Muḥammad Aḥmad	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
Ḳalyūb	Sh. Muḥammad Aḥmad	Feb. 1837	Jan. 1839
	Sh. Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Marṣafī	Feb. 1839	Dec. 1840
	Sh. 'Alī Aḥmad	Jan. 1841	Sept. 1841
Ḳāmūlah	Sh. 'Abdar-Raḥmān Ibrāhīm	Feb. 1837	Oct. 1837
	Sh. Aḥmad Jabrā'il	Nov. 1837	Sept. 1841
Ḳenā	Sh. Muḥammad Ḥamid	Feb. 1837	Aug. 1840
	Sh. 'Abdar-Raḥmān Aḥmad	Sept. 1840	Sept. 1841
Maḥallah	Sh. Ḥifnī Maḥmūd	Feb. 1837	Aug. 1837
Dimnah ⁶			
al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā	Sh. Muṣṭafā an-Nawāwī	Feb. 1837	Mar. 1837
	Sh. Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭawīl	April 1837	July 1837
	Sh. Muḥammad Abū'n-Najā	Aug. 1837	Oct. 1837
	Sh. Raḍwān Bālī	Oct. 1837	Sept. 1841
Manfalūt	Ibrāhīm Jarkas	Feb. 1837	Nov. 1841
al-Manṣūrah	Sh. Ibrāhīm ash-Shaikḥ	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
Manūf ⁷	Muṣṭafā as-Ziyād	Feb. 1837	Oct. 1837
al-Manzalah ⁸	Sh. Muḥammad Abū Ṭalīb	Feb. 1837	Mar. 1837
Mīt Ghamr	Sh. al-Hājī 'Alī Ibrāhīm an-Najjārī	Feb. 1837	Aug. 1837
	Sh. 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-'Amrī	Sept. 1837	Aug. 1841
	Sh. Muṣṭafā Yūsuf	Sept. 1841	Oct. 1841

¹ Closed April, 1838.

² Transferred to al-Minyā.

³ Transferred to Abū Za'bal in September, 1844; this school is given the name of *mubtadiyān*.

⁴ Closed in November, 1839.

⁵ Transferred to Ashmūn Garīs.

⁶ Transferred to al-Manṣūrah in August, 1837.

⁷ Transferred to Fāraskūr.

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School	Nāzir	Date of appointment	Date of removal
al-Minyā	Sh. Aḥmad Maḥmūd	Feb. 1837	Oct. 1838
	Sh. Muṣṭafā as-Subkī	Nov. 1838	Sept. 1841
Mīt al-'Izz	Sh. 'Alī al-Baghdādī	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
Nabarōh	Sh. al-Husainī 'Isā	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
an-Nagailah	Sh. 'Alī Nūḥ	Feb. 1837	Nov. 1841
as-Sāḥil	Sh. 'Asharī Farghalī	Feb. 1837	Aug. 1840
	Sh. 'Abdar-Raḥmān Yūsuf	Sept. 1840	Sept. 1841
Ṣahrgit ¹	Sh. Aḥmad Bakr	Feb. 1837	Mar. 1837
Ṣanbū	Sh. 'Abdar-Raḥmān Yūsuf	Feb. 1837	Mar. 1839
Shibīn al-	Sh. Abū 'ṭ-Ṭalīb al-Jazzār	Feb. 1837	Dec. 1838
Kaum	Sh. as-Sayyid Sufyān	Jan. 1839	Sept. 1841
Shirbīn ²	Sh. Muḥammad al-Kafāfi	Feb. 1837	Mar. 1837
Shubrākhit	Sh. Ghanīm Sālim	Feb. 1837	Nov. 1841
Sōhāg	Sh. 'Alī 'Abdar-Raḥmān	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
Ṭaḥṭā	Sh. Aḥmad Yahyā	Feb. 1837	Sept. 1841
Ṭanṭā	Sh. Aḥmad al-Baḥrāwī	Feb. 1837	June 1839
	Sh. Yūsuf al-Ḥifnāwī	June 1839	Mar. 1840
	Sh. Muḥammad Shinār	Mar. 1840	Oct. 1841
Ziftā	Sh. 'Alī Zaidān	Feb. 1837	Jan. 1841
	Sh. Wahbah Muṣṭafā	Feb. 1841	Sept. 1841

Five other *maktabs* were opened in April, 1837,³ as follows:—

al-'Azīziyah	Sh. 'Alī al-Faḥīm	April 1837	Dec. 1837
	Sh. Jaudah Muṣṭafā	Jan. 1838	Sept. 1841
Fāraskūr ⁴	Sh. Aḥmad ash-Shaikḥ	April 1837	Dec. 1839
Hulwān ⁵	Sh. 'Alī Sālim Hammād	April 1837	Nov. 1840
Kufūr Nigm	Sh. Muṣṭafā 'Alī	April 1837	July 1837
	Sh. Yūsuf Ḥifnāwī	Aug. 1837	Feb. 1839
	Sh. Khalīl Yūsuf	Mar. 1839	Sept. 1841
az-Zaḳāzīk	Sh. Muḥammad 'Abdar-Raḥmān	April 1837	Oct. 1841

Damanhūr *maktab* was opened in May, 1837, with Sh. al-Ḥājj Aḥmad 'Aṣāfir as *Nāzir*,⁶ but the school was transferred to ar-Raḥmāniyah in June of the same year⁷ with Sh. Khalīl al-Khawānkī as *Nāzir*, until October, 1844; another *maktab* was opened at Sākiyah Mūsā in November, 1838,⁸ with Sh. Aḥmad Maḥmūd as *Nāzir* until December, 1840, and Sh. Jalabī Ismā'il from January, 1841, until September, 1841.

The most important observation to make on this list is the

¹ Transferred to Mīt Ghamr.

² *Taḳwīm*, II/484.

³ Closed November, 1840.

⁴ *Taḳwīm*, II/485. Sāmī, *ibid.*, p. 34, gives the month of February instead of May. This school was transferred to ar-Raḥmāniyah.

⁵ Sāmī, *ibid.*, p. 34, and *Taḳwīm*, II/486.

⁶ Sāmī, *ibid.*, p. 42, and *Taḳwīm*, II/493.

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employment of Azharī shaikhs as *Nāzirs* of nearly every school; it is also possible that Ibrāhīm Jarkas of Manfalūt and Muṣṭafā as-Ziyād of Manūf were shaikhs and that their titles have been carelessly dropped by the compilers of the lists used as the authority. The names of the other teachers that were supposed to have been allotted to each school are unknown, but they, too, were most probably shaikhs.

The fact that the *Dīwān* had to fall back on the Azharī in order to find teachers for the new schools is of importance for several reasons. The employment of this type of man suggests in itself that no improvement or change on the old *kuttāb* system could be expected unless, of course, these shaikhs were to be given some kind of training that would enable them to undertake a programme of primary studies consistent with the new system; no evidence is available that they were given such training.¹ The employment of the Azharī shaikh indirectly affected the linguistic medium of teaching. They were only qualified to teach Arabic according to their own rigid principles; no new method was yet thought out for the teaching of Arabic; and their employment definitely fixed for all time that the teaching of Arabic, for better or for worse, was to remain the prerogative of the Azharī.

The only way in which to find out something of the work done at these schools is to turn to contemporary writers, although very few have given any account of their activities. Hamont's criticism of the system is probably the most valuable.²

Bowring visited four of these primary schools, Hulwān, Girgā, Isnā and Ḳenā³; at Hulwān, he found ninety-seven students, at Girgā, about a hundred, at Isnā, there were ninety-six and at Ḳenā, one hundred and forty-five. The *Nāzirs* stated that the students attended willingly, or were sent willingly by the *fallāḥīn*, and that, in the case of Hulwān, if accommodation had been available, there would have been more students.

The students were better clad than the rest of the inhabitants of the places visited. A two-storey school building at Hulwān was already in existence, with unplanked floors, dark and badly ventilated rooms, but, with all that, more comfortable than the mud huts of the people. Bowring states that forty-seven special school buildings were either built or about to be built.

¹ Hamont, *op. cit.*, II/319-320, discusses the quality of these primary teachers in very disparaging terms.

² Hamont, *ibid.*, II/319-322.

³ Bowring, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.

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Everything was provided by the government, food, light, clothing and money; the boys received six piastres, eight piastres and ten piastres a month, according to the class they belonged to; at *Kenā*, they received eight, ten and twelve piastres respectively. The *Nāzir* at *Hulwān* received one hundred piastres a month, at *Kenā*, he received seventy-five; at *Hulwān*, there were two teachers who received seventy-five piastres each a month, at *Kenā*, there were three who received forty. The clerk at *Kenā* was paid fifty piastres a month. The *Nāzirs* received captain's rations, the teachers, lieutenant's. The boys were allowed two shirts, one upper garment and one pair of shoes a year.

The instruction given was limited to reading and writing, the *Qur'ān* being the book universally used for instruction. At *Girgā*, Bowring examined the students and "found that they read and wrote Arabic tolerably well"; Bowring says nothing about the nature of his test, nor do we know what were his qualifications as an examiner in Arabic. The students used tin-plates as slates, the writing on which could be washed off. Bowring states that "the mode of teaching is the same as is adopted throughout the Ottoman empire. While the lesson is given, the master's head is in a state of perpetual vibration backwards and forwards, in which he is imitated by all the children." There was a total lack of elementary books which Bowring recognised as a "great defect" and, "until they are provided, the means afforded by the state must fail of producing the end in view." Bowring makes no observations on how arithmetic was taught although he includes it in the curriculum.¹ Rochfort Scott also visited the *Kenā* school, but, beyond stating that education "extends only to reading and writing in Arabic and arithmetic," has no other criticism to offer than that "an almost insuperable objection to a finished education in any Mohammedan state is the early age at which marriages are contracted" ² which can throw very little light on our immediate problems. Poujoulat in April, 1838,³ states that the *Qur'ān* was taught in all the primary schools.

These descriptions of the provincial schools point only to the fact that the *Dīwān al-Madāris* had not succeeded in changing the old system a great deal. The new schools were still *Qur'ān* schools; the only essential difference was that instead of being

¹ Ibid., p. 126.

² Rochfort Scott, op. cit., II/185.

³ Poujoulat, op. cit., II/517.

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maintained by the *wakfs* or charitable institutions, they were maintained from Muḥammad 'Alī's budget.

One point, however, remains to be cleared up. Bowring states that the students of the four schools he visited attended willingly; Madden¹ states that the students were "forced to school"; Olin² states that the Egyptians were repugnant to the school system and, quoting a Frenchman,³ reports that the students were brought to school by force and only learnt by compulsion. Bowring brings out the fact elsewhere that compulsion was used in the system; he states that "the machinery . . . is wholly coercive, for the system of conscription stands even to education. A certain number of children are required to be furnished by the different districts, and those are sent to the public schools to be fed, clothed, lodged, and instructed at the government expense. If often happens that the number taken exceeds the amount exacted. In some districts there is an overflowing in the schools from voluntary attendance. In one instance, where one hundred was the number provided for, I found one hundred and thirty under the school roof. As the wants of the children are provided for, their parents sometimes consent to send them to school; though in many cases much repugnance is felt lest the children should be detained as soldiers."⁴ This seems to state the case fairly clearly but reference should be made to an official order dated 14th *Muḥarram*, 1254 (8th April, 1838), i.e., some fourteen months after the primary schools had been opened. The order, which is addressed to the *Mudīrs* of the provinces of Upper Egypt, is to the effect that the complement of students of the schools had not yet been made up and that the exigencies of the service (*lawāzim al-maṣlahah*) demanded their full complement according to the arrangements already made.⁵ Approximately a year later, 20th *Muḥarram*, 1255 (5th April, 1839), we have another order addressed to the *Wakīl* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* regarding a memorandum drawn up by the *Wakīl* dated 27th *Dhū'l-Hijjah*, 1254 (8th March, 1839), which informed the ruler that 957 students were required to make up the full complement of the provincial *maktabs*; Muḥammad 'Alī then ordered the *mudīrs* to "collect" the required number from the various districts; they were to be fit and between the ages of seven and twelve.⁶

¹ *Egypt and Muhammad Ali*, London, 1841, p. 76.

² Ibid., I/313.

³ *Takwīm*, II/490.

⁴ Op. cit., I/312.

⁵ Ibid., p. 135.

⁶ Ibid., II/494.

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The deficiencies referred to in these two orders may have been, of course, the outcome of the constant drain by the Preparatory and Special Schools; the "conscription" in the provinces could not keep up with the demand from the capital. Muḥammad 'Alī was, at this time, involved in his last campaign in Syria and the demand for men was probably excessive.

The regulations stipulated that there should be four primary schools in Cairo, but, according to Bowring, the four schools were united into one large establishment at al-Khānḳāh where there were eight hundred students.¹ This school was opened in June, 1837,² but was transferred to as-Sayyidah Zainab in January, 1839³; the names of the *Nāzirs* of the school were as follows:—

while at al-Khānḳāh Mahmūd Ef., June, 1837 to December, 1837
'Abdal-Ḳādir Ef., January, 1838 to January, 1839,
at as-Sayyidah Zainab 'Abdal-Ḳādir Ef., January, 1839 to July, 1850.

An *efendī* was placed in charge owing to the size of the establishment and possibly for better control.

There is no record of any other primary school in Cairo nor in Alexandria, where it was stipulated that one should be set up; but the Naval School probably served the purpose of both Primary and Preparatory Schools.

The table on p. 217 shows the number of teachers and administrative staff and students in 1255 (1839-1840) according to the budget of that year.⁴

The list shows forty-seven schools (counting Cairo as four and each of Ashmūn Garīs, Fāraskūr, al-Manṣūrah, Mīt Ghamr, and al-Minyā as two as other schools had been attached to them), i.e., three short of the stipulated fifty; there were 529 pupils short of the required number of 5,500. Although Cairo shows 366 pupils short of its full complement of 800, yet Asyūt, Banī Suef, Būsh, Ḳalyūb, Manfalūt and Sōhāg are well above the regulation number; allowing ten per cent. for normal absence, only eight schools are below ninety; the average monthly cost of each student was P.T. 15.24 (about 3s. 2d.).

¹ Ibid., p. 127.

² Sāmī, *al-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 44; Artin, op. cit., p. 180; *Taḳwīm*, II/486.

³ Sāmī, loc. cit.; Artin, ibid., p. 186, and *Taḳwīm*, II/494.

⁴ Nadīm, *al-Ustādḥ*, Year 1, 31st Part, 21st March, 1893, p. 731 seq.

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School	Teachers	Administrative Staff	Students	Monthly cost	
				£E.	PT.
Abū Tig	3	14	99	14	32
Ashmūn Garīs (with Manūf)	6	22	200	27	14
Asyūt	4	16	174	25	14
al-'Azīziyah	3	15	81	15	11
Banī Suef	7	17	206	27	38
Bilbais	3	14	94	14	65
Būsh	6	21	284	35	26
Fāraskūr	6	18	170	23	23
Fūh	3	14	97	14	82
al-Ga'fariyah	3	14	100	15	16
Girgā	3	13	87	13	49
al-Gīzah	3	14	96	14	14
Hulwān	3	14	87	13	93
Ībyār	3	14	98	14	51
Ikhmīm	2	11	69	11	28
Isnā	3	13	103	14	09
Ḳalyūb	4	20	155	24	94
Ḳāmūlah	3	1 ¹	106	13	81
Ḳenā	3	13	116	16	16
Kufūr Nigm	3	9	88	14	11
al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā	3	13	100	15	82
Manfalūt	5	18	167	21	98
al-Manṣūrah	6	22	190	28	41
Mīt Ghamr	6	24	191	27	89
al-Minyā	6	19	184	25	44
Mīt al-'Izz	3	4 ²	94	15	17
Nabarōh	3	14	99	14	87
an-Nagailah	3	14 ³	93	14	99
ar-Raḥmāniyah	3	13	100	14	64
as-Sāhil	2	11	84	12	12
Sākiyah Mūsā	3	13	89	13	40
Shibīn al-Kaum	3	14	100	15	17
Shubrākhīt (not given)	—	—	—	—	—
Sōhāg	5	17	157	21	21
Taḥṭā	3	13	101	14	48
Tanṭā	3	15	98	17	02
az-Zaḳāzīk	3	14	81	14	09
Ziftā	3	17	99	15	48
TOTAL	137	542	4537	665	95 ⁴
as-Sayyidah Zainab (Cairo)	12	59	434	91	68
TOTAL	149	601	4971	757	63

¹ and ² Both figures are taken from the list given by Nadīm; they appear to be wrong, however, probably owing to printer's errors.

³ Nadīm's list contains a printer's error—93 instead of 14.

⁴ Nadīm's lists contain several inaccuracies which have been amended here.

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The Preparatory School

The name given to this type of school was *at-Tajhīziyah*, i.e., preparatory; there appears to have been one in Cairo, but none in Alexandria, although it was laid down in the *Diwān* Regulations that there should be one in Alexandria, one third of the size of that of Cairo. The Preparatory School at Cairo existed long before the reorganisation of the school system; its transfer from Kaṣr al-'Ainī to Abū Za'bal in October, 1836, under Ibrāhīm Ra'fat has already been mentioned.¹

According to Hamont, the school contained from 1200 to 1500 students,² but the statistics available for the year 1265 (1839-1840) give 606 only.³ This school drew on the Primary Schools, but it also had to provide students for the other Special Schools which accommodated 2,111 pupils in 1255.⁴

No report or evidence is available for this school during the period under examination, but the most obvious defect was the ambitious four to five year syllabus for students who had only a *kuttāb* training. In such a short period the Preparatory School could hardly furnish very promising material for the Special Schools.

The Special Schools

The regulations provided for seven special schools (*v. supra*), but several attempts were made to set up others.

In February, 1837, a School of Accountancy was opened at as-Sayyidah Zainab, but it was closed down again in September, 1837⁵; Salīm Ef. was the *Nāẓir* in charge of it.⁶

A School of Arts and Crafts (*Madrasat al-'Amaliyāt*) was opened in March, 1839,⁷ under Hekekyān Efendī; in 1839-40, there were only four teachers and twenty-nine students, but this school was to develop later under the able Hekekyān and will be referred to in a subsequent chapter.

In 1840, a School of Administrative Law was opened under M. Solon; he was given five students and at the end of the first year's study, Muḥammad 'Alī appointed the best of them to be manager of a laundry.⁸

¹ *v. supra*, p. 118 and p. 207.

² Hamont, op. cit., II/322; also Poujoulat, op. cit., II/511.

³ Nadīm, op. cit., p. 729.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 732-3.

⁵ Sāmī, *ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, p. 46.

⁷ Ibid., app. III, p. 47; *Taḥwīm*, II/495.

⁸ Schoelcher, op. cit., p. 61; Gisquet, op. cit., I/189 and II/83.

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The School of Music was still in existence although no reference is made to it in the regulations as one of the Special Schools.

The Naval School was also still in use at Alexandria although very little is heard of it during this period except for occasional drafts of students from it to form Schools of Accountancy (*v. supra*, p. 208).

The following table shows the number of teachers, administrative staff and students in the Preparatory, Agricultural and Special Schools in 1255 (1839-40)¹ :—

School	Teachers	Administrative Staff	Students	Monthly cost	
				£E.	PT.
Preparatory	14	285	606	307	59
Agriculture (Nabarōh) ..	9	23	44	56	38
Languages	7	42	137	148	42
Infantry (Damietta) ..	22	94	397	304	35
Music	8	1	164	66	11
Medicine	24	101	296	356	65
Veterinary and Agriculture	10	40	117	233	35
Artillery	15	144	145	238	88
Cavalry	13	381	615	570	93
Arts and Crafts	4	—	29	73	22
Engineering	14	41	211	214	60
TOTAL	140	1152	2761	2570	48

The above list shows that the average monthly cost of each student was PT. 93.145 (about 19/6d.), and that there were approximately twenty students to one teacher. The Naval School is not included in these statistics, its expenditure probably came under the budget of the *Diwān al-Baḥriyah*.

It is impossible to give the number of European teachers in these schools, or the number of natives; most of the schools had a sprinkling of Europeans for Muḥammad 'Alī continued to complain about the cost of them.² Natives were appointed where possible, for example, there is evidence of the appointment of 'Abdar-Rāziq Ef. Abū's-Su'ūd Ef., Maḥmūd Ef., and Muḥammad Ef. Muṣṭafā as teachers in the School of Languages with the rank

¹ Nadīm, op. cit., pp. 732-3; Sāmī, op. cit., p. 10. The latter gives the Budget figures for 1839 and the annual expenses for 51 Primary, "Secondary" and Special Schools; he does not name the Primary School and apparently uses the term "secondary" for the Preparatory Schools although this term did not come into use until much later. Poujoulat (op. cit., II/510-522) gives some figures for the Special Schools during this period, but they do not agree with those given above.

² Olin, op. cit., II/313.

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of *Mulāzim*.¹ The above lists of mission students give the names of the schools to which some of them were posted.

There is an interesting order in the *Takwīm* ² regarding the appointment of the Egyptian medical students who had returned from Europe.³ Apparently it was suggested that they should become teachers in the Māristān, where some attempt had been made to set up a Medical Preparatory School; but Clot Bey opposed this idea and caused Muḥammad 'Alī to close the Māristān altogether.⁴ From the text of the order, it would appear that it had been decided to appoint the Egyptians as professors of medicine and the other allied subjects, and to nominate the European staff as inspectors, the idea being that the Egyptians would be in a better position to impart the knowledge of medicine in Arabic without the aid of the services of interpreters. Clot Bey opposed this plan also, on the ground that the students had not finished their courses in Europe, and proposed that they should be appointed as assistants to the Europeans, to which plan Muḥammad 'Alī appears to have agreed.⁵

The following details are given by Poujoulat whose account is the fullest for this period.⁶ Perron was now on the staff of the Medical School, having arrived in Egypt, in 1838; he taught chemistry and physics and was assisted by one of the mission students who had translated medical and scientific works into Arabic. Poujoulat gives the number of students as 300 and states that the religious heads were still against the study of anatomy.⁷

The Polytechnic had 225 students, 22 in one section, 36 in another and 157 in the third; the school provided 75 students every year for the artillery, naval, roads and bridges, and mining services.⁸ There were five native teachers on the staff who had been educated in Europe.⁹

The School of Languages had 150 students; Poujoulat reports that they made good progress in French. The Artillery School had 300 students¹⁰; the Cavalry School, which had

¹ *Takwīm*, II/502, order dated 17th *Dhū'l-Ka'dah*, 1255 (22nd January, 1840) Abū's-Su'ūd is a particularly interesting man; his name will be referred to again; he was one of the leaders in the new movement in Arabic literature.

² *Takwīm*, II/499.

³ Mahfouz, op. cit., pp. 33-4.

⁴ Op. cit., II/510-522.

⁵ Ibid., II/514-5.

⁶ Puckler-Muskau, op. cit., I/194, states that this school was better administered under Seguera.

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received so much praise, now admitted many Egyptian students who were allowed to be promoted to the rank of battalion commander (*chef de bataillon*).¹ The Infantry at School Damietta had 400 students who, according to Poujoulat, had come from the Primary Schools ²; 127 officers graduated from this school in 1837, and 48 in 1838.³

Education Missions to Europe, 1837-1843

During this period, Muḥammad 'Alī still continued to send students to Europe, but the source of information regarding numbers and names is less reliable as it emanates from an-Nadīm,⁴ who, although he does not quote his authority, used official records which have since been lost. His information has been accepted by Sāmī and Ṭūsūn who both used official registers and documents; the only conclusion that can be arrived at is that the registers and documents were borrowed during a period when less care was given to the valuable archives which were then preserved in the Citadel, and at a time when the value of such archives was not fully appreciated.

It must be remembered, however, that the period, 1837-1843 was a particularly troublesome one. From 1837 to 1841, Muḥammad 'Alī was in conflict with the Sublime Porte and became involved with the European Powers; from 1841 to 1843, there was a period of retrenchment and reaction, and, comparatively speaking, only a few students were sent to Europe. Their names may be scattered over a large number of registers, the perusal of which has been made more difficult by the somewhat careless method of preservation.

An-Nadīm gives the number of Mission students sent as thirteen in 1836, and twenty-seven during the period, 1837-1841, i.e., forty in all; he also gives the amount spent on these students, but the financial details of Muḥammad 'Alī's educational policy will be dealt with elsewhere. An-Nadīm does not give any names, but Ṭūsūn has been most painstaking in endeavouring to trace them.

Four of the forty have already been given above, viz., those who were sent to England to learn coal-mining ⁵; there remain thirty-six others, eleven of whom were artisans sent to England with Adham in order to learn silk-weaving in November, 1837.⁶

¹ Poujoulat, *ibid.*, II/516.

² Ibid., II/517.

³ v. *supra*, p. 175, and *Takwīm*, II/476.

⁴ Ṭūsūn, op. cit., pp. 162-3, and *Takwīm*, II/487.

⁵ Ibid., II/516.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 736-7.

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An interesting sidelight is thrown on the character of both Muḥammad 'Alī and Adham in connection with this mission. Adham had been sent in order to make a tour of English factories to acquire some practical knowledge which he might apply to Muḥammad 'Alī's factory system in Egypt. Adham, on arriving in England, adopted the clothes and customs of English people. No Egyptian or Turk had dared to do this previously, and when Muḥammad 'Alī heard about it, he lost his temper, had Adham brought back in disgrace and severely reprimanded him, stating that he had been sent to England, not to adapt himself to English habits and customs, but to learn how to manage factories. 'Abbās interceded on his behalf, whereupon Muḥammad 'Alī pardoned him and made him *Nāẓir* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris*.¹ At the time of Adham's departure, he was director of the arsenal and munition factories, and he kept this post even after he had been given the *Dīwān al-Madāris*.

Of the thirty-six students sent during this period, the following names have been traced:—

Name	Destina- tion	Subject studied	Date of Departure	Date of return	Rate of Pay
1. Hasanain Ef. 'Alī al-Baklī.	Paris.	Physics and Chemistry.	?	?	?
2. Aḥmad Ef. 'Ubaid.	France.	Military Subjects.	?	?	?

3-13—eleven silk-weavers sent to England in Adham's company whose names are unknown.

14-36—names and subjects unknown.

This period brings the total number of students sent to Europe between 1809 and 1843 to 216.

Biographical Remarks:—

1.—Brother of Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baklī, the medical man; had studied in Muḥammad 'Alī's schools before he was sent to Europe and became a teacher at the Medical School and the Engineering School; he had already been promoted to *Sāghakūl Aghāsī* before going to France. He had studied Botany and his contribution to the formation of the technical vocabulary was of great importance for he helped Sh. Muḥammad 'Umar at-Tūnisi in the preparation of the great work entitled, *Kitāb ash-Shudhūr adh-Dhahabiyah fi'l-Ālfāz at-Ṭibbiyah* (v. p. 4 of copy in my possession). On his return to Egypt, he was appointed *Shishnaft* (mint-assayer); he fixed the hall-mark in Egypt for jewellery, gold and silver; he was made *Nāẓir* of the mint in the Citadel and Chief Mint-Assayer to the Government; died 1858. The Baklī family was very poor as we have seen with his brother who used to allow his mother a part of his salary while he was in France. Hasanain provides a good illustration of how this new class of official became rich; when he died, he had 150 *faddāns* of land at Tamā'l-Marg (between Mit Ghamr and as-Sinballāwain) and thirty-three at Zāwiyat al-Baklī; he had a house at Kanṭarat 'Umar which was bought by Sh. Hasan an-Nawāwī from his heirs. Besides Tūsūn, see also *al-Khiṭaṭ* of Mubārak, Vol. XI, p. 89; Mubārak gives his death date as 1854, his own relations as 1858.

¹ Tūsūn, *ibid.*, p. 163, and *Taḥwīm*, II/495-6.

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2.—Born at Tahtā, friend of ar-Rifā'ah; became *Amīrālāi* in the army. He was sent on an important military mission by Ismā'īl Pasha to France in 1863 in order to bring about reforms in the Egyptian Army. Later on, he was selected for the Egyptian judicature. He wrote three useful military works and a translation of the History of Peter the Great.

The Breakdown of the Education System

We must now turn to the beginning of the reactionary period which set in as a result of Muḥammad 'Alī's defeat by the combined efforts of England, Prussia, Austria and Russia, who were resolved upon maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and upon curbing the growing power of Muḥammad 'Alī.

The history of the complete collapse of his military plans in Syria cannot be given here; but it is worth noting the Sultān's *khatt-i-sharīf* of the 13th February, 1841, and another of the 19th April and Muḥammad 'Alī's acceptance of them on the 10th May, 1841, and the signature of the London Treaty on the 13th July, 1841, are important dates for the cultural as well as the political history of Egypt. They were the signals for the end of the conflict between Muḥammad 'Alī and his master; Muḥammad 'Alī's claim to the hereditary succession of the government of Egypt was confirmed but he lost all the territories for which the Egyptians had paid so dearly in men and money. The same orders stipulated that the Egyptian Army should not number more than 18,000 men in time of peace, the superior officers of which should be nominated by the Sultān.¹ The army had been the *raison d'être* for all Muḥammad 'Alī's innovations, and the sudden reduction to 18,000 men after it had reached the figure of between 250,000 and 300,000 effectives brought about a complete reaction. The cessation of hostilities, the compulsory reduction of the army, the financial embarrassments brought about by years of fighting, Muḥammad 'Alī's disillusion and bitterness against Europe all combined to change the course of his efforts.

Before entering upon an account of the breakdown of the school system after 1841, a few remarks upon the administration of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* will not be out of place.

Mukhtār, who had only been *Nāẓir* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* for a few months, appears to have come to the end of his career for he was confined to a fort at Abūkir for a year for having had one of his white slave women suffocated and a water-

¹ Bréhier, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7.

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carrier in his employ beaten to death by the *kūrbāg*¹; this happened in December, 1837 and after that date, he does not appear to have been re-employed. Artin reports that he was *Nāzir* until November, 1838, and that he died in 1838²; Tūsūn gives his death-date as 1839.³ Several contemporaries testify to the fact that he was a drunkard.⁴ The *Takwīm* gives the text of an order from Muḥammad 'Alī dated the end of *Shā'bān*, 1254 (October, 1838), to the effect that he was deprived of the *Nāzirship* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris*⁵ so that officially he was *Nāzir* of that *Dīwān* for nineteen months; the date given by Artin does not agree with that of the *Takwīm*. No mention is made in the *Takwīm* of Mukhtār's imprisonment; it looks as though Muḥammad 'Alī did punish him in 1837 as stated in the Russian archives, but that he was not dismissed until Muḥammad 'Alī realised that he was no longer fit for service.

Muḥammad 'Alī did not appoint a new *Nāzir* immediately; the *Wakīl* of the *Dīwān* carried on the duties of director for we have already quoted an order from Muḥammad 'Alī to him dated 20th *Muharram*, 1255 (5th April, 1839).⁶ Adham Bey was the next *Nāzir*; Artin gives his date of appointment as 15th May, 1839,⁷ the *Takwīm* gives 3rd *Rabī' I*, 1255 (17th May, 1839).⁸ This appointment indicates that the *Dīwān* was without a *Nāzir* for about eight months, and Hamont reports that the duties of *Wakīl* were performed, firstly, by Colonel Salīm Bey, then by Colonel Aḥmad Bey.⁹ Hamont states that Adham was nominated to the post of *Nāzir* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* while he was in England,¹⁰ but the official sources show that he was ordered to return from England to be reprimanded and was not given the post until afterwards.¹¹

Adham was a gifted and progressive man; his talents were recognised by all and his services were in great demand in all

¹ Cattani, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 7; Lavison to Ruckman, 15th December, 1837.

² Artin, op. cit., p. 169; v. Rafi'i, op. cit., III/529.

³ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 36.

⁴ Marin, *Événements et aventures en Égypte en 1839*, Paris, 1840, I/38; Puckler-Muskau, op. cit., I/191; Hamont, op. cit., II/226, who states that he "s'enivre souvent, et cette habitude qu'il a contractée en France, lui ôte parfois la raison." Mukhtār's dossier appears to be missing from the official archives in Cairo.

⁵ *Takwīm*, II/493.

⁶ v. *supra*, p. 215, and *Takwīm*, II/494 and II/496.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 169.

⁸ *Takwīm*, II/495-6.

⁹ Hamont, op. cit., II/327.

¹⁰ Loc. cit., and Guémard, op. cit., p. 295.

¹¹ v. *supra*, p. 222.

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departments. It seems to have been the tendency, probably owing to the lack of first class men with initiative, to overwork the few who were really capable. In addition to his duties as Inspector-General of the factories, workshops and arsenals, he seems to have been consulted by everybody.¹

These various duties prevented Adham from attending at the *Dīwān al-Madāris*; Aḥmad Bey, the *Wakīl*, carried on the administration with the help of the permanent members of the *Dīwān* who had, by now, divided the administration into several departments, each with its chief. One dealt with personnel another with supplies and a third with the treasury. Correspondence was dealt with by Aḥmad Bey and the chief clerk who distributed it to the departments concerned; when a department had answered a letter or request, it was then passed back to the *Wakīl* for signature, and it often happened that the *Wakīl* signed a document without knowing what the letter referred to.²

Hamont compares the administration of the Schools under the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* with that of the *Madāris*.³ Under the *Jihādiyyah*, in spite of the obstacles, intrigues and opposition, the schools seem to have been better organised and to have received their supplies and the students their allowances with a certain regularity; the discipline was severe but much more in keeping with the type of student and employee.⁴ Under the *Madāris*, in spite of the elaborate regulations, the organisation was inferior. The delegates sent by the *Dīwān* to the schools were far too easy-going.⁵ Supplies to the schools were not made until after long investigations, the schools had to suffer through these long delays and the students could not work without stationery and books. The students' rations and allowances were cut down, they were badly fed and badly clothed; the schools' stores were empty for the most part and the students, not finding enough to eat, were obliged to get what they wanted on credit from the tradesmen outside the schools, who, in turn, claimed payment for their bills at the *Dīwān*. The bills were settled from the allowances

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/328, "... il semblait qu'aucune affaire importante ne pouvait être examinée sans la présence du Général Ethem-Bey."

² Hamont, op. cit., II/332.

³ Hamont, op. cit., II/328-334.

⁴ Hamont, op. cit., II/329. "Les étudiants soumis à une discipline sévère, n'allaient pas remplir les avenues du ministère, et dénoncer leurs chefs: on les eût renvoyés en les punissant."

⁵ Ibid., II/329. "Le délégué du ministre se rendait aux écoles pour s'enivrer chez les directeurs."

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made to the students who found themselves in straitened circumstances, for they had to pay also for the books and the instruments they used at school.¹

Discipline seems to have been completely undermined. The directors of the schools lost their authority over the junior employees, while the students and even the servants denounced their superiors to the *Dīwān* without recourse to an intermediary, a practice which was encouraged as by this method, the administration imagined that it was being kept well-informed of all that was going on. Under the *Jihādiyah*, the system was impeded by the intrigues of the directors, under the *Madāris*, the intrigues included, not only the directors, but the whole of the personnel, from the meanest scullion to the *Wakīl* himself.²

Instruction did not improve as it might have done for the *Dīwān* officials opposed any progress³; orders for books were turned down and also the suggestion that each school should have its own library.

The administration itself was no model to the schools under its jurisdiction; a multitude of inefficient clerks vied with one another in producing the greatest amount of noise; none of them knew exactly what his duties were; registers were in disorder and if any person had any business with the *Dīwān*, he was sent from department to department without achieving any result.

The principal accountants of the *Dīwān* schools were appointed by the chief clerk of the administration who sold the vacancies to the highest bidders.⁴ Deficiencies in the accounts were put right for a consideration and graduates from schools had to agree to pay a certain sum to the Director of Personnel before they could be posted with a grade, while the Director, in turn, shared the proceeds with the *Wakīl*.⁵ The latter cared little for the welfare of the schools; instructions issued one day were in complete contradiction to those of the previous day.⁶

The men who did not conform to this system were subjected

¹ Ibid., II/329-330.

² Hamont, op. cit., II/330-1. "Du matin au soir, les corridors du ministère étaient pleins du gens appartenant aux écoles. Les domestiques adressaient directement au ministre leurs réclamations. Ils rapportaient dans les bureaux ce qui se faisait dans les établissements où ils servaient."

³ Ibid., II/331. "Les fonctionnaires qui dirigeaient le ministère s'opposaient aux progrès, ils n'en voulaient pas, afin d'être seuls en Égypte, des hommes instruits."

⁴ Hamont, op. cit., II/332.

⁵ Ibid., II/332.

⁶ Loc. cit.

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to all sorts of tyrannies¹; the satisfactory performance of one's duties did not necessarily ensure immunity from bad treatment, generally the contrary was the case.² It was bad policy for a conscientious *Nāzir* of a school to punish a clerk, for example; the latter would take his revenge by reporting to the *Dīwān* distorted facts about the school accounts which would be followed by an investigation and almost certain dismissal, to make room for a favourite of one of the senior officials in the *Dīwān*.

The materials and supplies of a school were under the responsibility of the school storekeeper who kept the keys, but any deterioration or loss was recovered from the salary of the unfortunate director.³

The *Dīwān al-Madāris* had not the dignity of the other administrations; it was probably through the bad reputation of *Mukhtār* and the personal habits of its members⁴ that the *Dīwān al-Madāris* was not respected by the rest of the *Dīwāns*, and also on account of its employing many of the men who had been educated abroad who were looked upon with suspicion and dislike by the older school. The Schools Administration had such a bad name that it became the saying for any piece of work done badly that it was done *comme à l'instruction publique*.⁵

If such was the atmosphere of the *Dīwān al-Madāris*, what can be expected of the students? The Egyptian student, while young, has a great facility for learning, especially by memory. During this period, he spent his early years in a *maktab* learning the *Qur'ān* by heart, or at least, a part of it, which was of little value as a preparation for the Preparatory and Special schools. The subjects that had to be studied were different from anything that had ever been attempted before. There is no evidence that the teaching methods of the shaikh-teacher were ever considered applicable to the new learning, nor does it appear that the teaching methods of the new school were taken seriously. The outcome of this was that the students still kept to their old method of learning by memory (*hifz*); they looked upon their school learning purely from the vocational point of view, i.e., subsequent employment in the government services. Once a post was secured, the student not only forgot everything he had learnt so superficially but never turned a thought towards study, he disposed of his school

¹ Ibid., II/333.

⁴ Ibid., II/232-3.

² Loc. cit.

⁵ Ibid., II/334.

³ Loc. cit.

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books and gave himself up to the pleasures of life.¹ The military discipline that the student had been subjected to during his school-days counted for nothing once he left school for he simply reverted to his national habits.

In order to counteract the evil effects of the intellectual inactivity to which the students reverted, a resolution was made, probably suggested to Muḥammad 'Alī by some European, to the effect that the graduates to whom employment had been given, should present themselves periodically in order to be re-examined in their school subjects, their promotions depending upon the results of these examinations. It was hoped that this system would maintain some intellectual standard but, as can be imagined, the employees to be examined revised their books a fortnight before the date of the examination which, once over, was soon forgotten.² The problem was more deep-rooted than the mere maintenance of an intellectual standard. The system employed by Muḥammad 'Alī aimed at a complete change in the life of the people, but the methods employed were destructive of the old habits without giving them any new ones. If it was expected that the products of Muḥammad 'Alī's schools were to take up new intellectual pursuits compatible with his western institutions, then it was only natural that disappointment should follow. The books printed and circulated by the Būlāk Press were unsuitable for general reading; the education given in the schools was superficial; the haste employed throughout did not give the students a chance to let it take root. The result was that out of school, it was found useless, and those who happened to be intellectually inclined could only fall back on the old literary habits of the people which have been discussed in the first part of this work; few knew European languages well enough to enjoy their literature. The element of compulsion used by Muḥammad 'Alī could hardly have produced spontaneity in the pursuit of culture.

Already by 1840, several of the professional schools had been in existence sometime; did the native population make use of the services of Egyptian doctors and veterinary surgeons of their own free will? The barber and shoeing-smith were still preferred.³

Do we ever hear of an Egyptian doctor opening up a private practice during these early years? The Egyptian had learnt to depend upon the firm hand of Muḥammad 'Alī to send him

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/335. ² Hamont, op. cit., II/335-6. ³ Ibid., II/336.

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to school, to feed him, to clothe him and to find work for him in his professional capacity. Without government employment, he would have found nothing. Even in the government service, the Egyptian doctors, veterinary surgeons, engineers and others, were driven away by the colonels of regiments, managers of establishments, governors of provinces on their own authority, because of their incapacity and public aversion to them.¹ When they were sent back to their schools, they could only set a very discouraging example to the students who had not yet qualified.²

This, then, was the state of the men who had been obliged to study in Muḥammad 'Alī's schools and who were expected to form the backbone of the newly created western institutions when hostilities ceased in 1841. The financial embarrassments of Muḥammad 'Alī may have accounted for the niggardly treatment of the schools at this period; since the campaign in Syria must have used up a great deal of his resources.

The reduction of the army to the small figure of 18,000 men immediately reacted on Muḥammad 'Alī and his entourage. The new policy he adopted points most emphatically to the fact that he had considered only his military and naval requirements. French writers have nearly always given the *Diwān al-Madāris* the name of *Ministère de l'instruction publique*; this is not the translation of the Turkish or Arabic title which means simply *The Council of the Schools*; no reference is made to anything *publique* for there was no such thing as *public instruction* during the Muḥammad 'Alī period; the *public schools* that had existed in the eighteenth century had been ruined by the new policy.

Poujoulat states the case quite clearly when he writes that "*Méhémet-Ali a établi autour de lui un enseignement public, pourquoi? pour avoir des officiers, des administrateurs, des médecins, et non point pour éclairer les populations égyptiennes et mettre les bienfaits de l'éducation à la place d'une ignorance féconde en misère. On peut dire qu'il n'y a rien de moins public en Égypte que cette instruction qu'on appelle instruction publique.*"³

Tradition has handed it down that 'Abbās I was responsible for closing down the schools created by Muḥammad 'Alī and that he closed them during his reign, i.e., during the period

¹ Hamont, op. cit., II/337.

² Loc. cit.

³ Op. cit., II/511; v. also Olin, op. cit., II/311, and Millard, *A Journal of Travels in Egypt*, etc., Rochester, 1843, p. 94.

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1849-1854. The following facts will show that very few schools were open when 'Abbās took over the reins of government and what few did exist were not worth keeping on.

Schoelcher, who was in Egypt in 1844,¹ tells us that "*les écoles n'étaient pour Méhémet-Ali que des instruments de guerre ; il y renonce aujourd'hui que son rôle d'agresseur est fini, et qu'il a dû perdre l'espérance de conquérir le trône du Sultan. Il n'a plus besoin d'armée, il ne veut plus d'école.*"²

But let us trace events from the end of the war in the year 1841 to the time of Schoelcher's writing.

With the signature of the peace treaty, it became obvious that a period of economic retrenchment had to follow. In the year 1841 (the exact month cannot be given, but it must have been between the months of July and October), Ibrāhīm, 'Abbās and Sharīf Pashas met in the Citadel and worked out together a new scheme for the schools and presented it to Muḥammad 'Alī for signature³; they gave him to understand that it was a plan for the introduction of some economy. According to Hamont, this plan abolished the Primary, Preparatory and Special Schools⁴; he mentions in particular the closing of the Schools of Agriculture and Music and that the number of teachers and students was diminished in the schools that were still kept on and that Europeans were dismissed and their posts given to Egyptians and Turks.⁵

Ibrāhīm Pasha was the author of this plan of reorganisation,⁶ in other words, the leader of the reactionary policy, or was he simply urging his father to adopt a more reasonable policy compatible with the new requirements?

If, indeed, Ibrāhīm Pasha was leading the reactionaries, he did not do so without rousing the feelings of both Sulaimān Pasha and Adham Bey who represented the most progressive elements in the country.⁷ Sulaimān was a Frenchman and Adham a Turk, each of whom had made his career and a name through Muḥammad 'Alī's expansionist policy. It was only natural that men of such calibre were not going to accept

¹ Carré, op. cit., I/290.

² Schoelcher, *L'Égypte en 1845*, Paris, 1846, p. 63; see also *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 27th yr., Tome II, Paris, 1857, art. by Merruau, p. 350.

³ Hamont, op. cit., II/514, and *Revue de l'Orient*, Vol. I, Paris, 1843, pp. 29-38, art. by Hamont.

⁴ Hamont, op. cit., II/514.

⁵ Ibid., II/514-5.

⁶ Ibid., II/515.

⁷ v. *supra*, p. 185 seq., and Hamont, *ibid.*, II/515.

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Ibrāhīm's plans without some demur, especially in view of the fact that personal feelings had entered into it as both Ibrāhīm and Sharīf disliked Sulaimān.¹

There was another important aspect to be considered regarding the sudden closing of the schools. Muḥammad 'Alī had always had in mind that the fact that he was posing as the enlightened leader taking up the cause of education in his domains would have a favourable reaction in Europe. French propaganda work had done much to further this point of view. Adham Bey had an interview with Muḥammad 'Alī and insisted on this aspect of the situation, hoping to get Muḥammad 'Alī to change his mind; he was told to confer with Sulaimān Pasha and that they were to endeavour to introduce some modifications into Ibrāhīm's plans.² Their position was very delicate for Ibrāhīm was their superior and a man of very firm resolution. Both Sulaimān and Adham wanted to modify the plans and to maintain Muḥammad 'Alī's school, but up to January, 1842, they seem to have had very little success for Ibrāhīm Pasha soon had a very large following in favour of the plan and in opposition to Sulaimān and Adham.³

Such is Hamont's account; it is worth while investigating the sequence of events to find out to what extent Muḥammad 'Alī did agree to Ibrāhīm Pasha's plan, especially in view of the fact that Hamont's account of Muḥammad 'Alī and Egypt has not yet been given the place it deserves.

Hamont states that up to January, 1842, nothing had been done to modify Ibrāhīm's plan; he also stated that Ibrāhīm, 'Abbās and Sharīf met some time after the signing of the treaty and drew up their plan of reorganisation. In turning to the unpublished papers of Hekekyān,⁴ we read for the 16th *Ramādān*, 1257 (1st November, 1841), "Yesterday, I assisted in grand council composed of Soleyman Pasha, Adham Bey, Kiany Bey, Ahmad Bey, Bruneau, Clot Bey, Lambert, Linant, Figari and the Directors of the Schools, Varin being also present. The orders of the Pasha were that the schools should be organised so as to economize 50 per cent. of their former annual expenses. H. H. had not approved of the hasty and barbarous measures of Shereef Pasha and his Diwan. Artyn Bey who was present on the part of the Pasha could not then inform us of the number

¹ Cattani, op. cit., II, Pt. I, p. 460.

² Hamont, op. cit., II/515.

³ Ibid., p. 516.

⁴ Vol. II, period 1841-44, folios 5-6.

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of troops the Government would wish to fill up the deficiencies with better instructed officers so that we were deprived of a foundation to build on. Wasil proposed certain reductions in the Cavalry School." He further refers to the dismissal of Europeans in a general way without giving any names.

This entry by Hekekyān, who was a member of the Council, and apparently in sympathy with Sulaimān and Adham, confirms Hamont's statement that the proposal for the abolition of the schools did not emanate from Muḥammad 'Alī and that Sharīf Pasha was implicated in this new move.¹

Sharīf Pasha was *Nāzir* of the Finance Department at the time and is reputed to have been a good business man; Ibrāhīm's capacity for looking after his own private finances is well known as also is the case with 'Abbās. The consideration that the three Pashas had in mind may have been purely financial; they probably wished to make the maximum economies and now that the army had been disbanded, they probably felt justified in abolishing the schools, and in keeping up establishments that would just produce sufficient officers for the new standing army. Hekekyān's statement shows plainly that the needs of the army were to decide how many students were required in the schools.

We have so far only used Hamont and Hekekyān but official sources prove that Ibrāhīm's will to close the schools was obeyed. The Council meeting attended by Hekekyān took place in November, 1841; at *this* meeting, it was decided to reduce the budget of the schools by fifty per cent. This decision could have affected only some dozen schools as *already* most of the schools had been closed. The Primary Schools appear to have been the first to suffer; sixteen of the primary schools had been closed or transferred before the signing of the treaty; the following is a complete list with dates:—

School	Last appointment of <i>Nāzir</i>	Closed	Transferred
1. Banhā	Dec. 1838	Jan. 1838	
2. Bani Mazār	Sept. 1837	Sept. 1837	
3. Bani Suef	Jan. 1840	Jan. 1840	
4. Damanhūr		May 1837	ar-Raḥmāniyah.
5. Fāraskūr	Dec. 1839	Jan. 1840	
6. al-Faiyūm	Mar. 1838	April 1838	

¹ Sharīf had been Governor of Syria. He was a nephew of Muḥammad 'Alī; Guémard gives a short account of him, *v. op. cit.*, pp. 262-3, note 66.

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School	Last appointment of <i>Nāzir</i>	Closed	Transferred
7. Farshūt	Feb. 1839	Mar. 1839	
8. al-Fashn		Nov. 1838	al-Minyā
9. Hulwān	Nov. 1840	Nov. 1840	
10. Ikhnīm	Oct. 1839	Nov. 1839	
11. Maḥallah Dimnah		Aug. 1837	al-Manṣūrah
12. Manūf		Oct. 1837	Ashmūn Garīs
13. al-Manzalah		Mar. 1837	Fāraskūr
14. Ṣahrgit		Oct. 1837	Mīt Ghamr
15. Ṣanbū		April 1839	Manfalūt
16. Shīrbīn	Mar. 1837	Mar. 1837	¹

The following Primary Schools were closed during October, 1841, i.e., in the month before the Council meeting attended by Hekekyān:—

17. Abū Tīg,	30. Kufūr Nigm,
18. Ashmūn Garīs,	31. al-Maḥallah al-Kubrā,
19. Asyūt,	32. al-Manṣūrah,
20. al-'Azīziyah,	33. Mīt-Ghamr,
21. Bīlbais,	34. al-Minyā,
22. Būsh,	35. Mīt al-'Izz,
23. Fūh,	36. Nabarōh,
24. al-Ga'fariyah,	37. as-Sāhil,
25. Gīrgā,	38. Ṣākiyah Mūsā,
26. Isnā,	39. Shībīn al-Kaum,
27. Kalyūb,	40. Sōhāg,
28. Kāmūlah,	41. Tahtā,
29. Kēnā,	42. as-Zakāzīk,
	43. Ziftā. ²

These twenty-seven schools were without *Nāzirs* from September, 1841. The following schools were closed in November, 1841:—

44 Ibyār, 45 Manfalūt, 46 an-Nagailah, 47 Shubrākhīt, 48 Tanṭā.³

The above lists show that only *three* Primary Schools were kept open after November, 1841, that of ar-Raḥmāniyah, which was closed in October, 1844, of as-Sayyidah Zainab (Cairo), which was closed in August, 1850,⁴ and of al-Gīzah, which was transferred to Abū Za'bal in September, 1844, and then closed in November, 1849.⁵

The position of the Preparatory and Special Schools was

¹ Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, app. III, pp. 34-44.

² Loc. cit.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ *v. infra*, p. 292.

⁵ *v. infra* p. 292. The order from Muḥammad 'Alī closing these Primary Schools and other Schools in Cairo is dated 24th *Shā'ban*, 1257 (11th October, 1841); see *Register* No. 2072, page 1, 'Abdīn Archives.

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also considerably affected by this change of policy; the Cairo Preparatory School was closed in January, 1842¹; the School of Agriculture at Shubrā is reported to have been closed as early as May,² 1839, about two years before the signing of the treaty; according to Hamont, it would appear that it was closed later, about October, 1841. The Infantry School at Damietta was closed down in January, 1841, and transferred to Abū Za'bal in the following month. The Artillery School was closed down in April, 1847, about five years after the treaty; the only schools left in use after January, 1842 were as follows:—

Primary.	ar-Rahmaniyah.
Primary.	as-Sayyidah Zainab.
Primary.	al-Gizah.
Special.	Artillery, Turā.
Special.	Infantry, Abū Za'bal.
Special.	Cavalry, al-Gizah.
Special.	Naval, Alexandria.
Special.	Languages, Cairo.
Special.	Veterinary, Shubrā.
Special.	High School, al-Khānḳāh.
Special.	Engineering, Būlāk.
Special.	Arts and Crafts, Būlāk. ³

From the official records, it would appear that Adham made some attempt to counteract the drastic plans of Ibrāhīm Pasha for the following four *maktabs* were opened by him⁴:—

School	Opened	Closed	Nāzirs
Asyūt	Feb. 1842	Mar. 1849	Sh. Aḥmad al-Mahdī to Feb. 1847; Muḥammad Ef. al-Mahdāwī until Feb., 1849.
Būsh	Feb. 1842	April 1849	Muḥammad Ef. al-Faiyūmī.
Mīt Ghamr.	Feb. 1842	Dec. 1846	Sh. Ḥusain al-'Aḳkād to Feb., 1846; Muḥammad Ef. al-Mahdāwī to Dec., 1846.
az-Zaḳāzīk.	Dec. 1846	April 1849	Muḥammad al-Mahdāwī to Mar., 1847; Aḥmad Ef. Ḥamdī to March, 1848.
(transferred from Mīt Ghamr.)			

Hekekyān states that Adham had opened about May, 1843, "the first Arab school established in Cairo after the plan of the famous English Schools"; Adham was helped by 'Abdar-

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 45.

² Op. cit., p. 47.

³ In addition to the order quoted under note 2, the official registers in the 'Abdīn Archives point to the closing of eleven other schools. See *Register No.* 2071, pp. 3, 8, 11 and 44; *Register No.* 2072, pp. 34, 36, 39 and 42; *Register No.* 862, pp. 118 and 119; these registers belong to the period 1840 to 1842.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, pp. 41, 40, 37 and 38.

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Rahmān Ef. Rushdī in the organisation of the school.¹ Hekekyān does not state specifically the English Schools Adham copied; he probably had the Lancasterian method in mind which Bartholomew tried to introduce into Egypt.² Adham's school seems to have been the first genuine attempt to set up an educational establishment by Egyptians or Turks in Egypt which was not connected with the army, but no information is available beyond Hekekyān's reference.

At the Council meeting of 1st November, 1841, it had been decided to reduce school expenditure to fifty per cent.; it has already been stated that this policy could have affected only the twelve schools that had been kept on, viz., three Primary and nine Special. Contemporary writers who visited Egypt after 1842, confirm the fact that the activities of the surviving schools were considerably curtailed.

Perron, who was now Director of the School of Medicine, writes on the 28th December, 1841: "*Les affaires d'Égypte sont toujours dans le même état d'incertitude. L'économie est aujourd'hui le grand mot gouvernemental et on travaille de toute part à éliminer les employés européens. Par économie encore, on vient de réduire à un petit nombre d'individus, les élèves des Écoles; et l'École de Médecine par exemple, qui avait 300 élèves, est fixée maintenant à 130 seulement. Toutes les autres ont subi des réductions analogues.*"³ Another letter written by him on the 22nd October, 1842, confirms that the numbers of the students were considerably reduced,⁴ although the only school to be closed was the School of Music.⁵ Perron blames the European coalition for having obliged Muḥammad 'Alī to withdraw from Syria and to cease hostilities, thus putting him in the position of reducing his army and, consequently, the number of men required for the schools⁶; Perron seems to have had an idea of the meaning of civilisation quite as confused as that of his Turkish and Egyptian friends for he maintains that this action on the part of the European powers did great harm to civilisation in Egypt.⁷

Schoelcher reports that the School of Languages was now

¹ Hekekyān *Papers*, Vol. II, folio 227.

² v. *infra* pp. 281-2.

³ Artin, *Lettres du Dr. Perron à M. Jules Mohl*, Cairo, 1911, pp. 68-9. Perron belonged to the Saint-Simonite group; v. Carré, op. cit., I/270.

⁴ *Journal asiatique*, July-August, 1843, letter to Mohl, p. 18.

⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

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no more than a translation office where no students were formed¹; he states that the School of Agriculture was closed almost as soon as it was opened in order to be replaced by a model farm out of which Muḥammad 'Alī hoped to make money²; he also maintains that the School of Arts and Crafts was closed on the ground that there were already too many educated men for whom employment could not be found.³ According to Hekekyān and the official records, this last mentioned school was still functioning. Under the date 8th January, 1843, Hekekyān gives an account of arrangement into which he and Lambert were endeavouring to enter regarding the transfer of suitable students for the 'Amaliyāt⁴; Hekekyān also gives a reference to a letter dated the 6th January, 1843 addressed to Briggs asking for seven professional men to teach, they were to be a "civil engineer and surveyor, an architect and builder, a civil engineer and machinist, a practical machinist and draughtsman, a boat builder in iron and timber, a chemist, metallurgist and mineralogist and a mathematical instrument maker."⁵ There seems to have been some friction between Lambert and Hekekyān because the latter preferred English methods.⁶ 'Abbās also criticised Hekekyān for his "Englishman like manner of acting and expressing himself."⁷ The School of Arts and Crafts under Hekekyān seems to have been less of a school than a workshop where work was undertaken for the administrations for on the 6th January, 1841, Hekekyān wrote a letter "complaining of being too hard pressed by all the administrations by orders for work at the Ameliat which was incompatible with its organisation as a school of instruction."⁸ In March, 1843, reports that "no arrangement was made for the payment of workmen in the Ameliat."⁹

Schoelcher reports in 1844 that the Polytechnic, the Schools of Medicine and Cavalry were still maintained; he found only 150 students in the School of Cavalry although it had room for 350; he remarks that they were "*très mal tenus, faute d'équipement; ils n'ont pas assez de chevaux; et, malgré la bonne contenance qu'a toujours faite le colonel devant nous, nous*

¹ Schoelcher, op. cit., p. 59; *Hekekyān Papers* (II/159) where he states that an examination was held on the 8th March, 1843.

² Schoelcher, loc. cit.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Hekekyān, *ibid.*, II/72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II/72-3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II/72.

⁷ Hekekyān, *ibid.*, II/12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II/193.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II/102.

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*savons que l'on fournit de très mauvaise grâce aux indispensables besoins de l'établissement qu'il dirige."*¹

At the Polytechnic, he found 125 students between the ages of twelve and twenty who were taught French, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, architectural and linear drawing in order to become engineers for roads and bridges, mines and naval construction; he makes the observation that the students were allowed five years to complete their education, while in Europe, a student had to spend from ten to twelve years before he could qualify. He found the students well below standard, that they had no primary education to begin with, and that the teachers who were nearly all natives were *loin d'être assez forts*.²

He found the School of Medicine in a comparatively better state than the other Special Schools; the standard of education of the native teachers was higher than that of their colleagues at the other schools, but he criticises the policy of the withdrawal of Europeans on the ground that it was they alone who could maintain any organisation and standard of training.³ The number of students had been reduced from 312 to 130 after the signing of the treaty.⁴

Gisquet, who was in Egypt early in 1844, states that the Schools of Agriculture and of Arts and Crafts had disappeared and that the School of Languages no longer had any students and *n'existe guère que de nom*.⁵ He reports that the Egyptian teachers of the Polytechnic were not well-educated and taught subjects in which they were not qualified; he states that the School of Cavalry was not properly maintained simply because Muḥammad 'Alī had no war to wage.⁶

The French Government sent M. Pellissier to Egypt at the beginning of 1849 to report on the state of the schools created by Muḥammad 'Alī. His report consists of two letters, one written the 30th April, 1849 from Cairo, and the other written the 3rd June, 1849 from Berlin.⁷

The first letter contains a synopsis of the plan of organisation drawn up by the Commission of 1835-6; he adds the criticism that the Commission had copied the French system too closely without taking into consideration the special needs of the

¹ Schoelcher, op. cit., p. 59.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³ Gisquet, op. cit., II/82.

⁴ Pellissier, *Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes*, Paris, 1849.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷ Loc. cit.

country; he emphasizes the important fact that the creation of a training school for teachers had been entirely overlooked.¹ He strongly criticises the transfer of the military schools from the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah* to the *Dīwān al-Madāris* and points out that the latter *Dīwān* still had to depend upon the former for its supplies.²

The second letter deals with several of the schools and, apart from the generalisations on the Turks and Egyptians, a special feature of French writers of the nineteenth century when writing about Egypt, contains much that confirms the accounts of Hamont, Schoelcher, Gisquet and others.

It begins ominously with the words, "*Une révolution récente fait de ce rapport l'histoire complète d'une des créations les plus remarquables de Méhémet-Ali. Elle aura été aussi la plus éphémère; il n'y a plus d'établissement d'instruction publique.*"³ The author goes on to state that ten years were necessary for a student to pass through the three types of schools, but the fickleness of Muḥammad 'Alī and unforeseen events did not allow this to happen for at the end of five years (i.e., in 1841), Ibrāhīm Pasha, embittered and discouraged by his reverses in Syria, proposed to his father the "*destruction d'établissements ruineux selon lui.*" The report continues to state that it was with great difficulty that Muḥammad 'Alī was persuaded to allow some of the schools to be kept on; it was held that the reduction of the army and the decreased importance of Egypt in the international political arena did not justify the maintenance of establishments which were originally destined to provide officers for a large fighting service.⁴

Pellissier suggests that it was due to European influence that the school regulations contained the provision for popular education: the regulations do, in fact, contain a vague statement to this effect,⁵ but such education was never contemplated. He goes on to state that the number of Primary Schools was reduced to five⁶ and the number of students in these schools was 1,000. He maintains that only one Preparatory School continued to be kept up, viz., that of Cairo, but the official records give the date of the abolition of this school as January,

¹ Ibid., p. 4.

² Ibid., p. 5.

³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ *Règlements*, p. 5, art 2.

⁶ Pellissier, op. cit., p. 6; in 1849, there were only four, Abū Za'bal, Asyūt, Būsh and az-Zakāzīk.

1842.¹ In the registers preserved in 'Abdīn Palace, the name *at-Tajhīziyah*, i.e., Preparatory, is used frequently and rather loosely for a number of schools.² Pellissier gives the number of students in this Preparatory School as 500; they were trained for the Special Schools, the number of students of which had been considerably diminished.³

The report then deals with the various Special Schools, the first being the Polytechnic, situated in Būlāk and the only one not subject to military discipline; it had eighty students under Lambert. The school had been planned to copy the *Polytechnique* at Paris, but in the recent reforms, it had been reorganised on the lines of the *École centrale des arts et manufactures* which was more suitable to the country. From 1844, the principal subjects of study were geometry, physics, mechanics and architecture. Lambert seems to have made the most of his experience and was using teaching methods which were inclined to develop the practical abilities of the students.⁴ There was a workshop in which instruments and tools were made and repaired in order to avoid importing them from Europe. Pellissier speaks highly of the chemical laboratory and states that it had done great service for the country. During the four years preceding Pellissier's report, the school had provided 108 engineers for the roads and bridges department, 62 directors for various workshops, 28 science teachers, 21 mining engineers, 18 factory directors, inspectors and others; about two dozen technical works had been translated by members of the school and had been lithographed in the School press.⁵

Lambert had also set up an observatory with fourteen of his students in a fort which had been built by the French; the instruments that were not available locally were imported from Paris and London.⁶ The development of the Polytechnic

¹ v. *supra*, p. 234. The students of this school were sent to the palace of Alfi Bey where Rifā'ah had his School of Languages and where they were placed under him; see Majdi, *Hilyat az-Zaman*, MS. p. 25, and below under the School of Languages, p. 264 *seq.*

² v. *supra*, p. 233, n. 5, and 234, n. 3. The official orders refer to the closing of several *tajhīziyah* schools; this probably refers to a kind of preparatory school attached to each of the Special Schools where the students were coached for admission to the classes of the respective school. The standard they achieved in the general Preparatory was not up to that required by the Special Schools, Sāmī, *at-Ta'lim*, p. 15.

³ Pellissier, op. cit., p. 7.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 7-8. See also *Takwīm*, II/501, orders dated 18th *Ramaḍān*, 1255 (29th November, 1839), and 20th *Shawwāl*, 1255 (26th December, 1839).

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and its annexes during the post-war period seems to have been on very practical lines for the benefit of industrial and economic independence. Lambert was director until April, 1849, and was then succeeded by 'Alī Mubārak.¹ Pellissier speaks more highly of this school than any other he visited; he gives the impression that the work of the students and Lambert was not properly appreciated.²

The report on the School of Languages, however, is not so satisfactory. Pellissier seems to have called on the school at rather an inopportune moment, for apparently Muḥammad 'Alī had suspended the classes and only the Translation Office was functioning with twenty of the best students who were translating French works into Turkish and Arabic.³ Pellissier compares the well-administered Polytechnic under a European to the School of Languages "*dirigée par un Arabe*," and states that "*il est impossible de n'être pas frappé d'une différence flatteuse pour l'amour-propre européen. Bien que la discipline de l'école soit toute militaire, on y regrette la propriété, l'ordre, la régularité; conditions extérieures qui sont indispensables à la prospérité d'un grand établissement.*"⁴

The Cavalry School is not dealt with very fully in the report; Pellissier states that its results had been good because it had had a special attraction to the Turks in that it appealed to their military tastes.⁵ The Infantry School at Abū Za'bal was in a state of complete disorganisation.⁶ The School of Artillery appears to have been reorganised by Captain Princeteau, with the help of M. Hippolyte; Pellissier gives a good account of the plan of studies and of the cleanliness of the rooms and dormitories. This school had been closed in April, 1847, but re-opened in 1848 under Princeteau who had arrived on mission from France.⁷

The School of Medicine receives some praise in the report; he appreciates the difficulties that had to be faced in establishing the modern medical school in Egypt, the ignorance of the students, their prejudices, the absence of a suitable technical language and the necessity of a completely new organisation⁸; Pellissier

¹ Sāmi, *at-Ta'lim*, App. III, p. 47.

² Pellissier, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Loc. cit.* This School is dealt with in detail below; *v. pp. 264 seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷ Guémard, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 and 423.

⁸ Pellissier, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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quotes Professor Lallemant of Montpellier who spoke highly of the school.¹

The report does not deal with each individual school very penetratingly; its author appears to be rather partial towards his own compatriots. Summing up, he states that the schools were satisfactorily run but, whenever an educated officer, a capable engineer or a reliable doctor was wanted in Egypt, he had to be sought from Europe. He maintains that the Egyptians were not up to their task and that their bearing and conduct brought upon them the ill-will of others and made their countrymen have their doubts about the benefits of the professions they represented.² Pellissier puts their failure down to two main reasons; firstly, that the French language had not a sufficiently large place in the curriculum of the schools, and, secondly, because the students, *fallāḥīn* for the most part, were not allowed promotion beyond a junior rank and that their constant contact with the uneducated elements soon made them forget the knowledge they had acquired superficially. These two reasons, the one linguistic and the other social, are equally important; the linguistic problem, only touched upon by Pellissier, who does not even consider the position of Arabic and who seems to think that French should have been adopted as the medium of instruction, will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

The report gives some account of the treatment meted out to the students of the Polytechnic on their being posted under senior engineers in the service; the latter, instead of lending them their support and advice often had them disgraced by taking advantage of their inexperience in order that they should not be considered capable of replacing them; the mistakes of these graduates often brought upon them severe punishment and the reputation of the school to which they belonged was affected thereby.³

Regarding the School of Medicine, Pellissier lays stress on two points; the Egyptian's distrust of and repugnance to European medicine and his solid belief in his own empiricism, which did not encourage medical studies, and the mistake of giving professorial chairs to natives before they were yet qualified and experienced for such responsibility. Those Egyptians who were given recognition as doctors of medicine were not yet in a position to understand the dignity of their profession and were often obliged to compromise themselves through necessity owing to their

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³ *Loc. cit.*

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small emoluments; at the end of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign, an Egyptian Medical Service had still to be created.¹

Pellissier goes on to generalise about the character of the Egyptian, maintaining that this had a great deal to do with the failure of the educational system; he is thinking in terms of the European and indicates, among other things, that there were many obstacles resulting from the despotic government of Muḥammad 'Alī,² a statement which needs further qualification as, without the despotic government of Muḥammad 'Alī, there would not have been any educational system other than the old one of the mosque. He gives a sorry description of certain social practices of the Egyptian which suggest that he was not yet ready to accept these exotic creations of Muḥammad 'Alī³; Pellissier is of the opinion that improvements could have been made to the old *kuttāb* and mosque system; he thinks that the memorizing of the *Qur'ān* at an early age only had the effect of dulling the intellect of the Egyptian student⁴; he deplores the absence of the feeling of nationality and approves of the creation of an Egyptian Army in order to arouse patriotic ideals⁵ but forgets that it was officered by non-Egyptians whose language was not even that of the Egyptian. In common with his contemporaries, he does not realise that the world in which Muḥammad 'Alī lived consisted of two camps, the Frankish or European and a non-national Moslem one.

When 'Abbās I became regent in November, 1848, the following schools were still in use:

As-Sayyidah Zainab.	Primary.
Asyūṭ,	Primary.
Būsh,	Primary.
Zakāzīk,	Primary.
Abū Za'bal,	Primary.
Abū Za'bal,	Infantry.
al-Gīzah,	Cavalry.
Ṭurā,	Artillery.
Alexandria,	Naval.

¹ The School of Maternity appears to have been reorganised in 1838 under Mlle. Lewellon; v. Sharaf, op. cit., p. 17, in the years 1846 and 1847, Dr. Franco, Professor of Medicine at Montpellier, is reported to have conducted the examinations in the School of Medicine; in 1848, they were conducted by Dr. Willemain, who had been sent out to Egypt by the French Government in an advisory capacity, v. Sharaf, *ibid.*, p. 18, Professor Lallemand, who had been sent out in 1848-9 to report on the School of Medicine, spoke of it in high terms. He found 117 students in the medical section and 25 in the pharmaceutical section, v. Sharaf, *ibid.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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Cairo,
Shubrā,
al-Khānḳāh,
Būlāk,
Būlāk,

Languages.
Veterinary.
High School.
Engineering.
Arts and Crafts.

plus Medical ← surely?

Anything like accurate figures for the numbers of students in these schools are not available beyond what we have seen in the various accounts given by contemporary writers which prove, of course, that the prosperity of Muḥammad 'Alī's educational establishments in 1849 was nothing compared to the earlier periods. 'Abbās I did not succeed to the rule of the country until August, 1849; the fate of these remaining establishments will be dealt with in the chapters on this ruler and his successor, Sa'īd Pasha.

Education Missions to Europe, 1844-1849

In 1844, Muḥammad 'Alī sent to Paris another large mission of students chosen by Sulaimān Pasha, included in which were two of Muḥammad 'Alī's own sons, Ḥusain Bey and Ḥalīm Bey, and two of his grandsons, Aḥmad Bey and Ismā'il Bey. For this reason, this particular mission was called the *Bi'that al-Anjāl*, the "Mission of the Sons (of Muḥammad 'Alī)."¹

The mission, which consisted of the sons of high officials and the pick of the schools, was under the *mudīr*ship of Esṭefān Bey and the second in charge was Khalīl Ef. Jarakyān, both Armenians; the first had been a student of the 1826 mission, and it appears that the second had been a member of an earlier mission, probably sent about the same time as 'Uṭmān Nūr-addīn.² The *mudīr* received PT. 5,560 a month, the assistant *mudīr*'s salary was probably about PT.2,700.³ The *Imām* of the mission was Shaikh Naṣr Abū'l-Wafā' al-Hūrīnī, whose salary was PT. 483-12 *fiḍḍah* of which he received half, the other half being paid to his son, Muḥammad Naṣr.⁴

The students were housed together in a special building which was given the name of the *Egyptian Military School* and the chief object of sending this group of students was to teach them military subjects. The mission was placed under the supreme directorship of the French Minister of War⁵ and all the teachers were Frenchmen. In order to ensure full control over the

¹ Ṭūsūn, op. cit., p. 172 seq.; Mubārak, op. cit., I/88, IX/40 and XII/10.

² Ṭūsūn, *ibid.*, p. 174.

³ Ṭūsūn, *ibid.*, p. 175.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁵ Loc. cit.

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students, a special code of regulations was drawn up and brought into use on the 20th October, 1844.¹ The code consisted of twenty-five articles:

- articles 1-3 dealt with the method of saluting teachers, roll call, and punishment of absentees from parade;
- article 4, stated that no book or drawing was to be brought into the school without special permission;
- article 5, forbade all games of chance;
- article 6, forbade any student to enter into any division to which he did not belong;
- article 7, stipulated that every student was to wear his special uniform;
- article 8, laid down that no servants were to be employed for any function outside the school except with special permission;
- article 9, stipulated that all parcels and packets brought to the school for any student must be inspected by the porter;
- article 10, forbade the introduction of any chemical, nourishment or alcoholic drink into the school;
- article 11, ruled that students were allowed out from 10 a.m. on Sundays and 3 p.m. on Thursdays, but they must return by 10 p.m.; on their return they must sign a register stating the time of their return; no student was to be allowed out at any other time except with permission;
- article 12, ruled that no student could introduce a stranger into the school;
- article 13, forbade the students from hiring rooms outside the school under any pretext;
- article 14, laid down that students were to be punished according to the offence, either by refusal of permission to be let out, by confinement or by paying a fine;
- article 15, dealt with the hours of study on Sundays and Thursdays;
- article 16, stipulated that students' requests were to be brought before the director through the sergeants;
- article 17, ruled that silence was to be kept in the class rooms and that the rooms were to be chosen by casting lots;
- article 18, forbade any student to change his private room or class room without permission;
- article 19, forbade any student to play or to make any noise during class hours and ruled that all efforts were to be spent at study;
- articles 20 and 21, forbade any student to leave his class during lessons in order to go to his room or to walk in the yards or garden;
- article 22, ruled that all documents dealing with school formalities were to be signed by the student first, then by the teacher;
- article 23, forbade any student to spoil anything that was distributed to him or to use it for any purpose but for that which it was designed;
- article 24, ruled that students were to be held responsible for all furniture, books and instruments in their charge and in their rooms: all repairs and renewals must be made at their cost;
- article 25, ruled that any Frenchman employed in the school guilty of misconduct could be dismissed by the director.

¹ Ibid., p. 176.
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The first French Minister of War in command of the *Egyptian Military School* appears to have been M. Poinçot who, with the help of Estefân Bey and M. Jomard, drew up the above code, arranged the students' time-tables and attended to other administrative matters. The students were divided into two classes according to their capacity; four students of the first class were made sergeants; they were 'Uthmân Ef. Şabrî, Hanafî Hind, Şahâtah Ef. 'Isâ, Muḥammad Bey Sharîf¹; the sergeants had the same control over the other students as army non-commissioned officers. On the 17th October, 1844, Poinçot delivered a speech to the students, welcoming them to France and encouraging them in their studies.

The day's time-table was at first arranged as follows:—

5.30 a.m.	.. ..	réveillé.
6 a.m. to 7 a.m.	.. ..	roll call and study.
7 a.m. to 8 a.m.	.. ..	breakfast.
8 a.m. to 10 a.m.	.. ..	French and calligraphy.
10.15 a.m. to 11.15 a.m.	.. ..	lunch and recreation.
11.30 a.m. to 1.15 p.m.	.. ..	maths, geography and history.
2 p.m. to 3 p.m.	.. ..	drawing.
3.15 p.m. to 5 p.m.	.. ..	study.
5 p.m. to 6.45 p.m.	.. ..	dinner and recreation.
6.45 p.m. to 7.45 p.m.	.. ..	military exercises.
8 p.m. to 9.15 p.m.	.. ..	study and fencing.
10 p.m.	.. ..	lights out.

The subjects were taught by the following instructors:

Latellier,	French.
Dibiet,	calligraphy.
Ganot,	maths.
Baskans,	geography and history.
Lapie,	drawing.
Gérard,	} in charge of study.
Biessy,	
Billau,	
Lemercier,	storekeeper.

There appears to have been some distinction made in the treatment and discipline of the sons and grandsons of Muḥammad 'Alî and the relations of the high officials during the first month or so after their arrival in Paris, but, in due course, the distinctions were removed and they had to fall in with the general discipline.²

¹ Ibid., p. 179.

² Tūsūn, op. cit., pp. 187-8. The time tables given above and below have been taken from Tūsūn's work on the Missions.

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The subjects of study were then arranged on a somewhat different basis in order to bring them nearer the original plan of specialisation in military science:

calligraphy (afterwards dropped by some of the students and military science given instead),
French, geography, history, maths, drawing, topography, military science, fortification, gunnery, military exercises,

and the following officers were appointed to the school for the purpose of instructions:

Capt. Conus appointed, 1st Dec., 1844, as School Officer,
Capt. Rivery appointed 5th Jan., 1845, gunnery and fortification instructor,
Col. Gloux appointed 20th Jan., 1845, gunnery and fortification instructor,
Capt. Leveret appointed 20th Jan., 1845, military science.

A School Committee was formed with M. Poinçot as President, Estefân, Gloux, Rivery, Lapie and Conus as members.¹

The time-table for summer was arranged as follows:

	5.15 a.m.	réveillé.
	5.15 a.m. to 6.45 a.m.	study.
	6.45 a.m. to 7.45 a.m.	breakfast.
Mon., Tues. and Th.	7.45 a.m. to 9.45 a.m.	military Science.
Wed., Fri. and Sat.	7.45 a.m. to 9.45 a.m.	fortification, 1st cl.
Wed., Fri. and Sat.	7.45 a.m. to 9.45 a.m.	study, 2nd cl.
	10 a.m. to 10.45 a.m.	lunch.
	10.50 a.m.	roll call.
	11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	maths, geography, history.
	1.15 p.m. to 3.15 p.m.	French.
Tues., Wed. and Sat.	3.15 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.	drawing.
Mon. and Fri.	3.15 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.	gunnery, 1st cl.
Mon. and Fri.	3.15 to 5.15 p.m.	study, 2nd cl.
	5.15 p.m. to 6.45 p.m.	dinner.
Mon., Wed. and Fri.	7 p.m. to 9 p.m.	military exercises.
Tues. and Sat.	7 p.m. to 9 p.m.	study or theoretical lessons.
	10 p.m.	lights out.

The students were allowed one month's holiday every year but even then they had to undertake a certain amount of work and had a special time-table arranged for them as follows:

6 a.m.	roll call.
6.45 a.m.	breakfast.
7.15 a.m. to 9.15 a.m.	military exercises.

¹ Tūsūn, pp. 190-1. Poinçot died January, 1846.

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10 a.m. to 10.50 a.m.	lunch.
10.50 a.m.	roll call.
11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	topography, fortification, 1st cl. for 15 days and then gunnery alternatively.
11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	drawing and study, 2nd cl.
11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	calligraphy, 3rd cl. ¹
1 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.	no classes.
5.45 p.m.	roll call.
5.45 p.m. to 7 p.m.	dinner and recreation.
7 p.m. to 9 p.m.	study.
10 p.m.	lights out.

During the holiday, the first class sometimes spent an hour at military exercises from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m. while the 2nd and 3rd classes visited places of interest once or twice a week.² Muḥammad 'Alī's relations were allowed to visit Cherbourg, Compiègne and Fontainebleau and other towns during their first holiday³ and other summer holidays were used for visiting public buildings and institutions.⁴

A hospital was attached to the school under Subervic and Boude.⁵

On the 19th December, 1844, four other students who were already studying in France in a private school were attached to this Military School; three of them were sons of Sharīf Pasha, the *Nāzir* of the Finance Department, one of them had been in France for two years and the other two for one year. Ismā'il Bey, Ibrāhīm Pasha's second son, who had not yet joined the school as he had been to Vienna for eye treatment, came to Paris in April, 1845.⁶ On the 10th June, 1845, Ḥalīm Bey, another of Muḥammad 'Alī's sons arrived at the school with twenty-two other students, in the care of Khusrāu Ef. another Armenian and Muḥammad 'Alī's private secretary; they were examined and five were attached to the second class and the rest formed a third class in which were taught calligraphy, French and geography.⁷ Several of the original students were rather backward and so they were also attached to this new class; they included Fattāḥ Bey, 'Alī Bey, Rashshād Ef., Ismā'il Bey,

¹ A third class had been added.

² Tūsūn, *ibid.*, p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 186 and 191.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

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Muhammad Bey and Khalil Bey; the last three were weak-sighted. The new arrivals were all younger than the students already sent to Paris.

The number of students belonging to this mission is usually given as seventy,¹ but as shown above, they did not all arrive at once. Up to June, 1845, there were only sixty-two at the school; the first batch consisted of thirty-nine (including Ismā'il Bey) and the second batch of twenty-three. Khusrau Bey only stayed in France a few months for he returned to Egypt in November, 1845.²

On the 11th January, 1846, the following students were promoted on account of their progress and good conduct:

Hammād Ef. 'Abdal-Āṭī,	to Sergt.-Major,
al-Amīr Aḥmad Bey,	to Sergeant,
'Alī Ef. Mubārak,	to Corporal,
'Alī Ef. Ibrāhīm,	to Corporal,
Muhammad Ef. Ismā'il,	to Corporal,
Kūčūk Husain Bey,	to Corporal,
Murād Ef. Hilmī,	to Corporal,
Husain Ef. Sulaimān,	to Corporal,
Muhammad Ef. 'Arif,	to Corporal,
Aḥmad Ef. Rāsikh,	to Corporal. ³

The school was visited by the Duc de Nemours, accompanied by Boyer, in May,⁴ 1845, and by Ibrāhīm Pasha himself who was very interested in this new experiment. He arrived in Paris on the 22nd April, 1846, and the Princes were allowed to go and meet him; his visit to the school was used as an occasion for gathering together many eminent people at the school and a number of books was distributed to the best students.⁵ In August, 1846, the Egyptian mission was invited to attend the manoeuvres of the French army.⁶

In June, 1846, Muhammad 'Alī gave orders that nine of the students should be chosen to study civil administration⁷ and amongst those selected for this course were the weak-sighted mentioned above; they were detached from the other classes but appear to have continued to receive a certain amount of military training.⁸ The course of civil administration was given by a special teacher.⁹ The school then had four classes, three military

¹ Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/463.

² Ibid., pp. 200-201.

³ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 203.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 210-1.

⁵ Ibid., p. 212.

⁶ Tūsūn, op. cit., pp. 197-8.

⁷ Ibid., p. 191 seq.

⁸ Ibid., p. 204 seq.

⁹ Ibid., p. 211.

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and one civil; both Ismā'il Bey and Ḥalīm Bey joined the class for civil administration.¹

On the 6th October, 1846, Muhammad 'Alī had a letter sent through Artīn Bey to the effect that a number of new students was to be dispatched in January, 1847, and that arrangements were to be made for their reception at the Paris school.² He expected that the students in the first class would succeed in their final examinations and would then be attached to French schools in order to complete their training.³ Already Aḥmad Bey had declared his intention of joining the *Polytechnique* in Paris, a plan which was not only approved by Muhammad 'Alī but suggested to him that other students might be desirous of doing the same thing.⁴ A letter was sent to Paris inviting students to put their names down for admission to the *Polytechnique*; twelve wished to follow Aḥmad Bey, two from the first class, two from the second and eight from the third, but the French Minister objected to the idea and as a result of this opposition, only seven were allowed to go excluding Aḥmad Bey.⁵

Three examinations were held in the Egyptian School in December, 1846, one for each class. The number of students in the first class was sixteen; one, Muṣṭafā Bey Khūrshīd, had died and another, Ibrāhīm Ef. fell ill and had to be returned to Egypt. Four fell ill and could not sit for the examination; they were Manṣūr Ef. 'Aṭiyah, Muhammad Ef. Ismā'il, Ḥasan Ef. Aflāṭūn and Aḥmad Ef. As'ad; there remained ten only who could sit for the examination⁶ which was held as follows:

1st-4th Dec.	9th-12th Dec.	17th-23rd Dec.
trigonometry	chemistry	topography
descriptive geometry	physics	temporary fortifications
statistics	French	gunnery
hydraulics	history	military science
		theory
		military law

There were several additional subjects in which the students had to be prepared such as algebra, geometry, geography, military administration, strategy, military training, cavalry exercises, law and regimental duties.⁷

The ten candidates succeeded in the examination and were distributed in the French schools as follows:

¹ Loc. cit.

² Loc. cit.

³ Ibid., p. 212 seq.

⁴ Ibid., p. 216.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 212-3.

⁶ Ibid., p. 220.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 218-9.

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École de Metz :	Hammād Ef. 'Abdal-'Āṭī, 'Alī Ef. Ibrāhīm, 'Alī Ef. Mubārak,	} for training as artillery officers and military engineers.
École d'État major :	Hanafi Hind, Muḥammad Bey Sharīf, Sulaimān Ef. Najjātī, 'Uṭhmān Bey Ṣabrī,	
Saumur :	Shāfi'ī Ef. Raḥmī, Aḥmad Ef. as-Subkī,	} for training as cavalry officers.

Shahātah Ef. 'Isā was recommended to stay in the Egyptian School for another year although he had wished to go to the Cavalry School.¹

The nine students were attached to these schools with the rank of 2nd lieutenant. The Egyptian authorities wanted them all to live in the schools to which they were attached but the French Minister of War, while agreeing to this condition for the *École de Metz* and the *École d'État major*, did not do so for Saumur; he recommended that they should live in a private house outside the school and that they should use their own horses which were to be kept at the cost of the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian director (Estefān Bey) opposed this idea on the ground that Muḥammed 'Alī would not allow the students to take up private quarters; the result of the correspondence which followed between the Egyptian Government and the French Minister of War is not known.

The second class was examined as follows :

4th-7th Dec.	12th-15th Dec.	21st-24th Dec.
arithmetic	French	gunnery
algebra	history	fortifications
elementary geometry	geography	military science
trigonometry		military exercises
descriptive geometry		

The third class and the civil administration class were examined together in the following way :

4th-7th Dec.	21st-23rd Dec.
French	arithmetic
geography	elementary geometry

The second class had consisted of twenty-four students; by the end of 1846, two had dropped out, Fattāḥ Bey and 'Uṭhmān Bey, they appear to have left the school; Shākir Ef. had joined the School of Agriculture and Aḥmad Bey had joined

¹ Ibid., pp. 220-1.

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the *Polytechnique*; six others had joined the class for civil administration which left fourteen who passed the examination and were transferred to the first class.

There had originally been twenty-five students in the third section, three had joined the class for civil administration and seven had joined the *Polytechnique* with Aḥmad Bey, the remaining fifteen passed the examination and were attached to the second class.¹

These figures show the number of students who had joined the mission from 1844 to the end of 1846 to be sixty-five.² As mentioned above,³ the number is usually given as seventy but probably others have been included who had already been sent to France for the study of veterinary science, medicine and pharmaceuticals but who were accommodated in the school for the sake of convenience.⁴

The following is a list of the students who went to France during this period :—

1. Hammād Ef. 'Abdal-'Āṭī.
2. 'Alī Ef. Ibrāhīm.
3. 'Alī Ef. Mubārak.
4. Hanafi Ef. Hind.
5. Muḥammad Bey Sharīf.
6. Sulaimān Ef. Najjātī.
7. 'Uṭhmān Ef. Ṣabrī.
8. Shāfi'ī Ef. Ya'kūb Raḥmī.
9. Aḥmad Ef. 'Ajīlah as-Subkī.
10. Shahātah Ef. 'Isā.
11. Maṣṣūr Ef. 'Atīyah.
12. Ḥasan Ef. Aflātūn.
13. Muḥammad Ef. Ismā'il at-Tūbjī.
14. Muṣṭafā Bey Khūrshīd.
15. Ibrāhīm Ef. Jarkas.
16. Aḥmad Ef. As'ad.
17. Aḥmad Bey Rif' at.
18. Ḥusain Bey.
19. Murād Ef. Hilmī.
20. Muḥammad Ef. Khafājī.
21. Ḥasan Ef. Nūr-addīn.
22. 'Uṭhmān Bey Sharīf.
23. Muḥammad Ef. Shākir.
24. 'Abdal-Fattāḥ Bey.
25. Aḥmad Ef. Khalīl.
26. Kūčūk Ḥusain Bey.
27. Walī Bey Hilmī.
28. Aḥmad Bey Najīb.
29. Ḥusain Ef. Sulaimān.
30. Kūčūk 'Alī Ef.
31. Muḥammad Ef. Ṣādiq.
32. Aḥmad Ef. Khairallah.
33. Yūsuf Ef. Estefān.
34. Auhān Ef. Estefān.
35. Aḥmad Ef. Rāsikh.
36. Ṣālīh Bey.
37. Ṣādiq Ef. Salīm Shanan.
38. Muḥammad Bey Rāshīd.
39. 'Alī Bey Fahmī.
40. Muṣṭafā Bey Muṣṭafā Mukhtār.
41. 'Uṭhmān Bey Nūrī.
42. Ismā'il Bey.
43. Muḥammad 'Abdal-Ḥalīm Bey.
44. Khalīl Bey Sharīf.
45. 'Alī Bey Sharīf.
46. Muḥammad Ef. Rashshād.
47. Muṣṭafā Ef. Zuhdī.
48. Muḥammad Ef. 'Arīf.
49. Ḥusain Ef. Shakīb.
50. Betrō Ef.
51. Nūbār Ef.
52. Estefān Ef. Khashādūr.
53. Artīn Ef. Khashādūr.

¹ Ibid., p. 225.

² v. *supra*, p. 248.

³ Ibid., p. 226.

⁴ Ibid., p. 226.

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| 54. Būluş Ef. Lābī. | 60. Muştafā Ef. Ḥalīm. |
| 55. Abāzah Ef. Rāshid. | 61. 'Abdar-Rahmān Bey Maḥū. |
| 56. Muḥammad Ef. | 62. Khūrshid Ef. Fahmī. |
| 57. 'Alī Bey. | 63. Luṭfī Ef. |
| 58. Muḥammad Ef. Ḥasan. | 64. Muḥammad Ef. Shauḳī. |
| 59. Aḥmad Ef. Ḥilmī. | 65. Khūrshid Ef. Betrō. |

Mission sent to France in 1847 :—

66. Sa'id Ef. Naşr.

Others who were accommodated in the Egyptian School but who did not belong to the Military Mission :—

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|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 67. Badawī Ef. Sālim. | 75. Ḥasan Ef. ash-Shādhilī. |
| 68. Aḥmad Ef. Nadā. | 76. 'Abdal-'Aziz al-Hirāwī Ef. |
| 69. 'Abdallah Ef. as-Sayyid. | 77. Maḥmūd Ef. Yūnus. |
| 70. Ibrāhīm Ef. as-Subkī. | 78. Muḥammad Ef. ash-Shar-kāwī. |
| 71. 'Abdal-Hādī Ef. Ismā'il. | 79. 'Abdar-Rahmān Ef. al-Hirāwī. |
| 72. Muḥammad Ef. al-Faḥḥām. | 80. Ḥasan Ef. Ḥāshim. |
| 73. Muştafā Ef. al-Wāṭī. | |
| 74. 'Uṭhmān Ef. Ibrāhīm. | |

Mission sent to Austria in 1845 :—

81. Ḥusain Ef. 'Auf. 82. Ibrāhīm Ef. ad-Dasūḳī.

Mission sent to France to study Law in 1847 :—

83. }
84. } names unknown.
85. }
86. }
87. }

Mission sent to England to study Mechanics in 1847 :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 88. Ḥasan Ef. Dhū'l-Fikār. | 100. 'Alī Ef. Şālīh. |
| 89. Ismā'il Ef. Arnabūṭ. | 101. 'Abdallah Ef. Birūn. |
| 90. Aḥmad Ef. al-Mahdī. | 102. Ibrāhīm Ef. Sāmī. |
| 91. 'Uṭhmān Ef. 'Urff. | 103. Aḥmad Ef. Ṭal'at. |
| 92. 'Alī Ef. Şadiḳ. | 104. 'Isā Ef. Shāhīn. |
| 93. Khattāb Ef. 'Abdal-Mughīth. | 105. Sulaimān Ef. Sulaimān. |
| 94. Ismā'il Ef. Būshnāk. | 106. 'Umar Ef. 'Alī. |
| 95. 'Uṭhmān Ef. Yūsuf. | 107. 'Uṭhmān Ef. Dakrūrī. |
| 96. Salāmah Ef. al-Bāz. | 108. 'Abbās Ef. 'Abdan-Nūr. |
| 97. 'Alī Ef. Ḥasan al-Iskandar-ānī. | 109. 'Alī Ef. al-Fidāwī. |
| 98. Jaudat Ef. 'Awad. | 110. Sulaimān Ef. Ṭaha. |
| 99. Uṭhmān Ef. al-Ḳadī. | 111. Ghānim Ef. 'Abdar-Rahīm. |
| | 112. Sulaimān Ef. Mūsā. |

Mission of Carpenters sent to England in 1848 :—

- 113 to 133. names unknown.

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Resumé of missions sent to Europe 1809 to 1849 :—

Period	Names known	Names unknown
1809 to 1826	2	26
1826	44	—
1827 to 1836	91	17
1837 to 1843	2	34
1844 to 1849	107	236
	246	103 =TOTAL 349

Biographical Notes :

1. Born in Dair al-Junādalāh near Asyūt, 15th April, 1824; sent to local *kuttāb* then to Muḥammad 'Alī's *maktab* at Abū Tig in 1833; transferred to Cairo Preparatory School while Mukhtār was *Nāzir* of the *Diwān al-Madāris*; transferred to Engineering School under Lambert; chosen for mission in 1844 and made *Bāsh Shāwīsh* (sgt-maj.) in Paris on account of his good conduct and progress; he was top of the school in Paris and received three prizes. Joined *École de Metz* in 1847 with rank of 2nd Lieut. : stayed there two years then posted to the French Army with the rank of 1st Lieut. in order to get a year's service for experience. Ibrāhīm Pasha wanted him and his colleagues to stay a longer period in the French Army but the death of the Pasha prevented this. On his return to Egypt in 1849, he entered the army and was rapidly promoted. He was engaged with other officers in several engineering works and worked with Mougel Bey. Knew French, German, English, Turkish besides his own language. After holding many posts in the engineering services and in the army, he was appointed a judge in 1875; died 1904.

2. Born Fazārah near Asyūt, 1826; was chosen from the Artillery School for mission to France; second in the examination in 1846; sent to *École de Metz*. Returned to Egypt, 1849. Held several appointments in the army and War office. Under Ismā'il Pasha, he was made *Nāzir* of the Preparatory School; made Inspector of the Suez Canal in 1867, then held a post in the Public Works Dept. Made Minister of Education during Taufīḳ Pasha's reign. Made Minister of Justice in 1882; died 11th August, 1899.

3. 'Alī Mubārak was born in Birimbāl al-Gadīdah in the province of ad-Daḳahliyah, in 1824; his father taught him how to read and write; entered the government *maktab* then Kaşr al-'Ainī school in 1835; entered *Muhandishkhānah* in 1839; Paris, 1844; received second prize at Paris in 1846; sent to *École de Metz*, 1847; returned Egypt, 1849; made teacher at Artillery School; *Nāzir* of *Muhandishkhānah* from 1849; Sa'id Pasha sent him to the Crimea in 1855; held several government posts on his return; under Ismā'il Pasha, he was made *Nāzir* of the Delta Barrage in 1863; in 1867, made *Wakīl* of the Ministry of Education; in 1868, he was *Nāzir* of the Railways, Education and Public Works; in 1869, the *Aukāf* was

Note.—These biographies are given in various Arabic works, the names of which will be found in the bibliography; they are given here only briefly as an indication of the positions held by the mission men.

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also given to him; he did good work for the education of the Egyptians which will be discussed in the appropriate place; in 1871, he was made *Nāzir* of the Education Department and the other departments were given to various officials; he appears to have been put in charge of them all again later; he continued to hold many administrative and ministerial posts until he died in October, 1893. He wrote several works in Arabic the most important of which is his *al-Khitāt at-Taufikiyah* in twenty volumes.

4. Chosen from Artillery School; sent to *École d'État major*; entered French Army for a year; returned to Egypt, 1849; employed in the Egyptian Army on his return.

5. Born Cairo, 1823 (or 1826); his father had been the Chief Judge in Cairo and was a friend of Muḥammad 'Alī; he was sent to the High School (*École des Princes*) at al-Khānḳāh and to Paris in 1844; he was fifth in the examination in 1846; sent to *École d'État major*; returned to Egypt in 1849; held high posts in the Army and married a daughter of Sulaimān Pasha; he is the grandfather of Queen Nāzili; in 1858, he was made *Nāzir* of Foreign Affairs; he was made President of the Legislative Council in Ismā'il Pasha's reign and *Nāzir* of the Education Dept. in July, 1863; in August of the same year, he was made *Nāzir* of both the Interior and Foreign Affairs; in 1866, he was made President of the Private Council and then the Chamber of Deputies. He was Regent while Ismā'il Pasha was in Europe and Turkey in 1867. He held Ministerial posts for some time and was also Prime Minister several times. He died in 1887 (see especially Cromer's *Modern Egypt passim*).

6. Chosen from Cavalry school for mission to France; sent to *École d'État major*; returned to Egypt in 1849; became Director of the Military School at Alexandria under Sa'id Pasha; appointed to an administrative post in the Military Schools in al-'Abbāsiyah, Cairo, under Ismā'il Pasha; he was arrested in connection with the 'Arābī rebellion and confined to his house for some time; he was afterwards pardoned and appointed as a judge in the Mixed Courts.

7. His father was an officer in the service of Muḥammad 'Alī; he had emigrated from Turkey; 'Uthmān was apparently born in Cairo; sent to Paris in 1844, returned in October, 1849; he was crippled by a fall from his horse and compelled to accept civil appointments instead of serving in the army; he was employed in the Finance Department at first and then was employed as a private tutor in French and mathematics for the sons of the ruling family; under Taufiq Pasha, he was made Director of a special school opened for the sons of the Khedive, the Princes and members of the aristocracy; in 1886, he was appointed as a judge in the Mixed Courts and in 1889, he was made President of the Mixed Court of Appeal; died February, 1904.

8. Born in the province of Banī Suef, 20th Sept., 1828; entered the *maktab* of Būsh; transferred to Abū Za'bal, then to *Muhandis-khānah* in 1840; sent to Paris in 1844; sent to Saumur where he stayed for two years; he was made a Captain in the French Army and given the *Legion d'Honneur*; returned to Egypt in July, 1848; 'Abbās I sent him on exploration in Upper Egypt and in 1852, he was made a cavalry instructor; Sa'id Pasha made him a surveying

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engineer in the provinces of Banī Suef and al-Faiyūm in 1854; in 1855, he was employed as an engineer on the Suez Canal; he was later employed on other engineering works connected with irrigation; in 1868, he was appointed as an engineer in the Public Works Department; amongst other offices, he was placed in charge of the Customs at Damietta, later governor of Ismā'iliyah, then *Wakil* of the Governorate of Alexandria; he held other posts for a number of days at a time; he retired in April, 1888, and died in December, 1902.

9. Born in Subk ad-Dahhāk in the province of al-Minūfiyah; sent to the *maktab* of Manūf in 1833; transferred to Qaşr al-'Ainī then to the *Muhandis-khānah*; sent to Paris in 1844; afterwards to Saumur; appointed as cavalry officer on his return to Egypt; employed with Maḥmūd al-Falakī at map-making in Lower Egypt; later given a post as an engineer in the Public Works Dept.; he also served on other surveying projects connected with the railways and irrigation.

10. Chosen from the Cavalry School and sent to Paris in 1844; he had intended to join Saumur, but changed his mind and appears to have joined the *École d'État major*; he was employed in the army on his return and during the military reforms undertaken by Ismā'il Pasha with the help of a French Military Mission, he was put in charge of the Staff College at al-'Abbāsiyah.

11. Chosen from the *Muhandis-khānah* and sent to Paris in 1844; died in Paris, August, 1844.

12. Born, 1820; had studied in the High School at al-Khānḳāh and was then sent to the Artillery School from where he was chosen and sent to Paris in 1844; fell ill while in Paris, but was cured and sent to the *École de Metz*; he was appointed as an artillery officer on his return to Egypt; under Sa'id Pasha, he was made Director of the Military Workshops and in 1869, Ismā'il Pasha sent him to England to purchase war materials; he became *Wakil* of the War Department during two ministries; after the 'Arābī affair, he became *Nāzir* of the War Office; died, 1905.

13. Chosen from the Artillery School and sent to Paris in 1844; fell ill while in Paris; returned to Egypt about 1847 and was appointed as a teacher in the Artillery School, probably under Princeteau; very little is known about him.

14. His father was Khūrshīd Pasha who served under Muḥammad 'Alī; Muṣṭafā did not leave Egypt until three months after his colleagues; he died in Paris as a result of an accident in April, 1845.

15. Sent to Paris, 1844, but had to return in 1846 on account of bad health.

16. Sent to Paris, 1844; entered the French Army somewhat later than his colleagues owing to bad health.

17. Son of Ibrāhīm Pasha; educated at the High School at al-Khānḳāh; sent to Paris in 1844; won several prizes at the school but was attached to the *Polytechnique* before the final examinations in 1846; he returned to Egypt at the beginning of the reign of 'Abbās I, but owing to the bad feeling between 'Abbās and the rest of the family, Aḥmad played no part in public life; he was the heir apparent during the reign of Sa'id Pasha but was drowned 14th May, 1858, at Kafr az-Zayyāt; he was the father of Ibrāhīm

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Pasha Ahmad (father of Shēvikār Hānum, the late King Fu'ād's first wife), Ahmad Pasha Kāmil (father of Prince Yūsuf Kāmil) and 'Ain al-Hayāt Hānum (wife of Sultān Ḥusain Kāmil).

18. Muḥammad 'Alī's son; studies at the High School at al-Khānkāh; transferred to the Cavalry School from where he was chosen for mission to France; he died in Paris at the beginning of 1847 and was buried in Alexandria; his mother built a *sabīl* in his memory in Cairo in 1848 (in Shāri' Jāmi' 'l-Banāt, between Kaṭarat Mūsī and Kaṭarat al-Amīr Ḥusain) and the *Wakf* endowed by Ḥusain's mother in his name is famous for its charity.

19. Chosen from the Artillery School for mission to Paris; entered the French Army for a time; returned to Egypt and remained in the Egyptian Army until he became a *Liwā'*, he then entered the civil service and was appointed Governor of the province of al-Faiyūm; he was *Nāẓir* of the Department of Justice under Sharīf Pasha in 1879, but only for a few days; in 1881, he was appointed President of the Mixed Court of Appeal; died, 22nd August, 1885.

20. Born Minyat 'Afiyah in the province of al-Minūfiyah; was chosen from the *Muhandishkhānah* for mission to Europe; he joined the French Army for a time for practical experience like most of his colleagues; on his return to Egypt, he was not given employment immediately, but eventually he became a teacher in the military schools; under Ismā'il Pasha, he had a reputation as a teacher of fortifications, military works and topography; he assisted Larmée Bey (Pasha) in the reorganisation of the military schools during the reign of Ismā'il.

21. Born 1822, in Sanhūr al-Madīnah in the province of al-Gharbiyah; sent to the government *maktab* then to Kaṣr al-'Ainī; was chosen from the *Muhandishkhānah* in 1844 for mission to France; he undertook extensive engineering studies while in France and did not return to Egypt until 1854; he was employed on the railways in Egypt and was responsible for the lines laid to Daṣīk and aṣ-Ṣālihiyah; under Ismā'il Pasha, in 1873, he appears to have been disgraced but was re-employed in the Finance department and then the Public Works.

22. Son of Sharīf Pasha (*v. supra*, p. 232); appears to have been sent to Paris with his two brothers, Khalīl and 'Alī, before the opening of the Egyptian School, they were attached to the school in 1844; Uṭmān was not a diligent student and was attached to the class for civil administration; he wished to join the School of Agriculture, but when permission was refused, he escaped one Sunday (1st October, 1846) and probably went to Syria where his father had friends and property.

23. Chosen from the Cavalry School in 1844 for mission to France; he changed his mind about military studies while in Paris and took up agriculture instead; he fell ill and died, 21st Mar., 1848.

24. Sometimes referred to as Fattāḥ Bey; chosen from Cavalry School in 1844; he does not appear to have been very successful either at his studies or in private life; he was nearly imprisoned for debt while in France; he returned to Egypt 8th Oct., 1846.

25. Chosen from the Cavalry School for the 1844 mission; the

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authorities are somewhat confusing regarding Ahmad Khalīl, both Sarhān and Mubārak refer to a Ahmad Khalīl, one connected with the navy and the other with the engineering services.

26. Became known as Ḥusain Pasha Fahmī, son of 'Abdal-Karīm Bey who was a brother of Muḥarrām Bey, the Governor of Alexandria; Ḥusain was chosen from the Cavalry School and sent to Paris; studied in the Civil Administration class at Paris and then joined the Engineering School there; he returned to Egypt during the reign of 'Abbās I, and he was still on 22 years of age; he had artistic tastes and was very keen on Moslem Architecture; he drew up the plans for the *Rifā'i* Mosque, built the school opposite the *Aulād 'Anān* Mosque in Cairo and was responsible for the building of other government buildings; amongst other posts which he held was included the *wakīlship* of the *Dirwān al-Aukāf*, *mudīr* of the Customs at Alexandria and governor of Suez; when the *Dār al-Kutub* was opened, it was decided to have the manuscripts bound in modern bindings, Ḥusain bought up all the old bindings and kept them on show at his house in al-Labūdiyyah which was more like an Arab Museum. He died in 1891.

27. Son of 'Alī Ahmad Aghā, Ibrāhīm Pasha's *Khazīnah-dār*; was chosen from the Cavalry School in 1844; he held several posts in the government both in the Finance Department and in the Palace; he retired before Ismā'il Pasha was deposed. His three sons have distinguished themselves in Egypt; Ja'far Pasha Wali has been Minister several times, another is a professor in the Medical School and the third a professor of natural history in the Egyptian University.

28. Brother of 27; sent to France, 1844; he stayed in France some time after the Egyptian School was closed; during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha, he was sent to Constantinople where he was promoted to a high rank; Ismā'il Pasha recalled him and gave him a high post, but he died soon after his return.

29. Chosen from the Cavalry School in 1844; returned at the beginning of the reign of 'Abbās I, and was employed in the army but very little is known about him.

30. Son of Muṣṭafā aṭ-Ṭūbjī, an officer in Muḥammad 'Alī's army; he was already employed when he was chosen for the 1844 mission; he appears to have spent a time in the French Army for experience and returned at the beginning of the reign of 'Abbās; he was employed in the police and later in the Palace under Ismā'il Pasha.

31. Sent on mission in 1844 and spent some time with the French Army; he was employed in the Army on his return in which he was promoted to high rank. Ṣādiq (Pasha) is famous for his books on travels to the Holy Cities and another to Constantinople; he died in 1902.

32. Born at Damanhūr; sent to France in 1844 and on his return, held several administrative posts until he was made a judge in the Mixed Courts at Alexandria; he died in 1891.

33. Sent to France in 1844 and was attached to the class for Civil Administration; he did not return from France until 1862 when he was employed in the *Jihādīyah*; he was engaged in translating military codes.

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34. Brother of 33; sent to France 1844, and then to London in 1854; returned to Egypt in November, 1856; he studied civil administration.

35. Sent to France, 1844, and studied civil administration; returned, 1849; amongst the posts he held was the editorship of the *Wakā'i' Misriyah*; he had an excellent command of French and Turkish. Died, 1885.

36. Sent to France in 1844 and studied civil administration and later laws; his full name appears to have been Šāliḥ (Pasha) Sharmī and he held several important administrative posts in many departments.

37. Sent to France, 1844, and returned in 1857; he was appointed *Nāzir* of the Primary School in an-Nāširiya and then the Preparatory School in Darb al-Gamāmiz in 1876 and the *Muhandis-khānah* in 1887. He translated a book from French with Ismā'il Pasha al-Falaki.

38. Son of Ḥasan Pasha Ḥaidar; born, 1825; sent to France in 1844; he stayed in France until 1855; in the meantime, his father had returned to Constantinople with many other dignitaries owing to their disagreement with 'Abbās, Rāshid followed his father to Constantinople when he had finished his studies and was given employment in the Turkish Government; he became Governor of several provinces, including Syria and Bosnia; died, 1876.

39. The authorities are not certain as to whom this 'Ali Fahmī was.

40. Son of the infamous Muṣṭafā Mukhtār, *Nāzir Diwān al-Madāris*; sent to France in 1844; he held several important posts on his return including the *wakilship* of the Interior; in 1873, he was made *mudir* of the Gharbiyah province; he was later made Inspector of Upper Egypt and then Lower Egypt.

41. Brother of Kiānī Bey (Pasha) whose name has been met in connection with the members of the Council of the Schools Administration; 'Uthmān was already an employee when he was chosen for the mission of 1844; Kiānī returned to Constantinople during the reign of 'Abbās and 'Uthmān followed him on completion of his studies; on his arrival in Constantinople, he was given employment in the Turkish Army and rose to a high rank; he was sent on a special mission to Egypt in 1864 and died on his return to Constantinople in 1865.

42. Second son of Ibrāhīm Pasha; born, 1830; was educated in the High School at al-Khānḳāh; went to Vienna before he joined the Egyptian School in Paris; he became the Khedive of Egypt in 1863.

43. Son of Muḥammad 'Alī; born, 1831, and educated at the High School with Ismā'il; he was involved with the rest of the family with 'Abbās I, mostly over the inheritance; he held several high posts during the reign of Sa'id Pasha, including the *nāzirship* of the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah* and *Hakimdar* of the Sūdān; he became involved with Ismā'il over the succession to the throne of Egypt and went to Constantinople in order to put his case before the Sultān but without any success; he stayed there for the rest of his life and died in 1894.

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44. Brother of 22; studied civil administration; went to Constantinople and was employed in the diplomatic service; he became ambassador at Athens, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Paris, the latter post he was unable to take up; he also filled several Ministerial posts; he married Nāzili Hānum, the daughter of Muṣṭafā Fādil; Nāzili Hānum was reputed to have become involved with politicians, especially in Egypt. Khalil Pasha died in 1879.

45. Brother of 22 and 44; returned to Egypt after having completed his studies and was appointed on the staff of the Army; he retired early but was elected as President of the Legislative Assembly in 1884; he became involved with Maḥmūd Pasha ash-Shawārbī, a member of the same Council, Ḥusain Wāṣif Pasha, Governor of the Canal, Doctor 'Abdal-Ḥamīd ash-Shāfi'i, and other individuals in connection with the slave trade; they were all brought before a High Court of Discipline and were imprisoned; Sharif was able to avoid imprisonment on account of ill-health, but he had to resign his Presidency. He died in 1897.

46. Chosen from the Artillery School and sent to France in 1844; the authorities were not satisfied with him in Paris and he was returned to Egypt in 1848 on account of bad behaviour; he was disgraced on his return.

47. Was sent back with 46 for the same reason.

48. Was already an employee before being sent to France in 1844; he did well in France and received a prize for his progress; he returned to Egypt in March, 1855, and filled many posts in the government; 'Arif (Pasha) is best known in Egypt on account of his literary tastes and his excellent work for the revival of Arabic classical studies; he was responsible for the society called *The Society for the Publication of Useful Books* which also had a press called the *Maḥba'at al-Ma'arif* and which published many works; the society was under the patronage of Taufik Pasha and the Presidency of 'Arif Pasha. Unfortunately, 'Arif Pasha became involved in a political scandal on behalf of Ḥalīm Pasha and had to leave the country for Constantinople where he died.

49. Son of Aḥmad Aghā who was employed in the *Diwān al-Khidwī*; sent to Paris in 1844; on his return, he was employed in the administration and in 1874, was governor of Damietta.

50. Chosen in 1844 and did well in his studies in the Egyptian School; stayed in France until June, 1861; he also studied medicine and on his return to Egypt, was attached to the medical service of the Egyptian Army; according to Amīn Sāmī, he was the brother of Boghoş Bey; Tūsūn does not agree that Betrō was connected with Muḥammad 'Alī's *Nāzir* of Commerce and Foreign Affairs.

51. He was related to Boghoş and brought to Egypt by him and given employment; sent to Paris in 1844 and attached to the 3rd class where he received a prize; returned to Egypt in 1849 and was rapidly promoted to high posts in the railways and commerce departments and in 1865, was made *Nāzir* of Public Works; in 1866, he was made *Nāzir* of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister in 1878; he was Prime Minister again in 1884 until 1888 and for the third time in 1891 until 1895; died 1899.

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52. Sent to France in 1844 and returned 1856; appears to have been employed in the civil administration.
53. Probably a brother of 52 and appears to have been employed in the same way. (Armenian as 51 and 52).
54. As with Betrō, Nūbār, and the two *Khashādūrs*, he did not arrive until June, 1845; returned to Egypt in 1856; probably employed in the administration on his return but little is known of him.
55. Arrived in Paris, June, 1845; appears to have returned in September, 1887; in 1861, he was *mudīr* of al-Buhairah; in 1862, he was employed in the Legislative Assembly; in the registers, he is confused with other officials.
56. Studied at the High School at al-Khānkāh before going to Paris in June, 1845; returned in 1849, but little is known about him after that.
57. Sent in 1844, but nothing else is known about him.
58. Sent in 1844; stayed in France until 1852 and was then sent to England, he returned to Egypt in 1856; little is known of his activities after his return.
59. Sent in 1844 and returned in 1849; he was *Nāzīr* of the Military School opened by Sa'id Pasha in the Citadel from 1858 to 1861; he was later employed in the Foreign Affairs Department.
60. Sent in 1844; his father was a shaikh and lived in Darb al-Aḥmar; he returned in 1849, but little is known about his work except that he was given the title of Bey.
61. His father, Maḥū Bey, was *Hakīmḍār* of the Sūdān under Muḥammad 'Alī in 1824; sent to Paris in June, 1845; fell ill and returned in 1847; he died soon after his return.
62. Arrived in Paris in June, 1845; appears to have returned in 1849; little is known of him except that he was a good Turkish and French scholar.
63. Sent to Paris in June, 1845; returned in 1849; nothing else known about him.
64. Sent in June, 1845 and returned in March, 1855; he was employed in the army and in 1866, was promoted to the rank of *Bimbāshī*.
65. Sent to France in June, 1845; returned in 1856; was employed in the army until about 1859 and then made *wakīl* of the governorate of Muṣawwa'; nothing else is known about him.
66. He was the son of the *Imām* of the mission, and was sent to France in 1847 while he was only eight years of age; he was sent to the Saint Louis school and later to Saint Cyr; he was attached to the French army and was promoted to the rank of Captain; he returned to Egypt in 1861; he was employed in the Military School until 1864, then the railways until 1865; from 1865 to 1866, he was in the Public Works Department and then from 1866 to 1879, he was an instructor in the Military School; from 1879 to 1880, he was in charge of the Translation Bureau in the Finance Department; he was made European Secretary to the Governor of the Red Sea Coast until 1881 and then appointed teacher of French at the Military School for a couple of months in the same year; in 1881, he was made a judge in the Mixed Courts and in 1903, was

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- made Honorary President of the same Courts and was made a Pasha; he died in 1905.
67. Sent to France in 1845 and returned in 1847; he had studied in the School of Pharmaceutics before leaving for France and was sent to study chemistry and soap making; on his return, he was made a teacher in his old school.
68. As with 67, he had studied at the same school, and was sent to France for the same purpose; he returned in 1847; he was employed as a teacher at various schools, the Medical School, the *Muhandishkhānah*, the Military School and later, the Agricultural School under Ismā'il Pasha. He translated a number of works on Botany, Zoology, Chemistry and Physics besides writing for the *Raḡdat al-Madāris*; died, 1877.
69. His father was a shaikh (Sayyid Idrīs) who lived near al-Fashn; he was first of all sent to al-Azhar and then chosen for the School of Languages and sent to Paris to learn civil administration; he stayed about six years in France and on his return was attached to the translation department of Schools Administration; under Sa'id Pasha, he was employed in the Finance Department and under Ismā'il Pasha, was made President of the Chamber of Commerce in Alexandria; in 1875, he was made an adviser in the Court of Appeal in the same town, but he died in 1876.
70. Was already an employee when chosen for mission in 1845; he returned in July, 1848, and was employed in Veterinary School.
71. Was already an employee when sent to France in 1845; on his return in July, 1848, he was given a post in the Veterinary School; under Ismā'il Pasha, he was made *Nāzīr* of the Veterinary School; he wrote a book on his subject, for the use of Cavalry and Artillery Officers.
72. Studied at the School of Medicine in Cairo before being sent to France to study the same subject; sent 1845 and returned in 1847; he was probably employed at his old school.
73. Studied at the School of Medicine; in 1842, he was a *Yūzbāshī* in charge of a translation department under Rifā'ah; in 1845, he was sent to France to study medicine and returned in 1847 and was attached to the School of Medicine and eventually became *wakīl* of the School, but in 1858, he was disgraced on account of neglect of duty; he was re-employed in the following year and died in April, 1864.
74. Had studied medicine before going to France to specialise in dentistry; he was sent in 1845 and returned in 1847 and appointed as teacher at his old school.
75. Had studied under Rifā'ah in the School of Languages; was sent to France in 1844 to study civil administration; he stayed in France until 1849; on his return, he was appointed as a teacher of his subject in the School of Languages.
76. Had studied in the School of Pharmaceutics and was sent to France in 1845 in order to study Physics and Chemistry; he did not return until 1863 and was employed in the Health Department; he was later given employment in the mint and then made *Nāzīr* of the gunpowder factory in Old Cairo.
77. Studied medicine and was sent to France in 1847; returned

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in March, 1855; probably employed at the School of Medicine on his return.

78. Had studied at the School of Pharmaceutics; sent to France in 1847 to study the same subject; died in 1862.

79. Studied Medicine and was sent to France in 1847 for the same subject; returned in 1855; on his return, he was made teacher of physiology and skin diseases; became *wakil* of the School of Medicine in 1880; died, 1906.

80. Born in Cairo, 1925; studied in the School of Pharmaceutics and sent to France in 1847 for the same subject; he later took up medicine, specialising in obstetrics; he returned to Egypt in 1862 and was given various posts in the School of Medicine and was eventually made *wakil* of the school; he was sent on special missions to the Sūdān and to the Hījāz; died in 1879.

The Egyptian School was closed in May, 1849,¹ by 'Abbās Pasha in order to effect some economy in the budget; by this time, the Egyptian students who were still studying in France were working in French schools. From the biographical notes on the students who were attached to this mission, the experiment seems to have been more successful than any previously made; the students were all under one control and they were allowed more liberty in the choice of subjects of study. Many of the students still appear to have been Turkish or Armenian. The School received the full support of Ibrāhīm Pasha who was undoubtedly interested in it from the point of view of producing good officers; he had made up his mind to send another mission of very young students² but he died before he could do so.

The following biographical notes are given for the other students who were sent to Austria and England during the same period:—

81. Studied medicine and surgery in Cairo and sent to Austria in January, 1845; he studied ophthalmology and when he returned to Cairo in 1846, he was made a teacher of his subject; he died in 1883.

82. He was sent to Austria for the same purpose as 81 and when he returned to Egypt was employed as a teacher in the same school.

83 to 87. Five Azharīs were sent to France to study law in 1847 but their names are not known.

88. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 to learn mechanics; returned about 1850 and was employed on the railways.

89. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* and sent to England in 1847 as 88; returned in 1852; employed for some time looking for gold in the Sūdān and was later probably employed on the railways; his name is most likely *Arna'ūt* instead of *Arnabūt* as given in the official registers.

¹ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 370.

² Loc. cit.

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90. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* and sent to England in 1847 and was probably employed on the railways on his return in 1852.

91. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* and sent to England to learn mechanics in 1847; he returned in 1850 and was employed on the railways; he was master of several stations, then *wakil* of the *Diwān al-Kumruk* (Customs) then appointed judge in the Mixed Courts in Alexandria in June, 1875; in August, 1882, he was made Prefect of Police in Alexandria and in February, 1883, Governor of Alexandria until May, 1893, when he was put on pension with the title of Pasha; he died in 1901.

92. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* and sent to England in 1847 to study mechanics and railway administration and management; returned in 1853; on his return, he was employed on the railways; he was master of several stations and eventually became General Manager of the Railways; in June, 1876, he became Governor of Cairo; he then was made General Manager of Railways which were then being built in the Sūdān (in 1876) and then *Ma'mūr* of the Finance Department in the same country; in September, 1877, he was made *Ma'mūr* of the Alexandrian Police; he was then chosen for the Khedive's *Muhtadār* and made President of the Committee of Investigation into the 'Arābī rebellion; in 1882, he was *Nāzir* of the Finance Department; he died in 1890.

93. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 for the same purpose as the above, but was sent back from England in July, 1848 for disobedience to his teacher for which he was given five years' hard labour on his return "as a lesson to himself and an example to others."

94. He was an engineer in the *Diwān al-Madāris* when he was chosen to go to England to study mechanics in 1847; he returned in 1853 and was at first given employment in the Railways Department and then in the workshop of the 'Amaliyāt; he went back to the Railways after a time and was promoted in 1866 to *Amīralāi*; died, 1897.

95. He was a draughtsman in the *Diwān al-Madāris* when he was chosen for mission to England in 1847; returned to Egypt, 1853, and was appointed in the Carriage Building Department of the Railways; he built one particular carriage for Sa'id Pasha which was called after him as 'Arabat 'Uthmān Yūsuf.

96. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England to study mechanics; returned to Egypt in 1855; he was appointed in the Telegraph Dept. of the Railways; he was replaced by an Englishman during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha and placed on pension.

97. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England; returned in 1853 and was employed on the Railways. Married to an Englishwoman.

98. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England; returned in 1856; he was employed on the Railways and then in the Carriage Building Department for a long time; he had bad eye trouble and resigned to settle down in England where he had an English wife. He died in England.

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99. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England from where he returned in 1856; he was an engineer in the Carriage Building Dept. and then a Carriage Inspector; was married to an Englishwoman.

100. Was chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England from where he returned in 1851; nothing is known about him.

101. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England from where he returned in 1853; nothing else is known about him.

102. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England; his date of return is not known; was employed on the Railways.

103. Chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England, but his date of return is not known; he was first of all employed on the Railways but he suffered from diabetes and had to retire.

104. Was chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1848 and sent to England from where he returned in 1856; he was employed in the Railways Administration.

105. Was chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and when he returned from England, he was employed as a translator in the Railways Administration.

106. Was chosen from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and sent to England; when he returned in 1852, he was appointed as a teacher in the *Madrasat al-'Amaliyāt*.

107. Sent to England from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and when he returned in 1852, was appointed in the *Madrasat al-'Amaliyāt*; he was later made an engineer in the Sugar Factories at Armant.

108. Sent to England from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 and returned in 1856; was employed on the Railways.

109. Sent to England in 1847 from the *Muhandiskhānah* and returned in 1856; nothing else is known about him.

110. Sent to England in 1847 from the *Muhandiskhānah* and returned in 1851 but nothing else is known about him.

111. Sent to England in 1847 from the *Muhandiskhānah* and returned in 1852 when he was employed in the Railways Administration.

112. Sent from the *Muhandiskhānah* in 1847 to England and returned in 1856; on his return, he was employed as a telegraph engineer.

113-133. The carpenters were chosen from among the artisans of the Alexandria Dockyards and were sent on the *Sharkīyah*, an Egyptian frigate built in these dockyards.

The School of Languages

This school, already referred to above in various places,¹ deserves special attention. It was placed under the director-

¹ v. *supra*, pp. 150, 197, 198, 219, 220-1, 235-6, 237, 240 and 243.

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ship of Rifā'ah who had been called upon to share in the re-organisation of the schools.¹

Rifā'ah had been a student and a teacher of al-Azhar before being employed by Muḥammad 'Alī. He had studied under the best Azharī teachers² and was particularly attached to Shaikh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār who used to give him lessons in history, geography and literature. Poverty forced him to seek employment, for when Muḥammad 'Alī had confiscated the *iltizamāt* in the early years of his reign, the family of Rifā'ah had been affected thereby, and while Rifā'ah was studying at al-Azhar, his mother had had to sell a part of her jewellery and private property in order to help him.³

Muḥammad 'Alī gave him a post as Imām and preacher to one of the regiments and he was later chosen for the education mission of 1826 to serve in the same capacity.⁴ Immediately he was appointed, he began to learn French, and during his stay in France, he attracted the attention of Jomard and de Sacy who encouraged him to take up the study of literature, geography and history and to specialise in the art of translation. He could never pronounce French very well, probably, according to Majdī,⁵ because he began to study it late in life or because he gave too much attention to writing his translations, his principal object being the understanding of the French texts in order to translate them rather than the reproduction of a perfect French accent. It is doubtful whether he was able to make sufficient contacts with French speaking people while in France and so acquire fluency. Even while he was in France, he began his translations from French into Arabic; he translated several works on history, geography, mineralogy, geometry, astronomy, law, mythology, hygiene and other subjects, which suggests that he must have read a great deal and much more than the other members of the mission who had been set to work on military and purely technical studies. Rifā'ah read Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and Racine, and wrote, in addition to his translations, the only human document of his age, namely his *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, generally referred to as the *Rihlah* or "Journey (to Paris)."⁶

¹ v. *supra*, p. 191 *seq.*

² Among his best teachers can be named Shaikhs al-Faddālī, Ḥasan al-Kuwaisnī, ad-Damhūjī, an-Najjārī, 'Abdal-Ghanī ad-Dumyāṭī, Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, Muḥammad Ḥubaish and ad-Damanhūrī.

³ Majdī, *Ḥikyat az-Zaman*, MS. p. 15.

⁴ Ibid., p. 17, and *supra*, pp. 162, 167.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 18.

⁶ Published by the Būlāk Press in 1834.

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It is the most interesting of his literary efforts, for it reflects the mentality of the Azharī preacher in his comparisons, criticisms and exhortations. This work was translated into Turkish by Rustum Ef.¹ under the title of *Siyāhat Nāmeḥ* and had a wider circulation in Turkish than in Arabic, for Muḥammad 'Alī had it distributed to all his officials and had copies sent to Constantinople.

Some of his translations were probably sent off to Egypt for, on his return to Egypt in 1831, he was appointed chief translator in the School of Medicine in the place 'Anḥūrī. He did not contribute much towards the translation work done in the School of Medicine, and was transferred to the Artillery School at Ṭurā in 1833 where he translated several works on military science and engineering. In 1834, he went to Ṭaḥṭā to avoid the plague which had broken out in Cairo and during his stay in his native town, he finished a translation of a part of Maltbrun's work on geography² for which Muḥammad 'Alī promoted him to the rank of *Ṣāghakūl Aghāsī*. He continued at the Artillery School but he does not appear to have been satisfied with his position. In 1836, probably in connection with his work on the Councils that were deliberating on the reorganisation of the school's administration, he drew up a plan for the opening of the School of Translation which Muḥammad 'Alī accepted and the school was set up in the palace of Alfī Bey in al-Azbakiyah in June, 1836, under the *nāẓir*ship of a certain Ibrāhīm Ef.³ but Rifā'ah took over in January of the following year. With the reorganisation of the schools in 1836-37, the School of Translation was now called the School of Languages⁴ but it would be misleading to think of this school merely as an institution where languages were taught. In spite of Pellissier's adverse opinion on Rifā'ah's school,⁵ it seems to have been the most useful and most appropriate type of school where men were produced who could render a certain amount of good service to their country and who could fit in to the newly created administrations without being altogether divorced from their old cultural surroundings and without becoming so thoroughly ottomanised as were the graduates of the purely military schools. Rifā'ah was an Azharī of the best type

¹ Published by the Būlāḳ Press in 1840.

² Majdī, op. cit., pp. 23-4. The work was eventually published in three large volumes in 1254 (1838).

³ v. *supra*, p. 150.

⁴ v. *supra*, p. 198.

⁵ v. *supra*, p. 240.

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and so represented the old school; he had also drawn on the West that knowledge which was best suited to widen the intellectual outlook of his compatriots without forcing them to specialise too narrowly in subjects which were only useful for war. With a school under his control, and he was the only pure Egyptian to be in such a position, he chose his students from Upper Egypt; they were his own provincials whom he could understand and who spoke his language. At the beginning, there were only fifty of them but their numbers were soon increased to three times that number and were recruited from all over Egypt. At first, Arabic, Turkish, French, mathematics, history and geography were taught; later, Italian and English were added to the curriculum, but in 1842, when the system broke down and Muḥammad 'Alī was forced to cut down the number of schools, Rifā'ah was given further responsibilities.

The Preparatory School at Abū Za'bal had been closed down in January, 1842, and, according to Ṣāliḥ Majdī¹, the students were transferred to the palace in which Rifā'ah was directing the School of Languages and were placed under his control, probably still forming a Preparatory School. This may have been the one which Pellissier visited in 1849, although it is not referred to in the official records as a Preparatory School. About the same time, another important school or branch was opened under Rifā'ah in the same building, viz., the School of Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, and, still further, a School of Accountancy. Probably the various attempts to open such schools were now amalgamated into one,² and a School of European Administration, probably that which had been functioning in the Citadel under Artīn³ and Solon's School of Administrative Law,⁴ were now combined. All these schools were placed under Rifā'ah with the name of *Madrasat al-Alsun wa'l-Muḥāsabah*, i.e., the School of Languages and Accountancy, and in 1849, on the accession of 'Abbās I, it had 320 students⁵ altogether, whereas, in 1839-40, as the School of Languages, it had only 137.⁶

Contemporary writers record nothing of this development but state that the School of Languages no longer existed as such and had become a mere Translation Bureau.⁷ Actually what happened in 1842 was that a Translation Bureau was formed from the best students⁸ and others were posted either as teachers

¹ Op. cit., p. 25.

² v. *supra*, p. 149.

³ Sāmī, *al-Ta'lim*, p. 15.

⁴ v. *supra*, pp. 235-6 and 240.

⁵ v. *supra*, pp. 207-8, 218-9.

⁶ v. *supra*, p. 219.

⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁸ Majdī, op. cit., p. 25.

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to the remaining schools or to administrative posts. The school as a whole remained open until May, 1851, and probably the language teaching side of it was less important, but during the earlier period, i.e., up to 1842, Rifā'ah produced many young men who, later on, contributed considerably towards the creation of new cultural élites in Egyptian society. The mere fact that the school was under the capable and learned Rifā'ah, a man who appreciated his own religious culture to the full but also realised that it had many faults and gaps which could only be remedied and filled in by borrowing from the best, meant that some effort would be made at this school to teach a combination of Islamic and Western learning that would benefit the students.

Besides the languages, history, geography and mathematics, Islamic and French law were taught, and this must have been the first secular institution in Egypt where Islamic law was placed on the curriculum. Rifā'ah's staff consisted of several of the best known shaikhs from al-Azhar; they included Muḥammad ad-Damanhūrī, who was afterwards transferred to the *Maktab al-Ālī*; 'Alī al-Farghalī al-Anṣārī, Ḥasanain al-Ghamrāwī, who returned to al-Azhar in due course; Muḥammad Ḳuṭṭāh al-'Idwī, who played a great part in the formation of the new technical terms and in the correcting of the books published by the Būlāḳ Printing Press; Aḥmad 'Abdar-Raḥīm at-Taḥṭāwī, 'Abdal-Mun'im al-Girgāwī, Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, Muḥammad al-Marṣafī, Muḥammad Abū's-Su'ūd, Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī and Khalīl ar-Raḥīdī; some of them taught grammar, prosody and language, while the last two taught Islamic Law according to the Ḥanafī rite.¹ The names of the Turkish and European teachers are not known; after 1842, it would appear that the natives themselves took over the teaching of the European languages.²

Fortunately, we have the names of some of Rifā'ah's students preserved in the work left by Ṣāliḥ Majdī and they seem to have been as proud to have studied under him as did the mosque students in former times when they had read under a particularly good and universally known teacher. The following list of the more important names will suffice to show Rifā'ah's influence. It is comparatively easy to trace a fuller history of many of them; some were sent to Europe to specialise but the list will show that much praise is due to Rifā'ah not only for his efforts in the field of literature and translation, but for his very large share in

¹ Majdī, op. cit., p. 42 seq.

² Majdī, ibid., p. 47.

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helping to form a type of man who could take part in the administration of the country and of which Egypt had such great need.

Amongst the Students who entered the School in 1836-7:—

Name	Occupation
Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Bayyā'.	European correspondence departments.
Khalīfah Mahmūd.	Translator.
Abū's-Su'ūd.	Writer, translator, editor of the <i>Wādī an-Nīl</i> newspaper founded in 1866; history teacher.
Muḥammad 'Abdar-Razzāḳ.	Translator.
'Abdal-Jalīl.	Translator. Private secretary to Ismā'il Pasha.
Ibrāhīm Marzūḳ.	Poet. Employed in the Sūdān.
Shahātah 'Isā.	<i>v. supra</i> , p. 251, No. 10.
Ḥanafī Hind.	<i>v. supra</i> , p. 251, No. 4.
Muḥammad al-Ḥulawānī.	Translator.
'Abdar-Raḥmān Aḥmad.	Translator.
Ḥasan Fahmī.	Translator. Employed Railways.
Aḥmad 'Ubaid.	<i>v. supra</i> , p. 222, No. 2.
Ramaḍān 'Abdal-Ḳādir.	Translator.
Ḥasan al-Jubailī.	Translator.
Sa'd Majdī.	Teacher and translator.
Muḥammad as-Simsār.	Translator. Employed Police Dept.
Muḥammad al-Ḳūṣī.	Translator. Employed Passport Dept. (European.)
Ḥasanain 'Alī ad-Dīk.	Teacher and translator.
'Uṭhmān ad-Duwainī.	Writer and judge.
Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī.	<i>v. supra</i> , p. 252, No. 75.
Aḥmad 'Ayyād.	Translator.
'Atīyah Raḍwān.	Teacher and translator.
Muḥammad Zahrān.	Teacher.

Amongst the Students who entered the School in 1837

'Abdallah as-Sayyid.	<i>v. supra</i> , p. 252, No. 69.
Muṣṭafā as-Sarrāj.	Translator. Employed Foreign correspondence dept.
Ṣāliḥ Majdī.	Teacher, writer, poet, translator.
Muḥammad Rushdī.	Translator. Foreign correspondence dept.
Muḥammad at-Tayyib.	Teacher and translator.
Muḥammad al-Buḥairī.	Teacher.
Muḥammad Sulaimān.	Translator and teacher; one of the first to specialise in English.
Khūrshīd Fahmī.	<i>v. supra</i> , p. 252, No. 62.
'Alī Salāmah.	Teacher.
Ḥusain Khāḳī.	Went to Constantinople.

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Name	Occupation
'Abdas-Salām Sulmī.	Translator. Foreign correspondence dept.
Ḳāsim Muḥammad.	Translator English and French. Employed Railways.
'Alī Shukrī.	Translator.
Muḥammad Lāz.	Translator and teacher.
Muṣṭafā Ṣafwat.	Translator.
Muṣṭafā al-Karīdalī.	Knew Greek, Arabic, French and Turkish. Translator. Employed in Palace.
Muḥammad Zuyūr al-Labīb.	Translator and employed in Palace.
Aḥmad Ṣafī-addīn.	Translator and employed on Railways.
'Uṭhmān Fauzī.	Administrator.
as-Sayyid 'Imārah.	Translator and employed in Public Works Dept.
Manṣūr 'Azmi.	Knew Italian and French; employed in schools dept.
Baḥr Aḥmad.	Translator. Employed in Health Dept.
Ḥasan Ḳāsim.	Translator. Employed in Alexandria Municipality.
Ḳāsim As'ad.	Translator and teacher.
Isma'īl Sirrī.	Translator and famous calligraphist.
Ḥasan 'Isawī.	Accountant.
Muṣṭafā Abū Zaid.	Teacher and translator.
Murād Muḥṭār.	School director; knew Greek, French, Turkish and Arabic; famous calligraphist.
Ḥasan Wafā'ī.	Calligraphist and employed in Waḳf dept.

Names of some of the students who entered the school shortly after 1837 :—

Muḥammad Shīmī.	Accountant. Worked on Railways. Translator.
Muḥammad Ḳadrī.	The most important translator of law books and writer on the same subject. His voluminous works are still in use.
Muḥammad 'Uṭhmān Jalāl.	Writer and translator. Famous for his translations from French literature. Employed in War dept.
'Abdas-Samī' 'Abdar-Raḥīm.	Writer and translator on law.
Aḥmad Ḳhairallah.	Translator and employed in Alexandria Governorate.
Aḥmad Maḥmūd.	Translator.

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Name	Occupation
Baḥr 'Abdallah.	Chief Clerk in Foreign Affairs dept.
'Ubaidallah Maḥfūz.	Arabic correspondence dept. al-Gīzah <i>mudīriyah</i> .
Ḥasan Yūsuf.	Storekeeper.
'Umar Ṣabrī.	Employed on the Railways.
'Alī Rashshād.	Employed on the Railways.
Aḥmad Ḥilmī.	Translator and employed in the Foreign Affairs dept.
'Abdallah Yūsuf.	Translator, Accountant and employed in the Foreign Affairs dept.
Imām.	Translator and employed in the Foreign Affairs dept.
Matwallī Maḥmūd.	Translator and employed in the Customs.

While directing this combined school of languages, law, administration and accountancy, Rifā'ah was rapidly promoted to the rank of *Amīrālāi*; his fate under the successors of Muḥammad 'Alī will be dealt with in the subsequent chapters.

Non-Governmental Education Work

During Muḥammad 'Alī's reign, several attempts were made to set up schools either by private persons or by missionaries. Missionary and non-Egyptian schools had already been in existence in Egypt during the eighteenth century but during the first two decades of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign, very little is heard about them, and apparently little effort was made to develop them.

The Armenian School

The first private school set up under Muḥammad 'Alī was that of the Armenians in 1828; it was attached to the Orthodox Church at Būlāk¹ and appears to have been an elementary school. It was undoubtedly due to the influential position of the Armenian community at Court that it was encouraged to give some attention to the education of its children. We have only to mention the names of Boghoṣ, Artīn, Estēfān, Hekekyān and Yūsuf Ef. who were all in good positions and who received Muḥammad 'Alī's favour and marked attention.

The School of Languages

On the 30th November, 1829, a certain Uwais as-Sam'ānī

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 13, and Amici, *Essai de Statistique générale de l'Égypte* Cairo, 1879, p. 249. The school appears to have been transferred later to *Khurun-fish* in the Armenian quarter.

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ar-Rumānī opened a school in al-Mūsī in which he taught Arabic, French and Italian; he also taught in private houses.¹ Uwais is called a European in the authorities quoted but he was probably a Syrian who had lived in Italy or France for some time and had returned to Egypt to seek his fortune; the school appears to have taught nothing else but languages and it is significant that there was a private demand for language instruction.

The Jewish Schools

In 1840, Adolphe Crémieux, Sir Moses Montefiore and Solomon Munk went to Syria and Egypt in connection with the alleged ritual murder of the Catholic priest, Père Thomas, at Damascus, and a Christian child by Elyakim de Léon at Rhodes in the same year. These two incidents seem to have been the result of anti-Jewish feelings and were followed by a considerable persecution of the Jews, especially in Syria. Through the joint efforts of Crémieux, Montefiore and Munk, a *firmān* was issued by the Sultān on the 18th October, 1841,² which settled the dispute for the time being. While Crémieux was in Egypt, his public spirit led him to the conclusion that much could be done for the moral and material improvement of the condition of his co-religionists and he decided to make some attempt to establish schools for them. Solomon Munk, who was a Hebrew and Arabic scholar, was asked to make an appeal to the Jews of the two towns, Cairo and Alexandria, to assemble in order to discuss the matter with him.³

Two schools were set up in Cairo on the 4th October, 1840,⁴ one for boys and the other for girls; the schools were called *Ecoles Crémieux* but the Jews declared that they could not afford to maintain them themselves, whereupon Crémieux promised them pecuniary aid which he at first provided himself.⁵ This attempt to set up schools for the Jews is mentioned by Hamont,⁶ who was struck by the bearing of the children. It would appear that other children were allowed to attend these schools as the Jewish children were made to distinguish themselves by wearing badges on their breasts on which was stamped the name of the school.⁷

¹ *Takwīm*, II/357, and *Wakā'i Misriyah*, No. 89, 3rd *Jamādā II*, 1245.

² Gallanti, *Turcs et Juifs*, Stambul, 1932, p. 16 *seq.*; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol. IV, pp. 345-8.

³ Posener, *Adolphe Crémieux*, Paris, 1933, I/242-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242, and Amici, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7.

⁵ Posener, *ibid.*, p. 243.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, I/381-2.

⁷ Hamont, *op. cit.*, Vol. I/382.

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These schools were badly needed for the Jewish community was growing very rapidly; by the middle of the nineteenth century, there were 6,000 indigenous Jews and 200 Italian Jews in Cairo alone;¹ after the digging of the *Mahmūdīyah* Canal, there was a great movement of Jews to Alexandria but no mention is made of any modern school of their own at this period.

The Greek Schools

The Greek Schools of Cairo and Alexandria that were in use up to the beginning of the nineteenth century have been described as far as possible in an earlier chapter of this work.² Politis proves by notes written by the Patriarchs that the schools not only existed in Cairo up to 1825³ but gradually developed on a larger scale.⁴ Politis makes no attempt to give an account of the activities of the school between 1825 and 1848, the school had probably closed down and was reopened in 1843 under the name of the Hyppapanti Greek Orthodox School.⁵ During the interval, the Greeks probably went to Muḥammad 'Alī's schools; St. John mentions that the Kaṣr al-'Ainī school had many Greek pupils accommodated in it.⁶

During the period under discussion, the Greek colony in Cairo did not develop with the rapidity and progress of that of Alexandria; Politis puts it down to the fact that the Cairo colony was of old standing and that the Cairene Greeks had not the energy of the new arrivals who settled in Alexandria for the most part; the Cairene Greeks were generally of modest means and had not such opportunities for making money as at Alexandria.⁷ He maintains that they had the only Greek school in Egypt until that of Alexandria was established in 1843.⁸ The Cairo Greek Orthodox Community did not organise itself until during the reign of Sa'īd Pasha.⁹

To return to the Greek school in Cairo, it appears that it was situated in the Ḥamzāwī quarter¹⁰ and by 1848 had two classes on account of the large number of students, but the staff does not

¹ *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol. V, pp. 66-7.

² *v. supra*, p. 91.

³ Politis, *op. cit.*, I/109.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I/411.

⁵ Amici, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-7, and Dor Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 288, who gives the date as 20th May, 1843.

⁶ St. John, *op. cit.*, II/398.

⁷ Politis, *op. cit.*, I/318.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

⁹ Politis, *op. cit.*, I/318.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

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appear to have been very large. The classes are said to have been divided into an elementary, a Greek primary and a French school with three teachers, though how this was affected with only two classes is not quite clear;¹ in 1848, there is mention of an additional teacher for Arabic.² The financial means of the school were insufficient to maintain it on a proper basis. The Patriarch accordingly appealed to the Cairene Greeks for donations, but as this appeal did not achieve much success, he had recourse to the richer Greeks of Alexandria, including Michel Tossizza, Constantin Tossizza, Jean d'Anastasy and Etienne Zizinia, for a supply of books to form a school library for the use of both teachers and students.³ The Cairo school appears to have continued under the care of the Patriarch of Alexandria until 1856, the date of the formation of the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo.⁴

The Alexandrian Greeks had a much better opportunity of forming an organised community and must have had greater vitality and initiative than their Cairene compatriots who had to depend on the charity of the former for the maintenance of their school.⁵ The Alexandrian community was founded in 1843⁶ and eventually became the model for similar organisations all over Egypt.⁷ As the community grew, the necessity was felt for a hospital and a school; a general meeting was held in February, 1843, the proceedings of which are available, and subscription lists were opened with a view to establishing both the school and the hospital. Forty-five Greeks gave the total amount of PT.9,245 for the hospital, while one hundred and seventy-six gave PT.25,934 for the school; the names of the Tossizza brothers, Anastasy, Stournara and Zizinia are prominent in the list of subscribers.⁸ Politis points out that a school *was* already in existence before 1843⁹ but that of 1843 was a regular school established by the community on a sound basis; the earlier one was most probably connected with the church or perhaps established by the Tossizza brothers and Stournara as suggested by Politis.¹⁰

The new "communal" school had its first set of regulations

¹ Ibid., p. 411. Politis establishes his facts on material found in the archives of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch in Alexandria.

² Ibid., p. 412, note 1. The name of the Arabic teacher is not given; M. Pierre Coustouroupis taught French (ibid., p. 411).

³ Ibid., p. 412.

⁴ Ibid., p. 412.

⁵ Ibid., p. 403.

⁶ Ibid., I/263 and I/265.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 412-3.

⁸ Ibid., p. 249.

⁹ Politis, op. cit., I/261.

¹⁰ Ibid., I/404.

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on the 31st May, 1843, drawn up by Stanatios Proios, Georges Minotto and Jean Ivos. It was still relatively small and it had only two masters, Samaripas and Coroneos, and a supervisor; it did not yet possess its own buildings but had to rent a house. A proper school building was not erected until 1854 on a site given by Michel Tossizza.¹ The expenses of the school for the year 1844 were PT.24,525, and in 1855, PT.53,200; these figures do not point to a rapid growth or to extensive activities. With the exception of religion, all the subjects were obligatory; children who did not belong to the Orthodox Church were not allowed to follow the lessons on religion unless their parents or guardians requested it. This sensible principle was laid down in the regulations that were drawn up in May, 1843,² and says much for the broad-mindedness of the Greeks. At first, the school syllabus appears to have been arranged on the same lines as the schools in Greece and to have followed a strictly classical programme; it was not until several decades later that the studies were made more practical and adapted to local requirements.³

Catholic Missionary Schools

The pioneer work attempted by the Franciscans and others during the pre-Muhammad 'Alī period has already been dealt with in the first part of this work.⁴

During the first decades of Muhammad 'Alī's reign, there was hardly any opportunity for peaceful penetration by any foreign educational or religious body; real efforts were not made until after 1840 for a Catholic girls' school was set up in Cairo in 1845 when the *Maison du Bon Pasteur* extended its activities to the Egyptian field. The movement had been started by the mother of M. de Neuville who had died in 1827 and had left a large sum of money for the establishing of homes and monasteries; by the end of the 19th century, there were about one hundred and forty monasteries, all over the world attached to the *Bon Pasteur* mission of which five were in Asia and seven in Africa.⁵

The Cairo establishment of the *Bon Pasteur* seems to have been the result of an invitation sent by the French colony itself to the mission headquarters through the French consul, M. de Laporte, and Mgr. Perpetuo Guasco asking them to start work there. The need for a school for French children was probably very great

¹ Ibid., I/404-5.

² Politis, op. cit., I/430-1.

³ Amadou, *L'Enseignement français en Égypte*, Cairo, 1897, p. 99 seq.

⁴ Ibid., I/430.

⁵ v. *supra*, p. 87 seq.

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for one was opened almost immediately, on the 6th January, 1846¹; it was a free primary school for girls and was set up in the Mūsī near the church simply for instruction; there were no boards.² The Church Missionary Society report for 1847 refers to the schools set up by the *Bon Pasteur* movement; Appleyard's words (he used the report for his work on Egypt) are quoted here in order to give the impression made on the English society: "The Church Mission Report, 1847, expresses considerable alarm at the establishment in Grand Cairo of a sisterhood of the order of the 'Good Shepherd' who had taken a mansion, formerly the residence of Bogos Bey, and opened schools for all classes and denominations, Jews not excepted."³

At Alexandria, there seems to have been more activity in several directions, owing to its being the chief sea-port and trading centre, and to the larger number of Europeans who settled there during the Muḥammad 'Alī period. According to Guérin,⁴ the guardian of the chapel dedicated to Saint-Catherine received a large site as a gift from Muḥammad 'Alī in 1834, a site large enough to hold several buildings which have since been erected and in which gardens have been laid out at various times.⁵ The Franciscan monks soon set to work to build a convent and their chapel eventually became the famous church of Saint-Catherine which, however, had to be repaired in 1884.⁶ The church is built in the Italian style and is decorated in the interior with modern pictures of very doubtful taste. The importance of this early religious development is that the church became the parish church of all the Latin Catholics of Alexandria, and as such formed a rallying point for the foundations of the religio-cultural training of the Catholic flock and a centre for French influence. From 1836, the Catholic population had already begun to ask for a mission of Lazarists to settle down in Alexandria in order to open a school for boys, and for the *Filles de la Charité* to work in the European hospital and to attend to the education of the girls.⁷

Such an opportunity for the spread of French culture was not to be missed by official France. In 1840, Père Étienne, the *Supérieur-général* of the Lazarists was sent on a political mission

¹ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 269, and Guérin, op. cit., p. 168.
² Sister Saint-Thérèse de Rumpst was in charge of the school—Dor Bey, loc. cit.; Guérin, op. cit., p. 168; Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.
³ Appleyard, op. cit., p. 116.
⁴ Op. cit., p. 41.
⁵ Loc. cit.
⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷ Loc. cit.
⁸ Guérin, op. cit., p. 45.

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to Syria in connection with propaganda work on behalf of Muḥammad 'Alī among the Maronites.¹ Étienne was accompanied by a number of Lazarist priests and by M. Cochelet; Guizot lent his support to the movement and sent Cochelet to Rome to obtain the help of the Cardinal-Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda while the French ambassador, Count de Latour-Mauburg, was also commissioned to help smooth the way. Negotiations did not end, however, until 1843, and on the 3rd April of that year it was decided to send some Lazarist priests and several sisters of the *Filles de la Charité* to undertake the duties that the Alexandrian Latin Catholics wished them to perform. They arrived in Alexandria on the 23rd January, 1844, the party consisting of three priests, two *frères* and seven sisters; the men were welcomed by the French consul, M. de la Valette, at whose residence they stayed until their own quarters were ready; the sisters lived with a family by the name of Pastre for a short time and then settled down in a street which is still known after them as Sisters' Street.²

Through the good offices of the Père Étienne, Muḥammad 'Alī was prevailed upon to give to the Lazarist company a ruined fort in close proximity to Saint-Catherine Church with permission to buy up the adjacent lands; the site was cleared and a church and school founded for the needs of the people.³ A free school was opened in 1847⁴ and whether the Lazarists were more interested in the spiritual welfare of the flock than in their education, as suggested by Dor,⁵ is hard to say, but in the same year, they appealed to the *Frères de la doctrine chrétienne* for help in the educational work. The latter arrived in due course and took over the Lazarist school.⁶ According to Amici, the school opened on the 1st July, 1847, and appears to have been called the *École gratuite des Frères*.⁷ The Lazarists, who were supposed to provide the school accommodation, used to pay the *Frères* for their work; the chief *Frère* was Adrien de Jésus, and the school had three classes with one hundred and twenty students. Amici also mentions another school called the *Pensionnat des*

¹ Cattani, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 494-5; Medem to Nesselrode, 25th September, 1840, and Guérin, loc. cit.

² Guérin, op. cit., pp. 45-6.

³ Guérin, op. cit., pp. 46-7, and *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. CXXIX, p. 518, article by Benedetti.

⁴ Guérin, op. cit., p. 47, and Amici, op. cit., pp. 248-9.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 268.

⁶ Guérin, op. cit., p. 47.

⁷ Amici, op. cit., pp. 248-9, and Guérin, op. cit., p. 62.

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Frères opened in the same year,¹ although Guérin states that it was opened a year later at the request of the better classes in Alexandria; this school was not so popular at the beginning owing to the fact that fees were charged.²

The Lazarists and *Frères* worked together, perhaps not too harmoniously, for about five or six years³; the *Frères* were more active than the Lazarists and the hosts soon found that their *Frère* guests were encroaching on their rights and that the Lazarists were speedily losing the place they thought they deserved as pioneers. In 1852, the Lazarists decided to make some attempt to regain the position they had begun to lose through the activities of the *Frères* and they opened a college of their own. The *Frères* were obliged to give up their connection and to seek others,⁴ and they were soon directing other schools which have done excellent educational work in Egypt and which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The *Filles de la Charité* had to spend a great deal of their time caring for the sick, but, in spite of that, they ran a kind of day school for girls, also a pensionnat and an orphanage. The outbreak of cholera in 1848 hindered the progress of these institutions and obliged the sisters to devote all their time to medical work.⁵

To what extent these Catholic schools accepted Egyptian children at this early period is hard to say as there is no evidence to prove that they did; the Egyptians certainly made use of the dispensaries under the care of the sisters,⁶ but it is doubtful whether they made use of the schools until somewhat later.

Other Early Mission Schools

The Church Missionary Society of England sent out Mr. Jowett as early as 1815⁷ but the mission was not established until 1826.⁸ Five Germans were sent in 1825 from the Basle Seminar whose names were Samuel Gobat, Mr. and Mrs. J. R. T. Lieder, Mr. and Mrs. T. Mueller, Mr. and Mrs. W. Kruse and Mr. Kugler; Messrs. Gobat and Kugler were later sent on to

¹ Amici, op. cit., pp. 248-9.

² Guérin, op. cit., p. 62.

³ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 268.

⁴ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 268-9, and Guérin, op. cit., p. 47.

⁵ Guérin, op. cit., p. 54. Amici gives the date of 1846 for the opening of a school by the *Soeurs de la Providence*; v. pp. 250-1.

⁶ Guérin, *passim*.

⁷ Watson, op. cit., p. 119; Fowler, op. cit., p. 250; and *supra*, p. 86 n.2.

⁸ *Christianity in Egypt*, London, 1883, p. 13.

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Abyssinia.¹ These missionaries had studied Arabic and appear to have settled down to educational work soon after their arrival, but chiefly among the Copts. Paton, who was in Egypt between 1839 and 1846, states that much praise must be bestowed on the German missionaries, who, chiefly with English funds, have been most active in educating Copts and giving them a smattering of Frankish science.²

The Rev. Harry Tattam also took an interest in the Coptic Church from about 1836 and actually visited the country in 1838-9; he edited the four Gospels in Arabic and Coptic and the S.P.C.K. also printed Arabic translations of old Egyptian commentaries.³ Mr. Lieder, who, according to Butcher, had arrived in Egypt in 1830,⁴ was of great service to Tattam during his visit.⁵

In 1839-40, the Rev. T. Grimshawe visited Egypt and asked Lieder to draw up a scheme for a training college wherein young Egyptians (Copts) could follow a course of study that would enable them to be ordained as priests for the Coptic Church; the school was actually opened but had to be closed in 1848. Mr. Lieder was discouraged by its failure as none of his students was ever ordained.⁶ The Church Missionary Society appears to have abandoned the Egyptian field from about 1848⁷ and did not establish itself again until between 1882-4; the American Presbyterian Mission took its place from about 1854⁸ and has progressed ever since.

The Church Missionary Society, however, not only confined its activities to the training college for priests but opened several other schools for children in Cairo and used to visit the Coptic schools in Upper Egypt and distribute religious literature.⁹

Olin, who apparently visited their schools in 1839-40, reports that Lieder and his colleagues ran three schools in Cairo; the Seminar was under Kruse who had twenty-five Christians to whom he taught science and language.¹⁰ The young men were not encouraged to continue their career as teachers or to set up

¹ Watson, *ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

² Butcher, op. cit., II/395.

³ Fowler, *ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴ Butcher, *ibid.*, II/386-7, and Fowler, *ibid.*, pp. 130 and 250.

⁵ Butcher, *ibid.*, II/401, and Fowler, *ibid.*, p. 14. Fowler, *ibid.*, p. 250, gives the date as 1862 and Lieder remained at his post until 1865, but the missionary efforts do not appear to have been very effective during this period.

⁶ Fowler, *ibid.*, pp. 131 and 274.

⁷ Fowler, *ibid.*, p. 250.

⁸ Olin, op. cit., I/118-9.

⁹ Paton, op. cit., II/281.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II/396.

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private schools of their own; they appear to have been employed by Muḥammad 'Alī for the most part.¹

Lieder ran the boys' school and there was also a girls' school both containing seventy students each;² the Coptic clergy were antagonistic to the movement and accused the missionaries of proselytising; when the children grew up, they were withdrawn from the schools by their parents.³

Olin reports that the English Wesleyans supported a mission in Alexandria;⁴ this was probably run by R. Maxwell MacBair who wrote a useful account of his experiences.⁵ MacBair states that the Church Missionary Society had a printing press in Malta where Arabic and Greek works were published for Mediterranean missionary stations⁶ and it was probably from Malta that the Missionaries procured some of their literature.

MacBair seems to have had little success with his school in Alexandria which was intended for Egyptians; his own words describing his experiences would not be out of place here: "I had made every effort to procure a good master for an Arab school, but could not succeed. At last, I was obliged to employ a Syrian who acted as my interpreter; and, though aware of his being a liar and a rogue, I hoped by close surveillance to keep him to his duty. But all my efforts were fruitless. He brought children of his own acquaintance to the school, and was, no doubt, privately paid for their instruction, as I soon found that they belonged to Syrians of respectability. But he never attended to them unless when I was present; and, even then, he made constant excuses for going away, on pretence of looking after the boys, whilst, in reality, he was engaged in a mercantile business. The moment that my back was turned, he slipped out, and would stay away for half-a-day at a time. As he required high wages, would teach the children nothing of true religion, and, finally,

¹ Olin, op. cit., I/119. Warburton, op. cit., p. 66, states that over 200 of the students of the Church Missionary Society Schools were in the employment of Muḥammad 'Alī.

² Olin, loc. cit. Mrs. Lieder apparently helped her husband in the schools; she visited Hekekyān in June, 1843, his account of her is hardly flattering: "Mrs. Lieder came to see me; she is rather vulgar, talks politics, and, I fear, tells fibs. It is a pity she does not attend more to her schools. She dares to look down on Turkish women and in general Eastern women of whom there are indeed very few in her class and standing who are not superior to her in good sense and accomplishments." See *Hekekyān Papers*, Vol. II, folio 230.

³ Warburton, op. cit., pp. 66-7, states that both Muḥammad 'Alī and the Coptic clergy encouraged the mission schools.

⁴ Olin, op. cit., I/118.

⁵ *Sketches of a Missionary's Travels in Egypt, Syria, West Africa, etc.*, London, 1839.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 51.

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got into embarrassed pecuniary circumstances, I was obliged, with great reluctance, to relinquish a plan that had cost me much care and trouble."¹ He then tried to run a school for Greeks and was able to find a teacher familiar with the Lancasterian system; he was a Greek and "seemed one of the most honest Greeks in the place, which is saying a great deal for him, as they are a sad set of rogues."² MacBair was supported by an English merchant who had married a Greek woman and, through the latter, many Greeks came forward. The school certainly seemed to have been more successful than the Arab school, for the boys' school was enlarged and a girls' school added; they used books published by the English and American missionaries but, unfortunately, the plague broke out and MacBair's schools had to be closed.³

Hamont describes one of the missionary schools in Cairo, probably belonging to the Church Missionary Society, by way of comparison with those opened by Muḥammad 'Alī; the children of poor Christians were taught Arabic, English, French, Italian, geography, drawing and arithmetic. Two priests taught in the school, and adopted a method of teaching which was suitable to the type of pupil; Hamont maintains that they learnt more in three or four years than the students of Muḥammad 'Alī's schools did in ten.⁴ Allowing for some exaggeration, the syllabus does suggest a more practical plan of studies than that of the provincial *maktabs* of Muḥammad 'Alī where the memorising of the *Ḳo'rān* was the mainstay; it might also be suggested that the Europeans were better qualified as teachers than the Egyptian shaikhs, especially if the former had a knowledge of Arabic.

St. John records that a Mr. Bartholomew, an English Missionary in Egypt, wanted to open a Lancasterian school in Alexandria with the intention of educating Copts, Levantines, Jews and Moslems. Muḥammad 'Alī agreed to the opening of the school but not to the mixture of races and creeds suggested by Bartholomew. Muḥammad 'Alī also refused to allow the school expenses to be defrayed by charity and stipulated that the students should be Egyptians; it was also laid down that the religion of the students should not be interfered with.⁵ At about this time (c. 1834), the regulations of a European Lancasterian school were sent to Egypt to serve as a model for Muḥammad 'Alī's

¹ Op. cit., pp. 88-9.

² Loc. cit.

³ St. John, op. cit., II/405-6.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 89.

⁵ Hamont, op. cit., II/301.

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schools but apart from the reference in St. John there is no evidence that the system was ever adopted. The "monitorial" or "mutual" system generally employed by Muḥammad 'Alī was rather the outcome of necessity in view of the lack of teachers in the country and in order to facilitate the work of the European teachers and the interpreters than an attempt to copy the Lancasterian method. No further evidence is available regarding the outcome of Mr. Bartholomew's proposal; if it had been at all successful, there would have been some reference to it in the numerous accounts of Egypt written in the nineteenth century.

The beginning of the introduction into Egypt of European schools under European management from 1840 onwards is perhaps one of the most interesting features of the early nineteenth century. In order of importance, the French Catholic schools come first, followed by the English Missionary Schools and then the "communal" schools, i.e., those set up by local communities. The French Catholic schools represent an official effort on the part of France to seek a controlling interest in the spiritual and cultural welfare of the Catholics, not only in Egypt, but in the whole of the Levant. This penetration was the result of a more extensive application of the spirit of the capitulatory system whereby France considered herself the protectress of the Catholic population, the intermediate development having been greatly accelerated by the commercial and political contacts between France and Muḥammad 'Alī and the latter's religious tolerance.

The English missionary movements at this time appear to have been less concerned with politics and education than with the religious welfare and revival of the Coptic Church to which more attention was given than to the Moslem population which, it was realised, was inaccessible to the efforts of Christian proselytisers. The schools set up by the English Missionaries had neither the support of the British Government nor the thoroughly organised help of the Church that the Catholics were given. The Catholic emissaries already had the advantage of finding a large and growing community which was seeking spiritual and cultural guidance; the English Missionaries came to Egypt rather of their own desire to be of use to the Copts who did not understand this kind of charity and, in fact, looked upon it with great suspicion. Non-Catholic missions, too, did not have the chance of the success of the Catholics owing to their lack of external attractions in their forms of worship and doctrines¹

¹ Ubicini, op. cit., II/393.
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and the difference of temperament between the northern and southern races; the efforts of the English, Germans and Americans were directed mainly towards the small Coptic population and they can be looked upon as newcomers into the Near East whereas the Catholics, whether French or Italians, already had a long tradition of contact with the Near East and had much in common with the Catholic population there.

In spite of the relative disadvantages that the English missionaries had to work under and the restricted sphere of their work, yet they were undoubtedly spurred forward by their zealous motives and the spirit of competition which is reflected in the Church Missionary report of 1847 quoted by Appleyard.¹

The schools set up for the Jewish community, being due to the efforts of Crémieux, are not so interesting from our point of view. Egyptian Jews have always been backward in setting up their own schools for several reasons. The increase of European influence in Egypt went hand-in-hand with a very important extension of external and internal trade in which the Jews had a fair share. The growth of trade brought a relative increase in individual prosperity with the result that the local Jews gradually emerged from the Jewish quarters in order to assimilate themselves with the other European communities, particularly the Italian. The Jews and the Christians were the first to imitate European habits and customs and to wear European clothes long before Moslems began to do so.² Through the capitulatory system, many of them were able to acquire foreign protection with the many privileges that this system afforded.³

Jewish children were sent to foreign schools, particularly French, where they were able to acquire that education which was suitable for commerce and for employment in business houses and in the banks which were later opened. Jewish schools were eventually set up but were not of any standing until recent times. A letter written by Maître Sedaka Levy in the *Aurore*, dated the 13th February, 1925,⁴ points out the disadvantages of the lack of Jewish schools and the damage done to Jewish religious and national feelings; the writer takes up an extreme point of view and complains of the *influence perniciouse des*

¹ v. supra, p. 276.

² Ibrāhīm Khalīl, *Miṣbāḥ as-Sārī wa Nuzhat al-Kārī*, Beyrūt, 1272, p. 20.

³ Ruppīn, *The Jews in the Modern World*, London, 1934, p. 233. Ruppīn is not aware of this internal change in the Jewish community of Egypt.

⁴ *L'Aurore*, *Journal d'informations juives*, 15th year, No. 52, 13th February, 1925, Cairo publication, page 1; see also Nos. 64, 84 and 106.

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*écoles congréganistes qui ont pour mission de détourner ces enfants de leur foi.*¹ Levy fails to appreciate the fact that it was due to the lack of public spirit in his community that there were no such schools and to the lack of interest of wealthy Jews who were far keener on breaking off contact with their own community and on assimilating themselves to the European elements than settling in the country. He also underrates the valuable educational work done by the religious schools in Egypt from which the Jewish community derived much benefit.

The Greek community represents the healthiest demand for intellectual progress for two main reasons; it was spontaneous and autonomous; the community, or rather the communities, as each town eventually organised itself on the Alexandrian model, not only felt the need for some cultural improvement, but also depended upon itself for the carrying out of its own plans. Greeks did attend other schools but their own schools absorbed many of their own children.

The period 1840 to 1850 is the turning point in the cultural, economic and social life of Egypt. From 1800 to 1840, Muḥammad 'Alī had been busily engaged in developing the country and using up its resources in war; during that period he had made some attempt to set up a system of military education; the schools provided for the army and navy, and to some extent for the civil administration but not for any kind of education that would enable the Egyptians to set up for themselves in any kind of private enterprise. No Egyptian doctor set himself up in private practice and none had either the initiative or the abilities to compete with their European rivals in the field of commerce and industry.

In 1841, Muḥammad 'Alī's system broke down, and the Egyptians who had been employed in the army by thousands had nothing to do but to resume their normal life as far as possible. No provision was made for the peaceful development of the country for the advantage of the people either culturally, socially or economically; even the old mosque system of education had been almost completely disorganised in the feverish rush to build an army. If this state of affairs had been allowed to continue after 1841, Egypt would probably have recovered itself and reverted to much the same state that it had been in during the eighteenth century, but from 1840 onwards, we see in Egypt the peaceful penetration of the West, not only through one

¹ Loc. cit.
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community, but through many, and not only in one town, but all over the country. The Egyptians were unprepared for this. They were familiar only with two kinds of education, that of the mosque and that of the army, the former had been theirs for centuries, the latter for a few decades; the latter had almost ruined the former and had also ceased to exist itself.

The Europeans in Egypt were now settling down to a life of industry and commerce and were beginning to open schools in which the younger generation could acquire the equipment necessary to carry on the tradition under cover of the Capitulatory system to the great disadvantage of the Egyptians. On the other hand, Egypt, during the next twenty years, was under the rule of two Pashas, neither of them particularly interested in the intellectual welfare of the Egyptians; under 'Abbās, the country had six years' rest in which to recover from the exhaustion of the Muḥammad 'Alī period, and under Sa'īd, who was a Franco-ophile, European penetration increased still more. The following chapters will show the significance of the fact that the European cultural movement which began during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī grew steadily during the next three or four decades while the cultural life of the Egyptians had not yet found its feet.

The Reign of Ibrāhīm Pasha

Muḥammad 'Alī died on the 2nd August, 1849, at the age of 81, but, owing to his failure in health, Ibrāhīm Pasha had already taken over the reins of government from 1847 and was formally invested as governor in July, 1848. Ibrāhīm Pasha did not live long, however, for he died prematurely on the 10th November, 1848, and was succeeded by 'Abbās I, the son of Ṭūsūn, Muḥammad 'Alī's second son. 'Abbās I was in Makkah at the time of his uncle's death, and on receiving the news, hastened his return to Cairo where he arrived on the 26th November. He was officially invested as governor on the 7th December, went to Constantinople almost immediately to pay homage to the Sulṭān, and was back in Cairo on the 13th February, 1849.

There is little to be recorded about Ibrāhīm's work for education in Egypt; we have already seen the rôle he played in the post-war period in the closing down of the schools. He had a major interest in the last mission to Paris and the creation of the Egyptian Military School there and seems to have been favourable to the inclusion of several Egyptians on this mission,

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the latter were chosen probably by Sulaimān Pasha (Sève),¹ and later on, filled important posts in the Egyptian administrations.

In this connection it is interesting to note the attitude of Ibrāhīm towards the Egyptians and, consequently, towards the use of the Arabic language which he is supposed to have favoured. Boislecomte, writing in August, 1833, states that Ibrāhīm claimed to an Egyptian soldier that he was not a Turk, but that he had come to Egypt very young and that the sun had changed his blood to that of an Arab.²

The struggle against the Porte was personal and, if Ibrāhīm ever spoke of creating an Arab empire, then such suggestions were meant for European and particularly French consumption. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad 'Alī realised that the French, who had most likely encouraged them in adopting an attitude of independence, would support them against the Sultan. It was far too early to expect the Egyptians to react to nationalism or even to understand the meaning of it.

It is put forward that Ibrāhīm allowed Egyptians to enter certain military schools³ and promoted them to the rank of *chef de bataillon*, but the reason for this was not to create a purely Egyptian national army, but economic necessity. He had no choice, since there were not sufficient Turks and Circassians available. As a good military leader, which he doubtless was, it was to be expected that he should ingratiate himself with his Egyptian soldiery, hence the anecdote reported by Boislecomte.

Professor Rustum in a recent work⁴ is at pains to claim for Ibrāhīm Pasha that he was "personally convinced of the soundness of the nationalistic philosophy of the day" and that he was "the first Moslem of rank in the Arab world who conceived of an Arab Nationalist Movement."⁵ Professor Rustum fortunately uses the word "personally" for it is certain that very few Turks and Egyptians at this period had any idea of the "nationalistic philosophy of the day." He quotes three letters written by Ibrāhīm to Muḥammad 'Alī in 1248 (1832), presumably in Turkish not in Arabic, in the translations of which the words "national and racial struggle" and "his

¹ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 172.

² Boislecomte to the Minister (of Foreign Affairs), 31st August, 1933, op. cit., p. 249.

³ v. supra, p. 221, e.g., in the Cavalry School.

⁴ *The Royal Archives of Egypt and the origins of the Egyptian Expedition to Syria, 1831-1841*, Beyrout, 1936.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 96.

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patriotic hopes for the independence of his family and for the freedom of Egypt" occur. If these words are accurate translations of Ibrāhīm's Turkish, then the sentiments they express were confined to Ibrāhīm. One must come down to a much later period before the full meaning of such words can be satisfactorily expressed in Arabic. Religion may have played an important rôle as a rallying point for Moslems with Muḥammad 'Alī as the champion of Islam,¹ but, even to this day, the words *watan* and *wataniyah* are still confused with religion by certain sections of the people.²

It can be argued that Muḥammad 'Alī actually began a system of elementary or primary education in 1837, with Arabic as the linguistic medium of instruction, to replace, in part, the old *kuttābs* of the pious endowments; this, again, was a step which had to be taken in order to ensure sufficient recruits for the army. Ibrāhīm Pasha naturally had a voice in the organisation of anything connected with the army and he appears to have approved of this scheme³; but what did he do with the new organisation when he was forced to withdraw from Syria barely five years later? He took the leading part in forcing Muḥammad 'Alī to close down the schools. If he had had any nationalistic feelings, he would surely have made some attempt to rehabilitate the Arabic language, as Boislecomte claims was his intention,⁴ but Turkish remained the official language until the reign of Sa'id Pasha and the language of the court until quite recently.

The reaction against the reform movement had well set in, at least eight years before 'Abbās became ruler; with the removal of the two strongest and most ambitious men, namely, Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm, the natural tendency of the people was to return, as far as possible, to the normal manner of living before Muḥammad 'Alī began his intensive exploitation of Egypt.

¹ v. supra, p. 113, note 3; Muḥammad 'Alī had a book entitled *The Virtues of Holy War (Jihād)* published in 1836, see Perron, art., in *Journal asiatique*, July-August, 1843, p. 45, item No. III.

² See particularly Muḥammad 'Umar's *Hādīr al-Miṣriyīn*, Cairo, 1902, p. 183, who explains the use of these two words and endeavours to point out to the Egyptian the difference between patriotism and religion; see also Rifā'ah's *Wataniyāt* or so-called *Patriotic Poems*, where the ideas of patriotism and religion are inseparable; equally as interesting is Shaikh Husain al-Marṣafī's treatise entitled *al-Kalīm al-Thamān*, i.e., the *Eight Words*, published in 1880-1, in which he endeavours to explain such words as *watan* (father-land), *hurriyah* (liberty or freedom), *ummah* (nation), *adālah* (justice), *zulm* (oppression), *siyāsah* (with the modern meaning of politics), *hukūmah* (government), and others "which are on the tongues of the present day younger generation."

³ v. supra, pp. 192-3.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 256.

CHAPTER III

'ABBĀS I. (1849-1854)

"Six années de repos pour l'Égypte surmenée, ce n'était pas de la stérilité, c'était le recueillement de la terre pendant l'hiver, c'était l'état de jachère appliquée à un grand état, c'était un sommeil réparateur, non la mort."—(A. Vingtrinier, "Soliman-Pasha (Joseph Sève)," Paris, 1886, p. 576.)

On account of his strange character, 'Abbās seems to have had very few friends; he had been on bad terms with Ibrāhīm Pasha and he treated his relations with severity. The officials who had worked under Ibrāhīm were dismissed or exiled, the French advisers who had helped Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm were either dismissed or forced to resign. His policy appears to have been anti-French and pro-English, and Mr. Murray, the English Consul-general, became one of his most trusted friends; through the latter, the railway and telegraph were introduced into Egypt and gave employment to many Egyptians.¹ Hekekyān maintains that Turkish intrigues forced 'Abbās to rely on the English²; such intrigues were not a new factor in the field of oriental politics any more than was the Anglo-French rivalry over Egypt. It is not surprising that many writers see very little good in 'Abbās.³ Most of the conversations held by Senior in 1855 were with men who had been officials in the service of Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm and were then unemployed; and it is only human that such officials should give anything but a good impression of him.⁴ Independent observers, however, do not always agree with these officials.⁵ Senior himself could not help remarking to Hekekyān that he found much difference of opinion in Egypt on many subjects, but on none more than on the characters of 'Abbās and Sa'īd.⁶

¹ v. supra, p. 263 sq. and 269 sq.

² Senior, op. cit., I/205.

³ See Bréhier, Dor, Artin, Guillon, Audouard, Sammarco, Cameron, Senior, White, Malortie, art: in Encyclopædia of Islam, as-Siyāsāt-al-Uṣbū'iyah, 7th April, 1928, Rāfi'i, Sarhank, Merruau, Bayle St. John, Luttke, Tūsūn, Zaidān, and others.

⁴ Senior, passim.

⁵ Ibid., I/233 and I/240, et passim.

⁶ Ibid., I/202.

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Self-interest and personal feelings have been allowed to inspire many of the pens that have described 'Abbās, but his reign, investigated from an impartial point of view and in its true light, can only lead one to the conclusion that many of Muḥammad 'Alī's innovations owed their origin to an artificial situation,¹ and that, if 'Abbās put an end to some of them, he did so out of the sheer common sense which is credited to him by more than one writer.²

'Abbās must be credited with having a character of his own and a better knowledge of his country's needs than many of the office-seekers around him.³ If he preferred Turks to Europeans,⁴ why should he not have done so? He was a Turk, and as loyal to Egypt and to Turkey as it was his duty to be, for Egypt was still under the suzerainty of Turkey. His loyalty to Turkey did not lead him to surrender any of his rights as ruler in Egypt. As a boy, he appears to have refused to submit to a European education,⁵ but he did not neglect Islamic culture; he had an excellent command of Turkish,⁶ which is more than can be said of Sa'īd.⁷

'Abbās reigned for six years, during which time the country was given the peace and quiet it needed so badly after the exhausting years of the reigns of Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm.⁸ He removed the commercial monopolies and, if he hated Europeans and secluded himself from their society, he did so in order to stem the tide of western penetration which had been encouraged during the last decade before his accession.⁹

¹ Sylva White, *The Expansion of Egypt*, London, 1899, p. 58.

² Sakakini, op. cit., p. 23, gives a good account of him in 1833; Boislecote, op. cit., p. 146, "Abbas pacha . . . est resté très croyant et très zélé dans sa foi"; Cattani, op. cit., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 63; Clot Bey, *Aperçu*, I/lxxxix; Prisse d'Avennes, *Petits mémoires secrets sur la cour d'Égypte*, Paris, 1930, p. 28, "Abbas avait plus d'intelligence que de savoir, mais il raisonnait et discutait les affaires, tandis que Saïd répond: "Nous verrons, vous m'embêtez, débrouillez-vous," tergiverse et veut ménager la chèvre et le chou." Paton, op. cit., II/241, "I . . . found him to be perfectly good-natured and entirely free from any sort of ostentation. On higher subjects, his ignorance of science and literature was remarkable, considering the training he had had; but he was by no means deficient in common sense, and knew how to distinguish between such projects as were really beneficial to Egypt, as railways, and those of doubtful utility"; Malortie, *Egypt*, London, 1882, p. 68, "Though sometimes very odd, he was not devoid of common sense"; Cameron, op. cit., p. 227, "It is worth noting, too, that Nubar Pasha considered Abbas a true Turkish gentleman of the old school."

³ Paton, op. cit., II/241.

⁴ Senior, op. cit., II/203.

⁵ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1st June, 1895, Vol. 129, p. 528.

⁶ Senior, op. cit., II/178.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Cameron, op. cit., p. 227.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 227-8; Sylva White, op. cit., p. 57.

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Vingtrinier, Sulaimān Pasha's biographer, summarises the reign of 'Abbās and his character in the following terms: "*Sa profession de foi fut simple, claire, énergique et brève. Il déclara qu'il était Turc et voulait regner en Turc.*"¹ and, "*La règne d'Abbās fut une époque de recueillement et de repos. La vie européenne ayant cessé, l'immobilité musulmane envahit et couvrit tout le pays*"²; his most conclusive statement is contained in the words written at the head of this chapter.

Bayle St. John, writing in 1851, speaks fairly of 'Abbās as follows: "It must be confessed that 'Abbās Pasha had the good sense to take up a position of his own. Whether he was as crafty and politic as some pretend before his elevation to power, it is difficult to decide; but the plan at that time generally ascribed to him, of forming what was called a Turkish or bigoted party, a party of discontented great folk and fanatical ulemas, a party which should appeal to the religious prejudices of the good Cairenes, and oppose itself to the inroad of European adventurers and improvements, this plan, if distinctly formed, was certainly a very sagacious one. Let us be frank; Europeans have done more harm than good in Egypt; that is to say, whenever they have appeared except as mere commercial men!"³

The most recent exposition of the life and reign of 'Abbās Pasha, written by Professor Sammarco,⁴ contains much that is probably true of him, but offers a general misrepresentation of facts. Professor Sammarco emphasizes the fact that 'Abbās apparently came to the throne with the intention of destroying all the good and useful things that Muḥammad 'Alī had created,⁵ and relies on two very late authorities who blame 'Abbās for closing most of the schools opened by Muḥammad 'Alī.⁶ He ignores the fact that many of Muḥammad 'Alī's creations were already either destroyed before 'Abbās came to the throne or else were in a very bad state; even the army was in a state of disorganisation when Ibrāhīm returned from Europe and neither Ibrāhīm nor Sulaimān was able to reorganise it.⁷ He rejects the idea that 'Abbās was inspired by patriotic feelings in his attitude towards Europeans⁸; but while patriotism cer-

¹ Vingtrinier, op. cit., p. 551.

² Op. cit., p. 560.

³ *The Eclectic Magazine*, New York, Sept.-Dec., 1851, p. 172 and *Sharpe's Magazine*, London, Vol. XIV, pp. 70-75.

⁴ *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, Rome, 1935, Vol. 4, pp. 1-17.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

⁷ Vingtrinier, op. cit., p. 525.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

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tainly did not play any part and his attitude may have been determined by political reaction and xenophobia,¹ do not the few decades after the death of 'Abbās justify his attitude? 'Abbās's biggest fault, in the opinion of Sammarco, was his apparent *rapprochement* with the English.

Few writers have dared to take up an independent point of view regarding 'Abbās, with the exception of ar-Rāfi'ī,² whose work takes into full account the fact that 'Abbās wisely discouraged European adventurers and that his railways were far more useful to Egypt and less dangerous to her political and economic independence than the French scheme for the digging of the Suez Canal.³

The charge with which we are concerned in this work is that 'Abbās was responsible for the closing of the schools and for a reactionary policy with regard to education. This point of view has been handed down from one writer to another without making any kind of investigation of this aspect of 'Abbās's reign. It is true that ar-Rāfi'ī⁴ and Ayyūbī⁵ do admit that some of the schools were closed during the later years of the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, but most native writers press the point much further than Europeans and measure the progress and intellectual standards of their country by the mere number of schools and students and the amount of money spent on them; quality and efficiency are ignored, or perhaps not understood.

The outstanding factor to be borne in mind is that if Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm both saw fit to curtail their educational schemes, and they were men who had made some practical use of western schools (even if only for military purposes and ostentation), what was 'Abbās to do with them, he who had no natural inclination for European learning (if the Egyptian adaptation of it entitles it to the name of learning), and still less inclination to make use of them for ostentation and propaganda abroad?

If the educational system had failed under Muḥammad 'Alī, and it certainly had failed, then why should 'Abbās be made a scapegoat for this failure? Why should he be blamed for giving the *coup de grâce* to the few derelict institutions that were left?

When 'Abbās came to the throne, the following schools were still officially open⁶ :—

¹ Ibid., p. 7.

² *Aṣṣ Ismā'īl*, in two volumes, Cairo, 1932.

³ Rāfi'ī, *Aṣṣ Ismā'īl*, Vol. I, pp. 3-22.

⁴ Ibid., I/15.

⁵ Op. cit., I/176.

⁶ *v. supra*, pp. 242-3; Sarhank, op. cit., II/262 gives 14 schools, he includes a primary school at Banī Suf and omits the infantry and medical schools.

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1	Primary,	at Asyūṭ,
2	"	Būsh,
3	"	Zakāzīk,
4	"	as-Sayyidah Zainab,
5	"	Abū Za'bal,
6	Infantry,	Abū Za'bal,
7	Cavalry,	al-Gīzah,
8	Artillery,	Turā,
9	Veterinary,	Shubrā,
10	Naval,	Alexandria,
11	Languages,	Cairo,
12	Medical,	Cairo,
13	High School,	al-Khānḳāh,
14	Engineering,	Būlāḳ,
15	Arts and Crafts,	Būlāḳ.

Adham (Pasha) appears to have remained at his post as *Nāzīr* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* until the 24th March, 1849, and to have returned again on the 18th October of the same year; he was replaced by 'Abdī Pasha Shukrī, who kept the post until the 16th December, 1854, i.e., until five months after the assassination of 'Abbās I.¹ 'Abdī Shukrī had been a member of the 1826 mission to Europe, where he had studied civil administration, but there does not appear to have been anything remarkable about him. He is rarely ever mentioned, and most probably it was the fact that he was the son of Ḥabīb Efendī that assured him of promotion in the administrations of Muḥammad 'Alī.²

'Abbās began his work of reorganisation almost as soon as he came to power. The primary schools were the first to be affected; Asyūṭ was closed in March, 1849, Būsh and Zakāzīk in April of the same year.³ The military schools came next. The Artillery School under Princeteau,⁴ who appears to have remained in Egypt until 1853,⁵ was in a very bad state. 'Alī Mubārak had been appointed as teacher there on his return from France in 1849,⁶ and reports that there were very few students left in it because the best had been chosen for a new school which 'Abbās had opened⁷; it must have been closed soon after the opening of this new establishment. In January, 1849, the Infantry School at Abū Za'bal,⁸ the Cavalry School at al-Gīzah⁹ and the Naval School in Alexandria¹⁰ were all closed.

¹ Artin, op. cit., p. 169. ² v. supra, p. 159; and Rāfi'i, III/532.

³ v. supra, p. 234. This school had no director from March, 1848.

⁴ v. supra, p. 240.

⁵ Guémard, op. cit., p. 423.

⁶ *Khīṭaṭ*, 9/43. ⁷ v. infra, pp. 295-6 and *Khīṭaṭ*, loc. cit.

⁸ Sāmī, *app.* III, p. 51; it was under Yūsuf Aghā.

⁹ Ibid., p. 52; under Wāsīl Bey.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 52; under Muḥammad Bey Kāshif.

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The two remaining primary schools were closed, that of Abū Za'bal in November, 1849,¹ and the other at as-Sayyidah Zainab in August, 1850.²

The closing down of these schools looks as though military training was about to be abandoned and 'Abbās was going to neglect the military requirements of the country, but this is far from the truth. 'Abbās was essentially a military man and had held high command in Muḥammad 'Alī's armies. Sarhank gives the following figures for his own army, but without giving any date:—

Infantry	98,414 men and	3,464 officers,
Cavalry	7,600 men and	400 officers,
Artillery	9,149 men and	154 officers,
Staff		68 officers,
Medical		135 medical officers,
		88 pharmacists and orderlies,

Bāshi-Bazūḳs

Clerks	4,377 men	106	3.
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The policy of making use of the services of foreigners in the army was still continued to a certain extent, for through Sabatier, the French Consul General, Motte, de Bernhardt and Jacques were employed⁴; Gallice, who had been commissioned by Ibrāhīm Pasha in order to undertake the reorganisation of the fortifications at Alexandria, was also employed by 'Abbās for the same purpose.⁵

It was 'Abbās who attempted to bring a fairer system of conscription than that employed by his predecessor; he made every young man liable for military service, but the system was not pushed to the extent attempted by Sa'id Pasha. 'Abbās reorganised the army, the system of fortifications and military strategic roads contemplated by Ibrāhīm Pasha; he still maintained the services of Sulaimān Pasha, who appears to have had considerable influence with him.⁶ In 1853, a contingent of 20,000 men was sent to help the Turks against Russia in the Crimea.⁷ Under 'Abbās, the old system of maintaining a

¹ Ibid., p. 45; under Ibrāhīm Ef. Wahbī.

² Ibid., p. 44; under 'Abdal-Kādir Ef.

³ Op. cit., II/261; these figures are much higher than those allowed Egypt by the Sultān's edicts of 1841.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Malortie, however, confirms that 'Abbās had an army of 80,000 men and 20,000 *Bāshi-Bazūḳs*, and that nothing was wanting in the way of artillery, cavalry and equipment, which was all in the best order; op. cit., p. 68.

⁶ Rāfi'i, *Asr Ismā'il*, I/17.

⁷ Ibid., I/18 and Sarhank, op. cit., II/263 sq.

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bodyguard of Albanians was revived; these Albanians were never very popular,¹ but their numbers were not out of proportion to the number of Egyptian troops. 'Abbās must also be credited with being able to maintain public security.²

The question of military training for these large forces was dealt with almost as soon as 'Abbās came to the throne. Having closed the essentially military schools, he chose the best students and teachers and placed them in one establishment which he opened in September, 1849, with the name of *Madrasat al-Mafrūzah*, a name which means "chosen" and suggests that it contained the pick of the old schools.³ It was first of all situated in the suburb of Cairo, now called al-'Abbāsiyah, under the *Nāzir*-ship of *Amīr alāī* Ismā'il Bey al-Karidālī; the students, teachers and books were all chosen by 'Alī Mubārak, and, according to Sarhank, the school was very successful during the first part of the reign.⁴ Ismā'il al-Karidālī remained in charge of the school until it was transferred to the town of Alexandria in December, 1850; *Amīr alāī* Ismā'il Bey Salīm⁵ was given the post from September, 1851, to October, 1853, and then *Amīr alāī* Aḥmad Bey Kamāl from November, 1853, until February, 1856.⁶

This new establishment was run on different principles than those of Muḥammad 'Alī for it contained a Primary, a Preparatory, and a Military School all in one,⁷ and there was also another technical side where men were prepared for the civil and military engineering services. In the statistics for 1849, the dual name of *al-Mafrūzah wa'l-Abniyah* is used, i.e., "(the school of) the chosen and for building."⁸ In 1849, it had 1,696 students, i.e. considerably more than the Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery

¹ Rāfi'i, op. cit., I/17.

² Ibid., I/15. 'Abbās also introduced the Camel Corps, probably to facilitate the task of maintaining public order. The idea was undoubtedly inspired by the French who had made use of a Camel Corps for desert work during the occupation. Sacre and Outrebon claim that Sa'id Pasha introduced this corps, v. *L'Égypte et Ismaïl Pacha*, Paris, 1865, p. 172, but Sarhank states quite definitely that it was the work of 'Abbās, v. op. cit., II/261.

³ Sarhank, op. cit., II/262; Artin, op. cit., p. 89; Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 45; Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 214.

⁴ Sarhank, op. cit., II/262; the idea that all the military schools should be together was most likely inspired by 'Alī Mubārak.

According to Salīm Pasha Salīm, the *Mafrūzah* was first opened at al-Khānkāh which is possible as the necessary buildings already existed there; v. *Khifāṭ*, Vol. 14, p. 126.

⁵ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 45; he afterwards became Governor of Alexandria and informed Sa'id Pasha of the death of 'Abbās.

⁶ Sāmī, loc. cit.

⁷ Loc. cit. Artin, op. cit., p. 89.

⁸ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 15.

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Schools had contained during the latter part of the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī.

The idea of having one large establishment, including all the schools the student had to pass through, was probably inspired by motives of economy; it also had the advantage of centralisation, enabling one director to co-ordinate the studies, and thus avoiding the gaps which had existed between the various grades of schools under Muḥammad 'Alī.¹ The original provincial *maktabs* had always been below the standard set for the preparatory schools, while the latter had never been successful in preparing students up to the standard of the special schools, where further preparatory classes had to be created before the student was ready for his special training.²

The statistics available for 1849³ give the following figures for that year and naturally include some schools which had been recently closed, but certain schools which were still officially open are omitted:—

School.	Students	Monthly Cost (Nadīm) ⁴	Yearly Cost (Sāmī) ⁵
Primary at as-Sayyidah Zainab.	209	£E 70-70PT	£E 848-14PT
Medicine.	126	317-50	3810-00
Cavalry.	245	250-23	3002-76
Artillery	186	130-97	1571-64
Languages and Accountancy.	320	475-49	5705-88
Engineering.	132 ⁶	257-13	3085-56
<i>al-Mafrūzah wa'l-Abniyah</i> .	1696	1098-59	13183-08
	2914	2600-61	31207-06
Cost of 322 teachers and staff		1464-97	17579-64
		£E 4065-58PT	£E 48787-70PT

The figures for the Abū Za'bal school are omitted, although it was not closed until November, 1849, while the Artillery and Cavalry schools are included, although the latter was closed in January, 1849; presumably the students of this school were then sent to the *Mafrūzah*; the Artillery students were certainly

¹ 'Alī Mubārak put forward the same idea for the Civil Schools, i.e., the *Muhandishkhānah* and its dependencies; v. *Khifāṭ*, 9/43.

² v. *supra*, p. 239, n. 2, a.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 741.

⁶ Sāmī gives 135.

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sent,¹ and so its numbers must have been somewhat higher later on.

The Naval and Infantry schools are also omitted; the latter is stated by Pellissier to have been in a state of complete disorganisation,² and it is for this reason probably that it was not included. No wonder 'Abbās closed it! The Naval School seems to have been definitely closed and the Navy to have deteriorated during his reign, owing to the intrigues between Sa'id and 'Abbās³; a certain part of the Navy must have been used, however, during the Crimean War.

The above list excludes the Veterinary School and the High School at al-Khānḳāh (*École des Princes*); the former was not closed until 1851 and was still in use, for Aḥmad Ef. Şabrī was in charge of it from January, 1849, and Rustum Ef. from May, 1849, until September, 1851. The High School was officially closed in September, 1851; up to January, 1849, Maḥmūd Bey was in charge, then Muṣṭafā Bey until September, 1849⁴; after that date no director was appointed and it was probably expected that members of the ruling family would make use of the *Madrasat al-Mafrūzah*.⁵

The so-called School of Languages and Accountancy was closed in May, 1851; as the major part of the school must have been devoted to preparation, then perhaps the action of 'Abbās is explicable for he already had a preparatory school attached to the *Mafrūzah*. This school came under the heading of a Civil School, i.e., *Madrasah Mulkiyah*, and 'Alī Mubārak launched a scheme to include all the Civil Schools.⁶ The Translation Bureau was not closed down until the reign of Sa'id Pasha, in the interval, it appears to have been taken over by 'Alī Mubārak, who, as director of the School of Engineering, took upon himself the task of providing the text-books for the schools.⁷

There appears to have been some misunderstanding or dislike between 'Abbās and Rifā'ah, for he was sent to al-Kharṭūm as *Nāẓir* of a new school which 'Abbās had opened there⁸; this amounted to exile. The trouble was probably made worse by ambitious Mubārak, who was most likely jealous of the name Rifā'ah had made for himself as a teacher and in the field of

¹ *Khitaṭ*, 9/43.

² Sarhank, op. cit., II/263.

³ The new school cost less to run than the old ones.

⁴ *v. infra*, p. 298.

⁵ *v. infra*, p. 299.

⁶ Majdī, op. cit., pp. 26, 30-1. Rāfi'ī op. cit., III/488 sq.

⁷ *v. supra*, p. 240.

⁸ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 55.

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letters. 'Abbās favoured Mubārak and exiled Rifā'ah; Sa'id, when he came to the throne, favoured Rifā'ah and exiled Mubārak. It must be noticed that, in this part of his work under 'Abbās, he must have been a rival to Rifā'ah, for he appears to have taken over the same work that Rifā'ah used to undertake in the School of Languages and in the Translation Bureau; it is significant that Baiyūmī Ef., who had done good work at the school of Engineering, was exiled with Rifā'ah and actually died in al-Kharṭūm¹; others were exiled at the same time, including Aḥmad Ṭā'il.²

Nevertheless, 'Abbās's treatment of Rifā'ah is surprising; but Rifā'ah may have been opposed by certain bigoted shaikhs of al-Azhar, who probably considered that he was trespassing on their domain in the teaching of religious law and theology. Delatre, who visited the school administered by Rifā'ah under Sa'id, states that his colleagues, the '*ulamā*', detested him³; he was probably considered in much the same way as Muḥammad 'Abduh was regarded at a much later date, in view of his interest in learning that was outside the scope of al-Azhar's teachings, although Rifā'ah's religious beliefs have never been questioned.

The position then in 1852 with regard to the schools was as follows:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) <i>Madrasat al-Mafrūzah wa'l-Abniyah.</i> | Ismā'il Bey Salīm. |
| (2) ' <i>Amaliyāt</i> . | John Mohistan, July 1847-May, 1853.
Robert Murray, Aug., 1853-Dec., 1854. |
| (3) <i>Muhandishkhānah.</i> | 'Alī Mubārak. |
| (4) ' <i>Tibb.</i>
(Medicine). | Muḥammad Shāfi'ī (see below). |

Very little is reported about the '*Amaliyāt*, although it is significant that the anglophile Hekekyān was dismissed and that the directorship of this school passed to an Englishman; the school, being a civil school, was probably attached to the School of Engineering for administration.

The School of Engineering passed through a rather interesting phase. 'Alī Mubārak had returned from France in 1849, and after being employed in the School of Artillery for a short time, was attached to the staff of Sulaimān Pasha. Through the

¹ Rāfi'ī, op. cit., III/516.

² *Ibid.*, p. 518.

³ *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algerie et des Colonies*, Paris, Vol. 16, 1858 (Sept.) p. 135.

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latter, he came into close contact with Gallice Bey,¹ who introduced him to 'Abbās Pasha with two other Egyptians who had been in Paris with Mubārak, namely, Ḥammād 'Abdal-Āṭī and 'Alī Ibrāhīm. Towards the end of 1850, 'Abbās called them all into his presence and ordered them to examine the engineers posted in the provinces and also the teachers of the School of Engineering. They toured the whole country, performed the task demanded of them, replacing the old engineers with new men who were graduates of the School of Engineering. During their visits to various parts of the country, they were commissioned to report on and to undertake other engineering works.

About the end of 1851, Lambert presented the budget of the Observatory and the Engineering School² to 'Abbās, asking for 20,000 purses (i.e., £E.100,000).³ 'Abbās, surprised at this huge figure, called in his three Egyptians and asked them to discuss the financial aspect of this school and the Observatory, and to draw up a scheme which would be more economical. The three *efendis* withdrew and, in spite of their efforts to come to some kind of agreement, they could not fix upon any one scheme, so 'Alī Mubārak took it upon him to draw up a plan without the aid of his colleagues. Time went by and as 'Abbās's Egyptian advisers had not presented the scheme, he sent for them, and to his astonishment, was presented with Mubārak's individual report showing that the school could be run on a budget of £E.5,000 provided the Observatory was abolished, which he recommended in view of the absence of any qualified Egyptian astronomers. He further recommended that men should be sent to Europe to specialise in this branch.

'Abbās was delighted with Mubārak's plan, but, before accepting it, he put it before the heads of the *Dīwāns* and Lambert for discussion and approval. This took eight days and the outcome of the meetings led to an interview of Mubārak with

¹ Guémard, op. cit., p. 422, states that Gallice is untraceable after 1841; actually, he was in charge of fortifications in Alexandria; v. *Khitaṭ*, 9/43-4 and Rāfi'i, *Aṣr Ismā'īl*, I/235.

² Actually, the budget was to cover the expenditure of the *Madāris al-Mulkiyah*, i.e., the civil schools; it is not clear whether this was to include the *'Amaliyāt* and the Translation Bureau. The official list gives the date of Lambert's date of retirement as April, 1849 (v. Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 47) and the appointment of Mubārak in the same month; from the above, Lambert appears to have been director until 1851.

³ *Khitaṭ*, 9/44 and Rāfi'i, *Aṣr Ismā'īl*, I/235; the figure seems unusually large as the expenditure for all the schools in 1849 did not reach half that amount. The incident is reported from Mubārak's own statement and would appear to have been exaggerated.

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'Abbās. The ruler asked the would-be reorganiser if he thought the plan could be a success, to which Mubārak replied that it depended upon the director; 'Abbās thereupon promoted him to the rank of *amīralāi* and made him director of the school and its dependencies, which post he kept until Sa'īd sent him to the Crimea.

Although 'Abdī Shukrī was *Nāẓir* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris*, probably his functions were connected mainly with the public works and buildings, since 'Abbās charged Mubārak with the selection of the teachers, the students, the books and other arrangements of the *Madrasat al-Mafrūzah*. Mubārak seems to have been the virtual head of the educational programmes of the *Dīwān al-Madāris*; his influence with 'Abbās Pasha was such that it can be claimed that he was in great part responsible for the organisation adopted during his reign.

'Alī Mubārak, according to his autobiography, took a great interest in the teaching methods of the members of his staff and was constantly visiting their classes, making suggestions regarding their behaviour and how to discipline the students. He took a vital interest, too, in the preparation of suitable texts for the students of all the schools and the army, writing them and translating them with the help of his colleagues. He made use of the printing and lithograph presses and records that he printed over 60,000 books for the use of the technical and military schools. The School of Engineering lithograph press, in particular, turned out atlases and illustrated works under his direction.¹

There must have been a considerable number of students at the School of Engineering during the period that 'Alī Mubārak was director, for the budget of 1839² showed 211 students with an annual expenditure of £E.2575-20PT; the 1849 budget showed 132 students with an annual cost of £E.3085-56PT which, of course, included the expenditure on the Observatory. 'Abbās was more economical than Muḥammad 'Alī, as has been seen with the comparative cost of the *Madrasat al-Mafrūzah* and the old military schools; consequently, with the Observatory now no longer drawing on the school funds, and the budget fixed at £E.5,000, there must have been over four hundred students at work. Probably the students who had been under Rifā'ah in the School of Languages and Accountancy were transferred to the School of Engineering.

¹ *Khitaṭ*, 9/43-5; Rāfi'i, *Aṣr Ismā'īl*, I/234-6. ² v. *supra*, p. 219.

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The School of Medicine presented some difficulties. It has been seen from the above statement that 'Abbās Pasha employed 223 medical men, pharmacists and orderlies in the army; it is hardly likely, therefore, that he should wish to neglect the School of Medicine. In 1849, the statistics show that there were 126 students in the school; by this time, the Egyptian *efendīs* who had been to Paris were at work in the school as professors and doctors.

Clot Bey resigned in April 1849 and wrote unfavourably about 'Abbās in his memoirs.¹ Contemporary writers endeavour to prove that the school could not be run by the native doctors²; Duvigneau and Perron both tried to manage the school and hospital for a short time, but both were unsuccessful and returned to France.³ Perron was busy at this time with his Arabic studies and collecting books.⁴ Muḥammad Shāfi'ī was given a chance as director but was a failure, and, 'Abbās, not willing to give up the struggle, and at the suggestion of some of his officials,⁵ turned in 1850 to Germany, where he was able to avail himself of the services of Wilhelm Griesinger, professor of pathology at Kiel. He became director of the School and Hospital, president of the Sanitary Council and private physician to 'Abbās.⁶ 'Abbās also acquired the services of Theodor Bilharz shortly after Griesinger's arrival; he was appointed assistant professor of surgery and became professor of medicine in 1856 and professor of descriptive anatomy later on. Both Griesinger and Bilharz devoted themselves to important medical research work in Egypt although their Egyptian colleagues and the students proved very hard to manage and the school was used as an arena for international rivalries. Bilharz discovered the parasite called *Schistosoma haematobium*, generally called *Bilharzia* after the name of the discoverer, and Griesinger wrote many useful works on diseases peculiar to the Egyptians. Rayer, who had come with Griesinger and was appointed as a surgeon, replaced Griesinger in 1852 as the latter had only accepted the post on a contract of two years.

These Germans were essentially scholars and were too

¹ Quoted by Mahfouz, p. 39.

² v. *supra*, pp. 241-2.

³ Sharaf, op. cit., p. 182 sq., Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 39 sq.

⁴ See Perron's letters to M. Mohl, edited by Artin Pasha, Cairo, 1911.

⁵ Clot, *Relation des phases parcourues par l'institution médicale en Egypte sous les gouvernements d'Abbās et de Saïd Pacha*, s.d. p. 2, states simply that two beys advised 'Abbās to get the Germans.

⁶ Bourgues, *Histoire de Clot Bey*, s.d. Chapter X, pp. 65-9, where a short account of the hospital and school during this period is given.

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engrossed in their research work to become acclimatised to the Egyptian atmosphere at the hospital. Whatever may be said against the military system on which all the institutions of Muḥammad 'Alī had been run, yet there is much in its favour, for, without the iron hand of discipline, very little could be achieved. An outsider, coming fresh to the system from a European university, would find it hard to adapt himself to it and to pick up the reins from a predecessor; but if the reins were once dropped slackness set in amongst both staff and students, leading to an almost certain collapse of the structure. This applies particularly to the School of Medicine and Hospital. The system and Clot Bey had grown up together; with Clot's removal, the school lost its direction, and the constant change of directors before the arrival of the Germans could only have made matters worse. 'Abbās could see that things were going from bad to worse and decided to accept the advice of an Italian merchant, M. Petracchi, who offered to acquire the services of some eminent Italians. These were the Doctors Raggi and Ranzi of Florence.¹ Raggi was made professor of medicine, and Ranzi, professor of surgery.

The Egyptian doctors and translators who had been so hard put to it during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, translating works into Arabic, now took a rest, for hardly a single translation appeared under 'Abbās. It needed the strong hand of a task master to make them work, and 'Abbās had not the capacity to do this, yet it will be seen that 'Abbās sent a large number of medical men to Europe, in fact, more than Muḥammad 'Alī. Their names will be given below.

Education Missions to Europe during the reign of 'Abbās I

When 'Abbās came to the throne, the Egyptian Military School in Paris was still in existence and there were a number of students accommodated in it. Most of the students who had been sent in 1844 had finished their courses and were due to return home; the military mission students were, in fact, recalled and the remaining students were able to go to other private houses or schools in order to continue their studies. Zaidān maintains that the French revolution of 1848 had affected the school and made it necessary to close it down² but there seems nothing unusual in closing down an establishment, the usefulness

¹ Clot, *Relations des phases, etc.*, p. 7.

² Zaidān, *Ta'rikh al-Ādāb al-lughat al-'Arabiyyah*, IV/33.

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of which had ceased to exist; it had served its purpose and the new ruler had no longer any use for it. If Egyptians or Turks were to be sent to Europe, it would be far more beneficial if they were encouraged to frequent French homes, French schools and establishments and French society, if possible, rather than to have them all housed in one place where they would be sure to form a small colony and, thrown together, would find little or no inducement to speak French, and certainly no external influences to stimulate their minds.

Although the school had been set up mainly for the training of military officers yet it had been used for other purposes as we have seen from the list of students sent in 1844. There are probably two other reasons for the cessation of this school in Paris apart from the expense of keeping it up. 'Abbās did not think it necessary to send his students to France alone, he preferred to use his own discretion and to send them to those countries which were famous for certain specialities, such as the schools of medicine in Germany and Austria and engineering studies in England. Another perhaps more surprising aspect of his own missions to Europe was the fact that he paid far less attention to military missions than did Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm. He was probably of the opinion that military specialisation had been overdone out of all proportion with other kinds of training which would be more beneficial to the service of the country.¹

'Abbās, although he recalled those who had been sent to take up military studies, yet still maintained the others who had been sent to England and France and who had not yet completed their work. The above lists show the date of return of most of them.

Artīn, whose work on education in Egypt has been one of the main sources of previous writers on this subject, gives the total number of students sent by 'Abbās as 19 with a total expenditure of £E.49,675²; 'Abdallah Nadīm³ gives the total of 48 with a total expenditure of £E.82,923. The following lists will show that Nadīm's figure is nearer the truth and will also show that 'Abbās cannot be accused of having neglected the mission side of Egyptian educational policy. The outstanding feature of his missions was the attention which he paid to the value of educational work done in other countries besides France, especially in medicine. Only three students were sent to France during his reign.

¹ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 418.

² Op. cit., p. 209.

³ Op. cit., p. 737.

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First Mission to Bavaria sent 12th June, 1849

1. Sālim Sālim.
2. Khalīl Ibrāhīm.
3. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Alfī.
4. Muṣṭafā an-Najdī.
5. Muḥammad 'Umar.
6. Muḥammad 'Alī Riḍā.
7. Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā Bushnāk.
8. Murād Yūsuf.
9. Muṣṭafā Khālīd.

Second batch attached to the first Mission sent 31st October, 1850

10. Muḥammad ash-Shāmī.
11. Mūsā Muḥammad.
12. Muḥammad Hilmī.
13. Khalīl Ibrāhīm an-Nabrāwī.
14. Ḥasan 'Amir.
15. Maḥmūd Nāfi'.

Second Mission sent to England 20th January, 1850

16. Abū'l-Majd Ibrāhīm.

Another batch sent 31st October, 1850 and attached to this Mission

17. Muḥammad Badr.
18. Muṣṭafā Muṣṭafā.
19. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Kātib.
20. Muḥammad 'Alī as-Subkī.
21. 'Abdar-Rāziq Darwish.

Third Mission to France sent 8th October, 1850

22. Maḥmūd Aḥmad.
23. Ismā'il Muṣṭafā.
24. Ḥusain Ibrāhīm.

Fourth Mission to Italy (Pisa) sent end October, 1850

25. Muḥammad Riyān.
26. Ibrāhīm Shāhīn.
27. 'Alī Shūshah.
28. Muḥammad Ḥamid.
29. Gurgī Dimitrī.

Fifth Mission sent to Vienna in 1851

30. Ismā'il Kāmil.
31. 'Abdal-Kādir Hilmī.
32. 'Uthmān Ghālīb.

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Sixth Mission sent to Berlin either at the end of 1853 or at the beginning of 1854

33. Hāfiz 'Iffat.
34. Muḥammad Rāsikh.
35. Muḥammad Nāshī.
36. Khūrshīd Nāshī.
37. Muṣṭafā Nā'il.
38. Hāmid Amīn.
39. Muḥammad 'Aṭif.
40. 'Abdallah Shukrī.
41. Yūsuf Shuhdī.

If Nadīm's figure is correct, then there are seven others whose names have not been recorded.

Biographical Notices:

1. Father an Azharī employed by Muḥammad 'Alī as a preacher to one of the regiments, later as a corrector of the translations done in the School of Medicine; Sālim learnt the Kor'ān at first in the *kuttābs* and then joined Muḥammad 'Alī's schools; he studied for two years at the School of Languages under Rifā'ah, at the end of 1844, he joined the School of Medicine where he stayed until about 1849; chosen by Adham and Clot for the medical mission to Munich with eight others; he returned to Egypt in 1855 and filled many important posts; he translated three works into Arabic; died 1893.
2. Sent to Munich to study medicine; returned November, 1852, and was employed in the Civil Service and then in the Naval Medical Service.
3. Sent to Munich to study medicine, later to Vienna; returned November, 1855, employed in the Army Medical Service and under Ismā'il, in the Public Health Dept.
4. Studied medicine in Munich and Vienna; returned November, 1855; employed in the Army Medical Service, then with Sa'id Pasha and later in the Public Health Dept.; at the time of the 'Arābī rebellion, he was Chief Physician in the War Dept; he took part in the rebellion and was exiled with Muḥammad 'Abduh and Ibrāhīm al-Lakānī to Syria; he later went to Constantinople where he became private physician to Prince Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Halīm; he returned to Cairo in 1888 and set up in private practice; died 1912.
5. Sent to Munich to study Medicine but returned in November, 1852, before he completed his studies; he appears to have been appointed as a teacher in the *Muhandis-khānah*.
6. Sent to Munich to study medicine, returned in November, 1855, and was employed in the Army Medical Service under Sa'id Pasha; under Ismā'il Pasha, he was employed in the Dept. of the Interior.
7. Sent to Munich to study medicine in 1849 and returned in November, 1855; employed in the Army Medical Service and later in the Dept. of the Interior.

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8. Sent to Munich to study medicine and on his return in November, 1855, was employed in the Army Medical Service.
9. As 7 and 8 (returned January, 1855).
10. As 7 and 8 (returned January, 1855).
11. As 7 and 8 (returned January, 1855).
12. As 9, 10 and 11.
13. Son of Ibrāhīm an-Nabarāwī, one of the first medical students sent to France; he stayed in Munich until 1862 and then was sent to France; he returned to Egypt in 1863 and was employed in the Public Health Dept.
14. As 12.
15. As 12; under Ismā'il Pasha, he was made Chief Medical Officer in the Schools Dept.
16. Sent to England to study mechanics; returned to Egypt in January, 1853; was employed on the railways for a time and then in the foundries.
17. Studied at several of the schools in Egypt, including the School of Medicine: sent to England to study medicine and on his return, was first of all employed in the Army Medical Service and then in the School of Medicine; he was given many other posts in various parts of Egypt and went to Europe several times after his return; he wrote three works on medicine; died 1902.
18. Sent to study medicine at Edinburgh; returned in April, 1856; employed in the Army Medical Service for a time but after a short while, gave up the appointment and returned to England where he took up commerce on his own account; it is said that he probably died in England.
19. His father was the chief clerk in the School of Medicine; sent to Edinburgh to study medicine and returned in April, 1856; under Sa'id, he was employed in the Army Medical Service and under Ismā'il, he was employed in the Civil Service. He had a good reputation as a doctor; died 1880.
20. Studied medicine at Edinburgh; returned to Egypt in April, 1856; employed in the Army Medical Service and later in the Public Health Dept.
21. Studied medicine at Edinburgh and returned to Egypt in April, 1856; employed in the Army Medical Service and then as a teacher of English because he knew English so well; Ismā'il Pasha chose him as a private tutor to his sons in order to teach them English; he afterwards was employed in the schools and was appointed to high administrative posts; he was suspected of political intrigues after the 'Arābī rebellion in 1883; died 1905.
22. First of all, he studied in the Naval School under Muḥammad 'Alī, then in the School of Engineering; he worked as a teacher before he was sent to France to study mathematics and astronomy; returned to Egypt in August, 1859; he became director of the School of Engineering and the Observatory in 1871; he represented Egypt on two scientific congresses, one in Paris in 1875 and the other in Vienna in 1881; he became a famous scholar who left behind many works on mathematics and astronomy.
23. Was a student of 22 and achieved fame in the same branches;

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he represented Egypt on a scientific congress in Moscow in 1873; he wrote several important works.

24. Sent to study the same branches as 22 and 23; returned in 1855 (March); was private tutor to Ismā'il's sons and later an engineer in the Public Works Dept.

25. Sent to Pisa to study medicine and then went on to France; he returned to Egypt in January, 1859, and was apparently employed in the School of Medicine after his return.

26. Sent to Pisa to study medicine and returned in 1857; employed in the School of Medicine on his return.

27. Sent to Pisa to study medicine and returned in 1857; employed in the Hospital on his return and then in the Public Health Dept.; in 1882, he went on pension and opened a private clinic and a pharmacy which was well known and patronised. Died in 1903.

28. Studied medicine at Pisa and returned in 1857; he was not employed by the government on account of some misunderstanding.

29. Apparently of Greek extraction; studied at the School of Medicine and was sent to Italy with 25, 26, 27, and 28; on his return, he was employed in the Hospital and later sent to the Sūdān with the military forces; other members of his family appear to have studied medicine and one turned Moslem and married into an Egyptian family.

30. Ismā'il Kāmil was a Circassian and was brought to Egypt by his father who went to the Hijāz and died there; Ismā'il was educated in the government schools and then sent to Vienna to study medicine; during the reign of Sa'id Pasha, he was transferred to Paris for the purpose of taking up military studies; he was sent with the expedition to Crete in 1866, to Abyssinia in 1875 and was later employed with the Turkish forces; he achieved high rank and was made a pasha and had a reputation of being a good soldier; he died in 1893.

31. His father was 'Uthmān Ef., who had taken part in the Syrian campaign with Ibrāhīm Pasha; 'Abdal-Kādir was born in Syria during the campaign; he was educated in the government schools and studied medicine; he was sent to Vienna for this purpose; he actually completed his medical studies although he preferred military science and on his return to Egypt during the reign of Sa'id, was sent to the Engineers Corps and from a cadet, soon was promoted; in October, 1864, he was an *Amīralāi*; he was given other promotions and several high posts in the administrations but he is better known for his work in the Sūdān against the Mahdī. He died in 1908.

32. A Circassian who was brought to Egypt by his father; studied in the *Mafrūzah* and then sent to Vienna to take up military studies there; he returned during the reign of Sa'id Pasha; he was rapidly promoted to high rank and helped in the reorganisation of the army under Ismā'il Pasha. He was made governor of several provinces and was given the prefecture of police several times; he was against 'Arābī Pasha and Taufīk Pasha rewarded him accordingly; he died in 1893.

33. Studied medicine. Nothing is known about him.

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34. Studied military science; returned during the reign of Sa'id Pasha and was employed in the Sūdān. Died, 1900 (Turk).

35. (Turk.) Studied military science; was employed in the army on his return during the reign of Sa'id Pasha; at the time of the Mahdī rising, he had the rank of *Amīralāi*; he was one of the officers sent to relieve Gordon. He died in 1902.

36. Sent to study military science; nothing is known about him.

37. (Circassian.) Sent to Berlin to study military science; on his return to Egypt during the reign of Sa'id Pasha, he was employed in the army and achieved high rank.

38. Sent to Berlin to study pharmaceuticals; under Sa'id Pasha, he was ordered to change over to military studies and on his return to Egypt, was employed in the army; he rose to high rank and joined 'Arābī Pasha; after the rebellion was put down, he was placed on pension. He was a good linguist for he knew Turkish, French, German, and other languages. He died in 1916.

39. (Turk.) Sent to Berlin to learn pharmaceuticals; probably changed over to military science as the previous man but very little is known about him.

40. Brother of 30. Sent to Berlin to study medicine; Under Sa'id Pasha, he changed over to military studies; he did not stay very long in Berlin for Sa'id ordered him to return and sent him to one of his schools in Cairo; he was employed in the army and later in the police; died 1895.

41. (Circassian.) Sent to Berlin to study medicine and then changed over to military studies; he rose to high rank in the army and was sent on several campaigns; he was commissioned by the Khedive to negotiate with the Dervishes in the Sūdān; he filled high administrative posts and in 1893, he was *Nāzir* of the War and Naval Departments; he died in 1899.

Out of 41 students, 31 were sent to study medicine, although Sa'id Pasha made some of them change over to military science afterwards, while three took up mathematics and astronomy. Most of these students did not return until after the death of 'Abbās Pasha, but they helped in the development of modern Egypt and several of them did first class work.

The sixth mission appears to have been organised a little differently to the others; the students were very young (three were fourteen, four were fifteen, one was sixteen and one was seventeen), and were probably in need of extra supervision; the teachers who were put in charge of their studies were MM. Helwing, Mahon, Saeger, Lehmann, Pletsch, Meyer, Musfold, Ballot, and Lutze; Professor Mitscherlich was the supervisor and Dr. Goedeke, the medical officer.

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NON-GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION WORK

Catholic Missionary Schools

The Catholics continued their progress under 'Abbās; he does not appear to have interfered with their religious and cultural life any more than did Muḥammad 'Alī or Ibrāhīm. The activities in Cairo were not in any way restricted; the Franciscans rebuilt their church in the Mūsī in 1852 and built another in the same year in the Būlāḳ quarter, the latter being particularly frequented by the Maltese section of the population.¹

When the Frères left the Lazarists in Alexandria in 1852,² the latter decided to run their own college. They appear to have taken over the Frères' *Pensionnat* where fees had to be paid for the instruction given³; as it was only just begun under the direction of Abbé Bel, it probably had but few students by the end of the reign of 'Abbās in 1854. Guérin visited this college in 1858.⁴

The Frères then sought refuge with the Franciscan fathers where they were able to keep up their *École gratuite*; on the 15th April, 1853, they laid the foundation stone of the college which was given the name of Saint-Catherine on account of its proximity to the church. This took the place of the *Pensionnat* which had been taken over by the Lazarists. The *École gratuite* remained at the convent of the Franciscan father until 1857.⁵

In 1854 the Frères extended their educational work to Cairo, five brethren being sent to Cairo at the request of Mgr. Perpetuo Guasco, the Vicar and Apostolic Delegate of Egypt. Father Leonardo, guardian of the convent in Cairo, gave them a house opposite his convent and busied himself in procuring sufficient funds to enable the Frères to carry on their teaching work in an *École gratuite*. Leonardo himself gave a thousand francs towards the work,⁶ and the school was opened on the 15th February, 1854.⁷ After the opening of this school, the same policy which had been pursued in Alexandria was now adopted in Cairo; the school was divided into two parts, one where the students had to pay fees, and the other where they were taught gratuitously. The Office of the Propaganda in Rome undertook to make an allowance of 2,400 francs annually from the 1st October, 1854, in order to cover the cost of three of the Frères.

¹ Guérin, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

² v. *supra*, p. 278.

³ Ibid., p. 62; also Gentil, *Souvenirs d'Orient*, Paris, 1855, p. 455.

⁴ Guérin, op. cit., p. 157.

⁵ v. *supra*, p. 278.

⁶ Guérin, op. cit., pp. 47-8.

⁷ Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

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The five Frères were soon found to be insufficient on account of the growing number of students and three others were sent in November of the same year. The Frères gave the name of Saint-Joseph to their *Pensionnat*.¹

Amici gives 1853 as the date of the foundation of the *Pensionnat* of the *Bon Pasteur* in Port Said, as well as of another day school where fees were paid.²

The Franciscan fathers appear to have recommenced their work in Upper Egypt where they had settled during the 18th century; they opened a school for boys in Nagādah in 1850 and another in Girgā in 1853.³

The Copts.

The various attempts made to introduce western educational methods into Egypt do not appear to have affected the Coptic population. One never meets with a Coptic name, although they continued to serve Muḥammad 'Alī in much the same way as they had always served the rulers. They had their own *kuttābs* or elementary religious schools,⁴ but no establishment for higher learning.⁵ The Catholics had come into contact with some Copts in Upper Egypt and a few Copts had been sent to Rome for their education.⁶ During the latter part of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign, the English Missionaries had been able to open one or two schools,⁷ some of the students of which had been employed by Muḥammad 'Alī.

No attempt had been made to reform the Coptic Church until the reign of 'Abbās; but during his period, a reform party appeared at the head of which was a Coptic monk who became the Patriarch and was known as Cyril IV.

Cyril, whose original name was Dā'ūd, is an outstanding figure in 19th century Egypt.⁸ He was born in the province of Girgā of very poor parents. He learnt to read and write Arabic and Coptic in the local Coptic schools, and used to mix with the Arabs, from whom he learnt to ride very well. When he

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 16; Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

² Amici, op. cit., pp. 250-1; this is probably a printer's error for 1863 as the town was not founded in 1853. Guérin, op. cit., p. 208, states that they did not settle there until 1863.

³ Amici, op. cit., pp. 254-5.

⁴ v. *supra*, p. 85 sq.

⁵ v. *supra*, p. 87.

⁶ v. *supra*, p. 89.

⁷ v. *supra*, p. 279 sq.

⁸ Ruffailah, *Ta'rikh al-'Ummat al-Kibṭiyah*, Cairo, 1898, p. 305, sq.

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was 23, he entered the monastery of St. Anthony, and soon made himself conspicuous on account of his intelligence, good judgment and studious habits. After he had been at the monastery for about two years, the head of it died and his companions voted for him as the new head. He took a great interest in the cultural welfare of his companions and the local people and is reputed to have started a kind of centre where they could meet to discuss religious and literary problems; he is also credited with having opened a school at Būsh where young Copts could learn Coptic and Arabic.

Trouble had broken out in Abyssinia between the Archbishop and his clergy, and Cyril was sent by the Patriarch to investigate the affair and to effect a reconciliation between the two parties. He had not been away more than a year when the Patriarch died (in 1852). The usual elections for the nomination of his successor followed; one party nominated Dā'ūd, and another the Bishop of Ikhmīm. The latter's supporters turned down Dā'ūd on the ground that he was unknown, but, during the discussions, news arrived that Dā'ūd had reached the frontiers of Egypt, a fact which encouraged Dā'ūd's party.

A good deal of strife followed for about ten months, during which time the relative merits of each candidate were being discussed, but Dā'ūd had a strong following on account of his known leanings towards reform. The quarrel ended with a compromise through the influence of a certain Wortabet and Dā'ūd was selected as Archbishop on probation in 1853 with the permission of 'Abbās; in the very next year, having proved his worth, he was made Patriarch and took the name of Cyril IV.

Immediately he was made Archbishop, however, he set to work to introduce some more up-to-date schools.¹ His first school was the Coptic Patriarchal College which he began to build in 1853.² In the same year, he started three other schools, a girls' school in the Azbakiyah quarter, another girls' school in Ḥārat as-Sakḳā'in, and a boy's school in the same quarter.³

This was the first attempt on the part of the Copts to set up their own schools with a view to introducing western methods, and it is significant that Cyril paid as much attention to the education of the girls as he did for the boys. As the development of these new Coptic schools belongs to a later period, it is not

¹ Rufailah, op. cit., p. 311.

² Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

Cairo, 1910, 11/127-8 and 135.

³ Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

Khīṭaṭ, 6/72, Iskariūs, *Nawābiḡh al-Aḡbāṭ*,

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proposed to go beyond the limits of the reign of 'Abbās; suffice it to note that 'Abbās had helped Cyril to the office of Patriarch and did not stand in the way of his reforms. The nomination of Cyril marks a turning point in the cultural history of the Copts.¹

The Greeks

On turning to the Greeks who had been busy with their educational schemes during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, we find them pushing ahead. The results of their efforts do great credit to their public spirit. In 1854, the Alexandrian Greek Community built a large building for the accommodation of the elementary school, a school for boys, another for girls and a library; it had been built at the expense of Tossizza who had also given the community the site on which to build; and was called after the name of its founder.²

The Cairene Community was not yet organised during the reign of 'Abbās I, but the famous Greek school known as the *Abet School* after its founders must be mentioned here. The school did not belong to the Community but was set up by the three brothers Abet (Raphael, Ananias and Georges); the school building was begun in 1854 but was not finished until 1856,³ i.e., during the reign of Sa'īd Pasha, and so will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Other Communities

There was no fresh development on the part of the English missionary Societies, although Mr. Lieder was still in the country.⁴ The American Presbyterian Mission began work in Egypt in 1854, but the activities of this mission fall into a later period.

'Abbās left four schools, two of which were very large and supplied the government services with the required number of officials, which was all that he intended to do. There was no boast that the education of the people was being encouraged and was receiving the support of the ruler. There was no demand for public education; the schools of 'Abbās, which

¹ Fowler, op. cit., p. 131 sq.

² *v. supra*, p. 275, Politis, op. cit., I/270-1, Amici gives the name of the *École gratuite Helléno-Égyptienne* set up in Alexandria in 1854; it is not clear whether this is the same school or some other private establishment; this name is not given elsewhere; *v. op. cit.*, pp. 250-1.

³ Politis, op. cit., I/443.

⁴ Fowler, op. cit., p. 243.

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were not created in order to supply men for Armies which were in constant action, were in wise proportion to the size of the fighting and administrative services, and did not throw any undue strain on the financial resources of the country.

CHAPTER IV

MUHAMMAD SA'ID (1854-1863)

Sa'id to Koenig, "*Why open the eyes of the people, they will only be more difficult to rule.*"—(Malortie, *Egypt: Native Rulers and Foreign Interference*, London, 1882, p. 69.)

'Abbās was assassinated on the 13th July, 1854 in his palace at Banhā and was succeeded by Muḥammad Sa'id, fourth son of Muḥammad 'Alī and 'Abbās's uncle. He had been educated by European teachers, among whom, was Koenig, who had come to Egypt during the beginning of the first military reforms, and who now became Sa'id's secretary. Sa'id is reputed to have spoken French and English fluently, but he could not read Turkish, his mother tongue.¹ He had been trained for the navy and had attained the rank of Admiral of the Fleet under his father, but when 'Abbās came to the throne, he resigned his post, withdrew from public affairs and retired to Alexandria.

The new ruler represents the very antithesis of the sensible 'Abbās. Sa'id was francophile to an absurd degree; his weakness of character and vanity led him to surround himself with worthless courtiers and adventurers,² whom 'Abbās had wisely avoided. He lacked the good judgment of his predecessor, was careless, impetuous, extravagant and unstable.³ A typical Oriental, his wish to go down in history as a liberal and generous monarch only led him to dispose of the revenues of the country, to leave it in debt at this death, to make his subjects regret the reign of 'Abbās,⁴ and to involve his successor in all sorts of problems which he had neither the character nor the abilities to solve.

'Abbās had been described, among other things, as suspicious⁵; but his suspicions never allowed him to go to the lengths of Sa'id, who, when about to visit the Sūdān, disbanded the whole

¹ Senior, *op. cit.*, II/178.

² Audouard, *Les Mystères de l'Égypte dévoilés*, Paris, 1866, p. 147, pp. 459 to 482.

³ See particularly Sammarco, *op. cit.*, p. 21, Senior *ibid.*, I/181, Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230, Rāfi'i, *Aṣr Ismā'il*, I/24, Audouard, *ibid.*, 145 sq.

⁴ Senior, *op. cit.*, I/36.

⁵ Rāfi'i, *Aṣr Ismā'il*, I/10.

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of his army for fear of its rebelling against him during his absence, and on his return, mobilised it again.¹

Sa'id found a well-equipped army on his accession; his complete lack of discipline and order ruined it. He had an "amiable weakness" in the belief of his own genius for war² and his favourite hobby was the almost constant manœuvring of his troops until it became a joke. He thought he was being just in reforming the regulations for conscription so that all classes should be available for military service and that the *fallāḥīn* should not be sacrificed to the advantage of the other classes,³ but his system only made him intensely unpopular with the very people from whom he sought popularity.⁴

He sought to promote Egyptian officers to high rank in the army—and spoilt them—so that Turks and Circassians should not monopolise the posts of command,⁵ a practice which alienated the class from which he had sprung⁶ and which was dropped under Ismā'il Pasha.⁷ This was one of the chief complaints of the 'Arābī rebels; 'Arābī quotes Sa'id's speech to the effect that Egyptians should have equality with the Turks and Circassians⁸ and was hurt that Ismā'il and Taufīk had not acted in the same way.

The Egyptian Government, i.e., Sa'id, having pledged itself to the Suez Canal enterprise, had to supply four fifths of the labour for digging, and Sa'id disbanded a large part of his army in order to fulfil his engagements. In 1860, when he remobilised his army, he had 64,000 men,⁹ but we have it on the authority of de Lesseps himself that Sa'id reduced the forces to eight to ten thousand men in order to send them to work on the Canal.¹⁰ The degeneration of the Egyptian Army dates back to Sa'id's reign; with him it was a toy. The sacrifice of man power and of the financial resources of the country resulting

¹ Sarhank, op. cit., II/270; Rāfi'i, ibid., I/32.

² Cameron, op. cit., pp. 229-230; Sammarco, op. cit., pp. 27-8 and p. 75.

³ 'Abbās began the conscription reform but it was Sa'id who extended it to include the Copts, without exception, and the shaiḫ classes; v. *supra*, pp. 293-4 and Sarhank, op. cit., p. 260. 'Abbās sometimes took Copts, v. Senior, op. cit., II/72-4.

⁴ Senior, op. cit., II/45, where it is reported that the regular army hated Sa'id, see also Merruau, op. cit., pp. 20-44.

⁵ Blunt, *Secret History of the English Occupation*, London, 1907, pp. 131 and 481, Rāfi'i, ibid., I/30-1.

⁶ Rāfi'i, op. cit., I/31.

⁷ Sacré and Outrebon, *L'Égypte et Ismail Pacha*, Paris, 1865, pp. 166-7; Blunt, ibid., p. 131.

⁸ Blunt, loc. cit., Rāfi'i, loc. cit.

⁹ Sarhank, op. cit., II/275.

¹⁰ Rāfi'i, ibid., I/32-3.

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from the Suez Canal enterprise was as disastrous as had been Muḥammad 'Alī's campaigns and monopolies. The plan which had been the ambition of the Saint-Simonites,¹ and with which Muḥammad 'Alī had toyed in order to keep certain Europeans interested in him,² but with which no one dared approach 'Abbās,³ became the trap into which Sa'id fell, and which finally helped lead the country to bankruptcy and the British occupation. De Lesseps, in his memoir to Sa'id Pasha on the 15th November, 1854, pointed out to him the financial, commercial and political advantages that the waterway would offer to Egypt in particular, and that it would be a guarantee for Egyptian independence instead of compromising it⁴; the most casual acquaintance with the history of modern Egypt proves exactly the contrary.

Owing to the opposition of the Porte and the invention of steam-power for sea-going vessels, the Egyptian Navy had to be neglected. Sa'id tried to find employment for the ships, officers and men on two mercantile enterprises, run by Europeans for the most part, but they do not appear to have been very successful.⁵

Sa'id, it is true, introduced reforms which should have improved the economic welfare of the *fallāḥīn*, his extravagance and the responsibilities he took upon himself outweighed the material advantages of these measures.

In the same erratic manner as Sa'id dealt with his army, so did he treat educational matters.

Merruau, who wrote in 1857, appreciates the difficulties that Muḥammad 'Alī had to face in establishing a system of education; he states that "*Tous ces efforts n'ont rien produit. C'était une semence exotique, jetée sur un terrain mal préparé. Elle n'a pas fructifié. Les familles ont considéré l'obligation d'envoyer les enfants aux écoles, à peu près du même œil qu'elles envisageaient la nécessité de les envoyer à l'armée*"⁶ He points out that the transformation that Muḥammad 'Alī wished to undertake must necessarily be the work of generations and not of a few years⁷; he endeavours to defend Sa'id by stating that Muḥammad 'Alī's institutions were neglected by 'Abbās and were in such a decadent and disorderly state on the accession of Sa'id, that he considered

¹ v. *supra*, pp. 144-5.

² Ibid., p. 65.

³ Sammarco, op. cit., pp. 49-63.

⁴ Cameron, op. cit., p. 236.

⁵ Sammarco, ibid., pp. 75-6; Cameron, ibid., p. 230.

⁶ Sarhank, ibid., II/273; Rāfi'i, ibid., I/34-6.

⁷ Merruau, *L'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris, 1858, p. 81.

⁸ Ibid., p. 82.

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it better to suppress them altogether rather than endeavour to reorganise them.¹ The doubtful logic of this way of reasoning has been criticised by Rāfi'ī.² Alderberg explains Sa'id's action in the following terms, "*Said-Pacha, de son côté, détruit aujourd'hui (c.1860) tout ce qu'a fait son prédécesseur à lui et tâche, quand il en trouve l'occasion, de donner tort à son neveu, en faisant au contraire revivre la gloire de son père*"³ and adds further that money was wasted on his whims and hatreds.⁴ Merruau, however, also admits that Muḥammad 'Alī himself neglected most of the schools after the signing of the peace treaty.⁵

The educational policy adopted by Muḥammad 'Alī up to 1840 had failed because it was only applicable to certain conditions, viz., perpetual warfare and that after 1841 was one of neglect and indifference; 'Abbās's policy was stable and suitable to the state of Egypt during his reign. Egyptian writers, particularly, fail to appreciate the fact that there was no Egyptian public opinion at this time, and that there was no demand for education. In fact, education as understood in the west was not the education that had been presented to the Egyptians, and they had serious misapprehensions about it.

If it is true that some at least of the schools that Sa'id found on his accession were in a state of decadence, the School of Medicine appears to have been the worst. He is reported to have closed it for the reason that it had become a trade there to deliver fraudulent certificates of ill-health to exempt men from military service.⁶ This is no reflexion on 'Abbās but on the moral courage of the Egyptians who resorted to such a practice and on the character of the Egyptian doctors who were in responsible positions in the school and hospital and who had not yet learnt to uphold the dignity of their profession as medical men.

The account given above of the School of Engineering under 'Alī Mubārak disproves the fact that this school was decadent, yet Sa'id closed it in August, 1854, i.e., one month after his accession, obviously for no other reason than that 'Abbās had made a success of it; 'Alī Mubārak was sent to the Crimea, and complains in his memoir that calumniators had brought this upon him and upon the school of which he was so proud.⁷

¹ Merruau, *ibid.*, p. 82.

² Alderberg, *En Orient*, St. Petersburg, 1867, I/91.

³ *Ibid.*, I/92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-6.

⁵ Mahfouz, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Sa'id put the students into the army.

⁷ *Khīṭaṭ*, 9/44.

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The 'Amaliyāt was closed in December, 1854 and the director was probably dismissed.¹

On the other hand, Sa'id did not close down the *Madrasat al-Mafrūzah* until September 1861²; Aḥmad Bey Kamāl was director until February, 1856, Aḥmad Ef. al-Jazā'irī until December, 1858, Ibrāhīm Adham until June, 1860, Ḥasan Sulaimān until August, 1860 and Sulaimān Najjātī until August, 1861.³ This continual change of directors displays his fickleness, and could not have a very salutary effect upon the establishment.

Five months after Sa'id had come to the throne, he had the *Dīwān al-Madāris* closed⁴ and, thereafter, appears to have managed the schools, either through the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*, or by himself; he then, "*rétablit, supprima, puis rétablit et supprima de nouveau, les écoles de l'État, selon ses fantaisies et ses besoins du moment, selon les influences diverses qui agissent son esprit, et enfin, selon les embarras financiers auxquels il voulait mettre un terme, ou bien l'état florissant, en apparence, des ressources financières du moment.*"⁵

The first school that Sa'id opened was the *Madrasat al-Harbiyah*, or "War School," in the Citadel, constituted in July, 1856⁶ under Rifā'ah, who had been recalled from the Sūdān.⁷ Rifā'ah was given several other departments to supervise at the same time, namely, the Translation Bureau, the School of Accountancy, the School of Civil Engineering and the Inspectorate of the Building Department.⁸ The School of Accountancy was probably a smaller version of the old School of Languages and Accountancy which Rifā'ah had managed before being sent to the Sūdān. The School of Civil Engineering and Building Department was apparently the *Madrasat al-Imārah*,⁹ the

¹ Sāmī, *op. cit.*, app. III, p. 47.

² Sarhank, *op. cit.*, II/270, states that Sa'id closed this school in 1271-1854; probably the status of the school was changed to make room for the other experiments of Sa'id.

³ Sāmī, *ibid.*, app. III, pp. 45-6.

⁴ Artin, *op. cit.*, p. 90; also p. 169, where he gives the date as 16th Dec., 1854; Sarhank, *op. cit.*, II/270, gives the date as 25th Rabi' I, 1271-26th Dec., 1854.

⁵ Artin, *op. cit.*, p. 90 and Sammarco, *ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶ Sāmī, *op. cit.*, app. III, p. 51, Artin, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁷ Majdī, *Ḥilyat az-Zamān*, p. 31, Rāfi'ī, *Ta'rikh al-Harakat al-Kaumiyah*, III/493 and his *Aṣr Ismā'īl*, I/45; Rifā'ah had returned to Cairo in 1854 and on his return, was employed as head of the European Department in the Governorate. He was placed at the disposal of Sulaimān Pasha al-Fransāwī, who was directing a kind of staff school at the time, about which there is no mention in the authorities. In 1856, Rifā'ah was placed in charge of this new school in the Citadel.

⁸ Majdī, *Ḥilyat az-Zamān*, p. 31.

⁹ Sāmī, *op. cit.*, app. III, p. 48.

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École d'Architecture,¹ opened in January, 1858 under Ahmad Hilmi.

How it was possible for Rifā'ah to direct all these schools, the principal one of which was the Military School, also called *Madrasat Arkān al-Harb*, or Military Staff School, but in reality only a preparatory school, is hard to say, as he had had no real military training, and had only worked as a translator in the Artillery School for a couple of years.² Amīn Sāmī describes the school as being divided into eight sections, which included the School of Accountancy, and it had 300 students altogether.³ Rāfi'ī gives four other departments besides the military one, viz., the Translation Bureau, the School of Accountancy, the School of Civil Engineering and the School of Architecture.⁴ It seems to have been a combination of the *Mafrūzah* and the *Muhandis-khānah* and was probably given to Rifā'ah to direct in order to spite Mubārak. In any case, the establishment was more ephemeral than many of Muḥammad 'Alī's for it was closed in August, 1861,⁵ only three years after it had been opened; this coincides with the date of the closing of the *Mafrūzah* in Alexandria.⁶

The constitution of this school, or rather, the Military Preparatory School, is described in an appendix to Merruau's work on Egypt.⁷ The regulations fixed the number of students at 200,⁸ who had to be between the ages of 12 and 18 years on admission; the students, after having passed through this preparatory side, were allowed to choose their own career, and, presumably, were supposed to join one of the other departments under Rifā'ah. The subjects taught were Arabic, Turkish, Persian, English, German, French, calligraphy, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, trigonometry, linear drawing, military plans, geography and history; those who were bent on a military career had to be given practical military training.

The course was to extend over a maximum period of five years; the students received PT.100 a month and all equipment,

¹ Artin, op. cit., p. 198.

² Op. cit., p. 16.

³ *Tārīkh al-Harakat al-Kaumiyah*, III/493.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, pp. 51, 48 and 49, also Artin, op. cit., p. 198.

⁵ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 46.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 221-3.

⁷ As there were only 300 students in the whole of the school and 200 of them were in the preparatory side, then there could have been but 100 in all the other departments put together. Nadim, op. cit., pp. 741-2, gives a short account of this school and gives the total number as 256 students altogether and the monthly cost as £E.738-35 PT.

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rations, clothes and stationery, were at the charge of the government. Regulations regarding punishments, control, syllabus, were arranged in the same way as with Muḥammad 'Alī's schools after the reorganisation of 1836-7.

As the school only lasted three years, it would appear that no student was able to complete the whole of the course. Delatre visited this school soon after it was opened.¹ He states that there were 240 students and gives a short description of the syllabus; Ramaḍān Ef., who had been employed in the old *Muhandis-khānah* as a teacher of mathematics and translator, was now teacher of French, and all the teachers were either Egyptians or Turks.

The School was served by the Translation Bureau, in which there were only eight translators; when Delatre called there, they were translating the following works:

Vies des hommes illustrés,	Plutarque,
Histoire de Napoléon,	L. Gallois,
Discours sur les revolutions de la surface du globe,	G. Cuvier,
Mémoires de Jules César,	Artaud,
Cours élémentaire d'art et d'histoire militaire,	Rocquancourt,
Aide-mémoire pour l'école de bataillon des chasseurs à pied,	? ² .

The closing of this school was apparently done with the intention of concentrating elsewhere, for in September, 1862, Sa'id opened another military school at the Barrage where the students were accommodated in a Citadel which he had built there and which was named after him,³ and where he liked to spend some of his time with his troops.⁴ This new school was placed under a European, de Bernhardt, who had come to Egypt earlier⁵ for employment as a military instructor and organiser. This military school was still open when Sa'id died in January, 1863.

The Naval School received the attentions of Sa'id Pasha in spite of the fact that the Navy was practically non-existent. It had been closed in January, 1849,⁶ but Sa'id reopened it in

¹ *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies*, Paris, 1858, Vol. 16, No. 9, September, pp. 133-4.

² Ibid., p. 134.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 54 and Artin, op. cit., p. 198.

⁴ Cameron, op. cit., p. 230.

⁵ v. supra, p. 293.

⁶ v. supra, p. 292.

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January, 1860, under Captain Federico, an Italian¹; who kept his post until August, 1863.

The School of Engineering had been really reopened in the Citadel under the name of the *Madrasat al-Handasat al-Mulkiyah*, although there seems to be some confusion as to the name of the *nāzir*; Artin gives the name of Aḥmad Ḥilmī² while Sāmī simply gives the name of Aḥmad.³

The old name of *Muhandishkhānah* was given to another Engineering School which was opened in December, 1858, with the extra epithet of *as-Sa'īdiyyah* to distinguish it as Sa'id's creation; this, too, was set up at the Barrage and shows that it was probably intended as a military engineering school.⁴ The name of the director is also given as Aḥmad Ḥilmī⁵; as Ḥilmī could not have been *nāzir* of a school in the Cairo Citadel and *nāzir* of the Citadel at the Barrage at one and the same time, it would seem likely that the authorities, bewildered by the inconsistent behaviour of Sa'id and his schools, have chosen the easier way of crediting him with having set up two schools, whereas, he probably opened one only, and that at the Barrage. This school, again, did not retain its name for long for in August, 1861 it was closed and reopened as a military school in 1862; it may have formed part of the Military School under de Bernhardt.⁶

There are no contemporary accounts of the *Muhandishkhānah*; Sāmī reports that there were 116 students at work in it.⁷ The closing of it coincides with the sale of the material, equipment, instruments and books (some of the books had been printed by 'Alī Mubārak), belonging to this school just before Sa'id went to Europe.⁸ All was in good order and the prices were so low, that Mubārak, who was in disgrace at the time, bought up a great deal of the material and resold it in order to make a livelihood.⁹

So confusing are the records of the schools opened and closed during the reign of Sa'id Pasha, that it is almost impossible to ensure accuracy. His departure for Europe was probably the cause of his behaviour between 1860 and 1862, for the schools, like his army, were his hobby.

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 53; Artin, op. cit., p. 197.

² Op. cit., p. 198.

³ Ibid., p. 49.

⁴ Sarhank, op. cit., II/270.

⁵ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 48.

⁶ v. *supra*, p. 319.

⁷ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 16.

⁸ Rāfi'i, *Asr Ismā'il*, I/71; he returned about the end of 1862.

⁹ *Khīṭaṭ*, 6/48, and Rāfi'i, *ibid.*, I/240.

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There remains one other establishment which must be dealt with, namely the School of Medicine, which Sa'id closed in the year after his accession, only to reopen it on the 10th September, 1856¹ with much pomp and ceremony. Clot Bey had returned from France in order to manage the school and hospital, but his health broke down and he had to retire in 1858.² It is not quite clear who directed the School at the beginning of its re-establishment; Tūsūn,³ Sāmī,⁴ and Artin⁵ give the name of Ḥusain Ef. 'Arif as director from November, 1859 to October, 1861. Presumably Clot was in charge until he went away. The regulations that were drawn up by Clot provided for an Egyptian assistant-director to attend to the daily routine and this was probably the function of Ḥusain Ef. Before his appointment, Muṣṭafā Ef. al-Wāṭi had been *wakīl*, but he was suspended for negligence.⁶ Arnoux was director from January, 1862 to August, 1863, and, as Clot Bey left Egypt in 1858, it is possible that Ḥusain Ef. did fill the function of director from the departure of Clot until the appointment of Arnoux. On the other hand, Vambéry is stated to have been director in 1858, Burguières in 1861, and then Arnoux in 1862.⁷ Although Sāmī and Artin do not mention the name of Vambéry,⁸ yet both give the name of Burguières as having succeeded Arnoux. He kept the post until November, 1864 and was succeeded by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī.⁹

The European professors who were appointed in 1856 were Burguières, Figari, Colucci and Espinassi¹⁰; Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī and Muḥammad Shāfi'i were also given professorial chairs.¹¹ In spite of the fresh efforts to resuscitate the school under Sa'id, it is still described as being in a miserable condition on the accession of Ismā'il Pasha in 1863.¹²

Clot Bey drew up an elaborate plan for the reopening and reorganisation; the school was divided into two sections, in the one, medical officers were to be trained, and in the other,

¹ Merruau, op. cit., pp. 86 and 212 sq. Bourgues, op. cit., p. 71. Rāfi'i, *ibid.*, I/45. Sharaf, op. cit., p. 21. Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 42.

² Mahfouz, *ibid.*, p. 43.

³ Op. cit., p. 359.

⁴ Op. cit., app. III, p. 48.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 195.

⁶ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 357.

⁷ Sharaf, op. cit., p. 21 and Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 43.

⁸ Loc. cit.

⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁰ Clot, *Rélations des phases*, p. 23.

¹¹ Loc. cit.

¹² Mahfouz, loc. cit.

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pharmacists; the course in each case was spread over five years as follows:

Year	Medical Section	Pharmaceutical Section
1st	Natural Science Physics Inorganic chemistry Geology Mineralogy	Natural Science Physics Geology Mineralogy
2nd	Physics Inorganic and Organic Chemistry Botany Zoology Anatomy	Botany Physics Elementary Chemistry
3rd	Anatomy Physiology Surgery Internal Pathology External Pathology <i>Materia Medica</i> Therapeutics	Chemistry Pharmaceutical Chemistry Practical work in the Hospital Pharmacy
4th	Internal Pathology External Pathology Clinic Pathological Anatomy	Analytic Chemistry <i>Materia Medica</i> Practical work
5th	Clinic Surgical Anatomy Medicine Ophthalmology Hygiene	Analytic Chemistry <i>Materia Medica</i> Accountancy

The declared object of the school was to produce medical men who could be of practical use to the country and capable of dealing with the common diseases of the country.

The method of teaching seems to have been the same as that adopted in the School of Medicine when it was first opened; every lecturer had to write out his lectures; if the original was in a European language, it had to be translated into Arabic and then transcribed by the students. It was probably thought that this method was more thorough than giving the students the textbooks that had already been translated during the earlier period.

Before attending to the above courses, the student had to spend two years studying French, arithmetic and geometry;

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at the end of the two years, he proceeded to the medical studies proper, but still had to continue the study of French; thus a student would normally have to spend seven years at the school before graduating. The students were to be drawn from the "preparatory schools," but there was only one preparatory school in use at the time and that was closed in 1861. An entrance examination had to be passed and the ages of the candidates had to be between 15 and 20 years. The rest of the regulations deal with the method of administration of the school, the annual examinations, the discipline, the board, lodging and payment of the students, for which the government held itself responsible as in the time of Muḥammad 'Alī.¹

The School of Maternity was reopened under Tamrahān Ef., a woman who had studied in the first School of Maternity.²

The total number of students in all three schools is recorded by Sāmī as 69 only.³

Delatre, who visited the School of Medicine while he was in Egypt, had a bad opinion of the students⁴; Dr. Stacquez also visited the country in 1862-63 and was invited to inspect the School and Hospital. Arnoux was in charge at the time. Stacquez seems to have been pleased with the hospital but reports very adversely on the students, who do not appear to have been fit to enter a school of medicine; his own words are as follows: "*Malheureusement, la plupart des élèves y arrivent dépourvus des principes même les plus élémentaires. Il s'en trouve qui doivent commencer par apprendre à lire et à écrire. On ne s'étonnera donc pas si leurs progrès sont peu rapides, et si beaucoup ne parviennent que difficilement à acquérir des connaissances étendues.*"⁵

Thus after thirty-five years of medical studies in Egypt, the foundation of a medical school had not yet been achieved. It is significant that the professorial chairs were filled mostly by Europeans, only two Egyptians being nominated; a proper teaching method had not yet been devised, and the standard was still where it was in 1827.

Education Missions to Europe during the reign of Sa'id Pasha.

Nadīm states that Sa'id did not send any students to Europe

¹ The regulations are given by Merruan, op. cit., pp. 212-220.

² Rān'ī, *Asr Ismā'il*, I/45; Zaidān, *Ta'rikh al-Adāb al-lughat al-'arabiyyah*, IV/42; Delatre, op. cit., p. 143.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 16.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 134.

⁵ Stacquez, *L'Égypte, la Basse Nubie et la Sinai*, Liège, 1865, p. 103. His account of the School and Hospital are contained in pp. 98-103.

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during his reign¹; Sāmī,² Zaidān,³ Rāfi'i,⁴ and Artīn⁵ give the number sent as fourteen, which suggests that all these authorities derived their information from one source. Although Sa'id Pasha's educational policy at home is open to criticism, yet he cannot be accused of having neglected the mission system. In addition to the students he himself sent, he maintained a few who had been sent during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī and many that were sent by 'Abbās.

'Abbās had not sent more than three students to France; Sa'id, on the other hand, returned to the former practice of Muḥammad 'Alī and Ibrāhīm and had an Education Council formed in Paris in order to supervise the studies of his mission men. It was comprised of Jomard as president, Barthélemy St. Hilaire as vice-president, Yvon-Villarcieux of the Observatory, Barbet and Lemerrier as members; the last-named had been employed at the Egyptian Military School.⁶ The Egyptian *nāẓir* was Salīm Ef., who had been on the 1826 mission and appears to have taken over the directorship from Eṣṭefān⁷; he received the nickname of Salīm al-Fransāwī on account of his long stay in France.⁸

Sa'id also appointed M. Lawantier in Vienna to supervise the Egyptians who had been sent there to study medicine⁹ and M. Helwing in Berlin to supervise those who had been sent to Germany.

The first mission was sent to France in 1855 and in the following years; it consisted of 22 students whose names are as follows:

1. Sūtīriyūs Yāksīs.
2. Eugene Mori.
3. Margosoff Senior.
4. Margosoff Junior.
5. Tito Figari.
6. Samarippa.
7. André Disband.
8. Hermanovitch.
9. Charles Cuny.
10. Boppa.
11. Boppa.

¹ Op. cit., p. 737.

² *Hilāl*, year 15, p. 219.

³ Op. cit., p. 209.

⁴ Merruau, op. cit., p. 91; Sachot, op. cit., p. 27; Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 260.

⁵ Tūsūn, op. cit., p. 174 and p. 493.

⁶ Ibid., p. 493.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 16.

⁹ *Asy Ismā'il*, I/45.

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12. Boppa.
13. Aḥmad Rāshid Ḥusnī Bey.
14. Yūsuf Ef. an-Nabarāwī.
15. Aḥmad Ef. Shukrī.
16. Ibrāhīm Ef. Taufīk.
17. Ibrāhīm Ef. Ra'fat.
18. Muḥammad Ef. Rātīb.
19. Wāṣif Ef. 'Azmi.
20. Aḥmad Ef. Hamdī.
21. Ḥāfiẓ Ef. Ḥasanain.
22. 'Uthmān Bey Ra'fat.

The second mission was sent to Munich at the beginning of 1862, but in August, 1863 it was transferred to France, where it stayed until between 1868 and 1870. There were eleven students whose names are given below:

23. Muṣṭafā Ef. Fā'id (Fāyid).
24. Ibrāhīm Ef. Ṣabrī.
25. Aḥmad Ef. Nadīm.
26. Ḥasan Ef. Maḥmūd.
27. Laṭīf Ef. Aghiyā.
28. Maḥmūd Ef. Rushdī al-Baḳlī.
29. 'Alī Ef. Fahmī.
30. Muḥammad Ef. Ḥāfiẓ.
31. Ibrāhīm Ef. Ḥasan.
32. Muḥammad Ef. Sālīm.
33. Muḥammad Ef. as-Sayyid.

One other student was attached to this mission; he had already been sent to France at an earlier date:

34. 'Alī Ef. Muḥammad al-Baḳlī.

The third mission was sent to France in October, 1862; it consisted of 14 students who were to take up medicine. It is this mission which appears to have been the only one that Sāmī, Zaidān, Rāfi'i and Artīn have taken into consideration. The names of the students were:

35. Muḥammad Ef. 'Auf.
36. Muḥammad Ef. 'Abdas-Samī'.
37. Muḥammad Ef. 'Amir.
38. Ḥasan Ef. Manẓar.
39. Muḥammad Ef. Fauzī.
40. Zuhrān Ef. Muḥammad.
41. Muḥammad Ef. Amīn.
42. 'Alī Ef. Riyād.
43. Ṣālīḥ Ef. 'Alī.

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44. Muḥammad Ef. al-Kaṭṭāwī.
45. Muḥammad Ef. Durri.
46. Maḥmūd Ef. Ibrāhīm.
47. Kāsim Ef. Fathī.
48. 'Aḳbāwī Ef. Jād al-Karīm.

Biographical Notices:

1. Sent to France in July, 1855, and Sa'id Pasha continued to pay for his education until July, 1861; he was sent to study medicine but there is no other information available.
2. Sent to study military subjects; returned in October, 1861; appointed on the staff of the army and in 1873, had the rank of *Kā'im-maḳām*; in 1877, he was on the personal staff of Prince Ḥusain Kāmil (later Sultan Ḥusain) with the rank of *Amīralāi*; he was married to the daughter of Dor Bey, the Inspector of Schools under Ismā'il Pasha.
3. Nephew of Nūbār Pasha; sent to study medicine; returned to Egypt in 1861.
4. Nephew of Nūbār Pasha; sent to study engineering; returned in 1861 and was employed by the government.
5. Son of Dr. Figari, a colleague of Clot Bey; sent to France to study civil administration and law; he remained in Paris until 1861 at the expense of Sa'id Pasha, after that date he remained a short while at the expense of his father; on his return, he opened a practice as a lawyer and under Ismā'il Pasha, was well known as a lawyer before the Mixed Courts; he stayed in Egypt until 1882 and was instrumental in the foundation of the Italian College in Cairo; he died in Italy in 1900.
6. Sent to study medicine and returned in November, 1861; he became *wakīl* of the *dā'irah* of Princess Injā Hānum, Sa'id Pasha's wife.
7. Returned in 1861; nothing is known about him.
8. Sent to France apparently in 1860 and attached to this mission; nothing is known about him.
9. His father was president of the Medical Dept. in Alexandria; nothing is known about the son.
- 10, 11 and 12. Sent to study mechanical engineering.
13. Born in Caucasia in 1834, came to Cairo in 1849; entered the *Mafrūzah* in 1853 and sent to France to study military subjects at the *École de Metz*; returned in 1856; in 1862 was an *Amīralāi*; sent to the Sūdān and to Crete; in 1867, was promoted to the rank of *Liwā'*; in the same year was made a *Farīḳ* and in 1876, *aide-de-camp* to Ismā'il-Pasha. Sent to the Balkans in 1876. Appointed on several commissions during the troubles with 'Arābī. Died in 1905.
14. Son of Ibrāhīm an-Nabarāwī (*v. supra*, pp. 177-8) by his French wife; sent to take up military science and returned to Egypt in August, 1861; he was employed in the army for a short while, but he gave up his appointment and returned to France to settle down there; he married a French woman and their daughter married *Khālīl* Bey an-Nabarāwī; while he was in France, Fakhrī Pasha commissioned him to select judges for the Mixed Courts; he was

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then invited to accept the presidency of these courts which he did; Mlle. Céza Nebaraoui, the editor of *L'Egyptienne*, Mme. Sha'rāwī Pasha's niece, is a relative of this man.

15. Sent to France to study law and civil administration, returned in 1861; he filled many high administrative posts; died in 1895.

16. His father was Sa'id Pasha's interpreter; he appears to have been employed in the army on his return and then in the administrations; at the time of the 'Arābī rebellion, he was the governor of the Buḥairah. Died in 1917.

17. Son of Ibrāhīm Bey Ra'fat who was the *nāzir* of the preparatory school under Muḥammad 'Alī and *wakīl* of the *Diwān al-Madāris* under 'Abbās Pasha; sent to France to study military subjects; he was at St. Cyr; returned to Egypt in December, 1861; he was employed with General Stone under Ismā'il Pasha; Ismā'il Pasha had him disgraced and sent to the Sūdān, under Taufīḳ Pasha, he was given an appointment on the staff but he died in 1882 from illness contracted during his stay in the Sūdān.

18. Circassian, one of Sa'id's Mamlūks; educated in the *Mafrūzah* and then sent to France; he returned c. 1856 and was employed in the army; Sa'id became angry with him once and threatened to punish him whereupon he tried to commit suicide and escaped to Constantinople where he was employed in the Turkish army; he returned after the death of Sa'id and by 1867 was *Sirdār* of the Egyptian Army. He was Minister several times. Died in 1920.

19. A Copt. Sent to France to join the 1855 mission, returned about 1860; probably studied law and civil administration; filled several important administrative posts and became honorary president of the Mixed Courts in 1883, died 1898.

20. Son of Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī the director of the School of Medicine; sent to France in June, 1861, when quite young and eventually to the School of Medicine in Paris; passed his final medical examinations in 1868, and under Ismā'il Pasha was made a teacher in the Cairo School of Medicine. He was afterwards appointed to the post of Inspector General of the Public Health Dept.; he is the author of five important medical works, including a work in French on elephantiasis. Died 1899.

21. Son of Ḥasanain 'Alī al-Baḳlī, head of the mint, and brother of Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī (*v. supra*, p. 222). Born in 1846, and was sent to France at the age of 13 years; he had been a student in the Frères' school in Cairo; studied medicine in France; received his diploma in natural science and chemistry from the French Faculty of Science in 1876; he had returned to Cairo in October, 1870, but was sent back to France to complete his studies; he was eventually appointed as a teacher under Ismā'il Pasha, but quarrelled with his chief and was dismissed; died 1888.

22. Brother of 17; entered St. Cyr; studied military engineering and on his return to Egypt, was employed in the School of Law (*v. infra*), and then on the staff of the army; he was then attached to the person of the Khedive; died in 1898.

23. Son of Ahmad Fā'id (Fāyid) (sent on mission to France, 1830); Born 1848; sent to Munich to study medicine in 1862; then to France to study military science in August, 1863; became artillery

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officer and returned to Egypt in 1870; he did not remain in the service long on account of some difference between him and his colleagues; died 1923.

24. Studied medicine and, on his return, was employed as a teacher in the School of Medicine and then he was transferred to the Army Medical Service; in due course, he returned to his teaching post; died 1915.

25. Studied medicine and was employed as a teacher in the School of medicine on his return.

26. Studied medicine and on his return in 1868, was employed in the School of Medicine as a teacher of anatomy; he later was employed in the Public Health Dept.: he left many published works on medical subjects; died in 1906.

27. Armenian; studied medicine and returned to Egypt in August, 1870, to be appointed in the School of Medicine as a teacher; he later joined the Public Health Dept.; in 1879, he was Chief Medical Officer in the Gīzah province.

28. Studied medicine and returned to Egypt in October, 1870; he was employed as a teacher in the School of Medicine and later in the Public Health Dept.; compiled a medical dictionary in Arabic and French; died 1889.

29. Studied medicine; died in Paris, August, 1868.

30. Studied medicine and returned to Egypt in October, 1870; appointed teacher in the School of Medicine and worked in the hospitals. His speciality was ophthalmology; died 1887.

31. Studied medicine; returned to Egypt at the end of 1869 and then sent to Germany in 1869 to study legal medicine; returned in 1871 and was appointed in the School of Medicine as a teacher; he was later attached to the person of Ismā'il Pasha as his physician; he represented Egypt on the medical congress in London, in 1891; died 1917.

32. Studied medicine and returned to Egypt in September, 1869; employed in the hospitals and later in the Army Medical Service in the Sūdān and Abyssinia; he became Chief Medical Officer in the Army and after the 'Arābī rebellion, joined the Public Health Dept.; died 1894.

33. Son of Shaikh Sayyid Idrīs; brother of 'Abdallāh Sayyid (*v. supra*, p. 252); studied medicine and returned to Egypt in September, 1869; employed in the Public Health Dept.: died in 1874 from tuberculosis.

34. Son of Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baklī; had studied at the Frères' school and then in the School of Medicine; studied first of all in a private school and then was attached to this mission and studied natural science and chemistry; returned to Cairo in October, 1870, and was employed in the School of Medicine in the pharmaceutical dept.: died in 1883 from cholera.

35. Son of Ḥusain 'Auf who had been sent to Austria under Muḥammad 'Alī (*v. supra*, p. 252); studied medicine and returned to Egypt in October, 1870, and was appointed in the School of Medicine as an assistant to his father; he took his father's place in November, 1879; he had a good reputation and practised privately; he died 1908.

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36. Studied in the provincial *maktab* of al-Fashn and then in the Preparatory School and later in the School of Medicine; sent to France in 1862 and was ordered to return in the following year and was appointed to a teaching post in the School of Medicine; sent to Crete in 1866; sent to the Hijāz later where he stayed for three years and on his return, was appointed physician to the Khedivial family; went on pension in 1890 and set up in private practice; died 1900.

37. Studied medicine and stayed one year in France for Ismā'il Pasha recalled him in 1863 and appointed him to the Army Medical Service.

38. Sent to France to study medicine, but was recalled in the following year; little known about him; was probably posted to the Army Medical Service.

39. Sent to France to study medicine and was recalled in 1863 to be posted as a teacher in the School of Medicine; died 1891.

40. Sent to France to study medicine but had to return in February in 1863, on account of bad health; was appointed as a doctor in the hospitals and later, in the Schools Administration.

41. Sent to France to study medicine and returned in October, 1870; was appointed to a teaching post in the School of Medicine; published several works on medicine.

42. Sent to France to study physics, chemistry and pharmaceuticals; returned to Egypt in November, 1867; appointed in the hospitals and later, a teacher in the School of Engineering and afterwards, in the School of Medicine; published a number of works; died 1899.

43. Sent to France to study pharmaceuticals and returned in April, 1863; held a teaching post in the School of Medicine for a long while; held several other posts in the administrations; died 1911.

44. Sent to France to study medicine, but was recalled in July, 1863; he was director of the School of Medicine from 1883 to 1884; died 1900.

45. Passed through several schools before he took up medicine; sent to France to complete his medical studies and returned in 1870; appointed to a post in Alexandria on his return and in 1872, transferred to Cairo where he taught at the School of Medicine; wrote a number of medical works; died 1900.

46. Sent to France to study medicine and returned in July, 1863; appointed as a medical officer to the schools; died 1906.

47. Sent to study medicine, but was recalled in July, 1863; on his return, he was appointed to the Army Medical Service; wrote a series of articles on fevers in the Military Gazette.

48. Sent to France to study medicine and was ordered back in July, 1863; appears to have been appointed in the Army Medical Service.

Out of a total of 48 students, 30 were sent to study medicine; compared to the number of students in the School of Medicine, this is quite a large proportion and points to the fact that this

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was the best way of producing sufficient medical officers for the public services, 9 of this number only stayed about a year; 8 others took up military science, 8 technical subjects and 6 civil administration and law; the studies undertaken by 3 of the students are not known.

Many of the men were Egyptians, though there were a few Circassians, Turks and Armenians, but ten of the first twelve names are interesting, as they appear to belong to Europeans whom Sa'id sent to Europe at the expense of the government. There was one Copt. Two of the students had begun their education at the newly opened Frères' School; they must have been among the first Egyptians to have been to this school.

A point worth noting is that 9 of these students (nos. 3, 4, 14, 20, 21, 23, 33, 34 and 35), were relatives of previous mission students; of the Bakli family, originally poor peasants, five were sent to Europe on missions and were promoted to high rank in the administrations; in this way was created the new class of officials and employees required by the state.

Non-Governmental Education Work

The reign of Sa'id Pasha can be considered as the turning point in the history of European schools in Egypt. During these nine years we find a marked advance by all groups, including French, Scottish, English, American, Greek, Italian and Coptic; consequently this period can be regarded as one of cultural consolidation of all the non-Moslem sections.

Some of these groups were purely missionary, such as the Scottish, English and American; others, such as the Italian, Greek and Coptic, were the outcome of the growth of the different communities and of a popular demand for education. The French schools and their rapid development during the reign of Sa'id were helped by the francophile tendencies of this ruler, coupled with the growth and educational demands of the Christian community and the political opportunism of the French, who made the most of these religious institutes to spread their culture.

Another fresh feature was the inception of private schools opened by individuals, probably as a commercial enterprise.

THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

Cairo: The Frères

The Frères were well established in the capital towards the end of the reign of Abbās and their school had eight teachers on

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its staff. On the 25th March, 1855, two others were sent out and the school was reinforced by additional teachers as it needed them.¹

On the 15th October, 1857, Sa'id Pasha gave the Frères a part of a large factory off the Shubrā road² for use as a school, but in February, 1859,³ they acquired another factory building in Khurunfish,⁴ in the centre of Cairo, which Sa'id had agreed to exchange for that of Shubrā, through the mediation of M. Sabatier, the French Consul General in Cairo. The Shubrā building appears to have been too far from the centre of activity⁵; in addition to the gift of the property, Sa'id gave the Frères a subvention of 30,000 francs for the purchase of other adjacent properties required for expansion⁶ and for the establishment of the school.⁷

The existing building was demolished owing to its unsuitability as a school and a new one erected. The Frères transferred their Shubrā school to the new building on the 14th July, 1860, and on the 13th December of the same year the chapel attached to the premises was blessed by the guardian of the Holy Land in the presence of the French Consul General and other local dignitaries.⁸ Thus was established a school which has perhaps played the greatest rôle in the field of education in Egypt, thanks to the encouragement and generosity of Sa'id Pasha. To what extent this school was frequented by Egyptians, more especially by the Moslem community, is impossible to say in the absence of statistics; we have however the names of two Moslem students, Hāfiz Ef. Hasanain and 'Ali Ef. Muḥammad al-Bakli, both of the Bakli family, whose fathers had studied in France and thus probably appreciated the advantages of sending their sons to a French school.

Maison des Sœurs franciscaines

This school was opened in 1859 by Sister Marie-Catherine with the help of six other Sisters in the street now called after Clot Bey; the object of the institution was to purchase the free-

¹ Guérin, op. cit., p. 158.

² Loc. cit. The Shubrā factory had been built by Muḥammad 'Ali for the printing of calico; it was called the Mubayyadah; v. Rāfi'i, *Ta'rikh al-Harakat al-Kaumiyyah*, III/555.

³ Sachot, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴ This building has been Muḥammad 'Ali's first factory erected in 1816 for making cloth; Rāfi'i, op. cit., III/553.

⁵ Guérin, op. cit., p. 158.

⁶ Sachot, *ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷ Guérin, *ibid.*, pp. 158-9.

⁸ Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 159.

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dom of negresses who were then trained for domestic work. The school generally accommodated about fifty of these women and continued this particular kind of work until 1882.¹

Franciscan Sisters also opened another small hospice in old Cairo in 1860.²

The Sœurs du Bon Pasteur

Rāfi'i states that Sa'id Pasha paid annual subventions to the sisters of the *Bon Pasteur* as a help towards the upkeep of their schools, and adds that they had one in Cairo and one in Alexandria³; but there is no other mention of such a school in Alexandria. Professor Sammarco states that Sa'id gave them 40,000 francs with which they bought a house adjacent to theirs and in which they installed an orphanage.⁴ Dor Bey, who wrote in 1872 and who discusses the work of these sisters,⁵ makes no mention of this gift, nor does Amadou.⁶ Guérin, who is the best informed writer on the Catholic schools, does not record this gift⁷; but they certainly received gifts from Ismā'il Pasha which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Alexandria: The Lazarists and the Filles de la Charité.

The Lazarist fathers, who had set up a school of their own after the Frères had left them in 1852, progressed slowly during this period; the superior, Abbé Bel, who was aided by five other Lazarists, all French, had seventy students of the best families under his care. Unfortunately, the massacres in Lebanon in 1860 caused him to close this school temporarily and to turn it into an orphanage for boys.⁸

The same massacres caused the *Filles de la Charité* to extend their orphanage which had been started in 1850⁹; they must have done very good work and seem to have been in great demand, for their hospital was entirely rebuilt in 1857 to make room for extra patients; fifty sisters were now engaged in the hospital alone.¹⁰

¹ Guérin, op. cit., p. 174; Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

² Amici, ibid., pp. 248-9.

³ Rāfi'i, *Asr Ismā'il*, I/45; he seems to have quoted al-Ayyūbi (op. cit., I/184), who does not give any authority.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 298.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 278.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 99-111.

⁷ Op. cit., pp. 168-171.

⁸ Guérin, op. cit., pp. 48 and 58.

⁹ Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 51.

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Other Franciscan Activities

The Franciscan missionary fathers extended their religious and educational work to al-Manṣūrah in 1855,¹ to Damietta in 1856,² to Kafr az-Zayyāt in the same year,³ to Rosetta in 1858,⁴ to Suez in 1859,⁵ and to Port Said in 1863.⁶ Their stations in Upper Egypt took on a new lease of life during this reign, for they are credited with having opened a school for girls at Nagādah in 1855,⁷ and another at Kenā in 1863.⁸ A school was opened at each of the towns of Ṭaḥṭā and Ikhmīm⁹ about this time.

The American Missionary Schools

The American Presbyterian Missionaries undertook educational work in Egypt during the reign of Sa'id on a very large scale and opened several schools. A beginning was made in Cairo in 1855 at Cairo, where a training school was opened for girls and another for boys in 1856; two other schools for girls were opened in 1856, both primary, one of them being situated in the Ḥārat as-Saḳḳā'in.¹⁰ Sa'id Pasha is reported to have given the Americans a building in Cairo for the use of a school.¹¹

Two other American missionary schools were opened in Alexandria in 1857,¹² and two others in al-Faiyūm, a boys' school and another for girls, but the exact date of their establishment is not known; they were closed in 1875.¹³

The English and Scottish Missionaries

The Scottish Missionaries opened two schools in Alexandria, one for boys in 1859 and another for girls in the following year.¹⁴

Miss Whately, the Bishop of Dublin's daughter, started her mission schools in 1861¹⁵; she spent her efforts on Moslems as well as on Copts, and was helped by Syrian Christians in

¹ Guérin, op. cit., p. 190.

² Ibid., p. 95.

³ Ibid., p. 219. They opened a school here in 1862; v. Amici, op. cit., pp. 250-1.

⁴ Guérin, op. cit., p. 208; Amici, ibid., pp. 250-251.

⁵ Amici, ibid., pp. 254-5.

⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

⁹ Rāfi'i, *Asr Ismā'il*, I/45.

¹⁰ Amici, ibid., pp. 248-9.

¹¹ Amici, ibid., pp. 252-3.

¹² Ibid., pp. 248-9.

¹³ Amici, ibid., pp. 246-7; Loftie, *A Ride in Egypt*, London, 1879, p. 184.

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her work.¹ She had visited Egypt for the first time in 1856 and her work extended over a long period of thirty years. It was an uphill task which she set herself for she could only recruit her students from the very poorest classes, and even then, had to go out into the streets to collect them.² She taught needle-work, for books were looked upon with suspicion by the parents³; the fact that she taught sewing roused the jealousy of the Moslem needlework teachers, who often took the girls away from her by force.⁴

THE GREEKS

Cairo

The Greek Orthodox Community was formed in Cairo on the 29th February, 1856, with the object of maintaining the schools and the hospital which, until then, had been run with difficulty.⁵ The school was divided into two distinct parts, a boys' school and another for girls. It was kept up by means of subscriptions given by the Cairene Greeks and the Patriarch⁶; but the school had insufficient means, for in August, 1857 a request had to be sent to the Greek government asking for the necessary school books.⁷

The girls' school was situated in the Hamzāwī quarter; in 1860, the name of the headmistress was Mme. Hélène Vassiliadis, who had sixty girls under her care.⁸ The elementary school was run by her husband and another teacher and appears to have been a part of the girls' school. After the boys had passed out of the elementary classes, they went on to the boys' school proper which is referred to as the "Greek primary school"; this was situated near the Patriarchate in the same quarter.⁹

When the Abet school was opened in 1860,¹⁰ the Committee

¹ Butcher, op. cit., II/403; Fowler, op. cit., p. 133. Also Miss Whately's own works of which she wrote four:—*Ragged Life in Egypt*, London, 1870; *Among the Huts in Egypt*, London, 1871; *Behind the Curtain*, London, 1873; *Letters from Egypt*, London, 1879; also her biography by E. J. Whately, *The Life and Work of M. L. Whately*, London, 1890.

² *Ragged Life*, p. 28.

³ *Letters from Egypt*, p. 243; *Amongst the Huts*, pp. 276-7.

⁴ *Ragged Life*, p. 110; it is interesting to note that the needlework teachers who used to teach Moslem girls and who are described above (*v. supra*, Chap. I, p. 14) were still carrying on their traditional tasks as late as this.

⁵ Politis, op. cit., I/319 and I/412-3.

⁶ Ibid., p. 413.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Loc. cit.

⁹ Ibid., I/443; Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7, refers to the opening of an *École grecque orthodoxe primaire* in the same year, but does not mention the *École Abet*; probably the same one is meant.

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of the Community is reported to have decided to close down their boys' school for the sake of economy,¹ but, in spite of this decision, the schools seem to have been in use until 1864; in 1862, two teachers were engaged, one for the elementary classes and another for the primary.²

The Abet school, of which Politis gives a very interesting account,³ had its own constitution and regulations which stipulated that the three languages, Greek, Arabic and French, must always be taught, and other subjects according to the demand of the students and the means of the school.⁴ In 1861, the founders asked for the protection of the Russian government, and in 1863, they were granted it, but the constitution was not changed in any way.⁵

The school contained four classes, two for primary education, and two for secondary. There were six teachers⁶ and 120 students, all Greeks, with the exception of seven or eight Copts and Armenians. Until the death of Raphael Abet in 1866, the school was organised on essentially religious lines in conformity with the Greek Orthodox Church; one of the teachers was a Greek priest who taught religious subjects, and it is for this reason that Amici has listed it as the Greek Orthodox School.⁷

OTHER GREEK COMMUNITIES

Alexandria

The Community at Alexandria seems to have received a set-back during the period 1854 to 1871; the reasons were partly political for there was a crisis between Turkey and Greece and many of the Alexandrian Greeks thought fit to return to Greece; there were also dissensions among the Greeks themselves on account of the nomination of a Patriarch.⁸ In spite of these difficulties, however, a girls' school was opened in September, 1855, and a library in the community school in 1856.⁹

In 1855, the expenditure of the Community School was £E.532; in 1859, the elementary school had 140 students, the Greek school had 32 boys and there were 120 pupils in the girls' school.¹⁰

¹ Politis, *ibid.*, I/413-4.

² Ibid., I/442-481.

³ Ibid., pp. 456-7.

⁴ *v. supra*, p. 334, note 10.

⁵ Ibid., I/280.

⁶ Ibid., p. 414.

⁷ Ibid., p. 457.

⁸ Ibid., p. 459.

⁹ Politis, *ibid.*, I/273-282.

¹⁰ Politis, op. cit., I/282.

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Al-Mansūrah

Antoine Ralli settled in this town in 1859 in order to establish a cotton-ginning factory; it was largely due to his efforts that the Greeks had their first church and elementary school¹ which were kept up by private subscriptions. These served the Greeks until 1893 when the Community was officially formed.

Tanā

The Greeks began to organise themselves from 1860, although there were several settled there by 1842,² most of whom were engaged in the cotton trade; a chapel and a school were set up about this time. The community was not formed until 1880.

The Italian Schools

The Italian College was set up in Alexandria in 1862, for which purpose Sa'id Pasha gave a splendid site of 2,583 square metres, and 60,000 francs³; the Italian Government gave an annual subvention as well.⁴ The rebuilding of the part of the town in which the school property was situated made it necessary for the Egyptian Government to buy back some of the land that had been given to the Italians, as it was needed to widen existing roads and to build fresh ones; this brought the school another 40,000 francs.⁵ The development of this school belongs to the next reign and will be discussed in the appropriate place.

Another Italian school was opened in Cairo; Professor Sammarco gives the date as 1861,⁶ Dor as 1869,⁷ while Balboni gives it as 1865.⁸ The School was started by Tito Figari who was still in Europe in 1861.⁹

Private Schools

There was one private school opened in Cairo in 1856, called the *Maison d'éducation de Madame Andréades*.¹⁰ A French school was opened in Suez in about 1862,¹¹ and another run by

¹ Ibid., I/326.
² Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 295; Rāfi'i, *'Asr Ismā'il*, I/45; Sammarco, op. cit., p. 299.
³ Sammarco, ibid., p. 299.
⁴ Sammarco, op. cit., p. 299.
⁵ Balboni, op. cit., III/183-4.
⁶ v. supra, p. 326, *biographical notice*, No. 5.
⁷ Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

⁸ Ibid., I/343.

⁹ Dor Bey, ibid., pp. 295-6.
¹⁰ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 295.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 250-1.

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a certain Magnani in Ramlah in 1860¹; there is no information available concerning these schools, although they appear to have lasted a few years.

The Jews

Amīn Sāmī gives the date 1861 for the opening of a Jewish Talmudic School in Cairo for boys.² This, apparently, was the school set up in Darb al-Yahūd; Samuel Rabino had given £1,000 in 1860 and a reasonably commodious building was erected near the synagogue. The syllabus included Hebrew, French, Italian, chanting, geography, history and arithmetic; the study of the Talmud was optional.³ Some of the parents who sent their children to this school appear to have paid voluntary subscriptions.⁴

The Jewish Community had a free school in Alexandria for both boys and girls; it appears to have been a good school for Hekekyān noted it and remarked to Senior that it was better than any of Muḥammad 'Alī's schools.⁵ The date of its establishment is not known exactly⁶; it may have been one of the schools started at the suggestion of Crémieux,⁷ and must have been opened early as Senior was in Egypt in 1855.

The Copts

The principal Patriarchal School that Cyril IV began to build in 1853⁸ was opened in 1855.⁹ The policy adopted by Cyril in regard to this school was typical of him; he laid it down as a rule that children of any creed and race could join its classes,¹⁰ though few seem to have taken advantage of this tolerant attitude. Stationery and books were distributed to the students free of charge and the school was under Cyril's constant supervision; he did his best to get Europeans to visit the school and to pass judgment on its merits and demerits.¹¹ Arabic, Coptic, Turkish, English, French, and Italian were taught, in addition to the usual school subjects.¹²

¹ Ibid., pp. 250-1.

² Dor Bey, ibid., p. 203.

³ Senior, op. cit., II/217.

⁴ Amici, ibid., pp. 250-1; Dor Bey, ibid., pp. 202-3; Sachot, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵ v. supra, p. 272.

⁶ v. supra, p. 310.

⁷ *Khitaṭ*, 6/72; Sāmī, op. cit., p. 16.

⁸ Rufallah, op. cit., p. 311.

⁹ Ibid., p. 312.

¹⁰ Loc. cit., and Sachot, op. cit., p. 39.

¹¹ Op. cit., p. 16.

¹² Ibid., p. 204.

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The school never had more than 150 students, however, for the parents still preferred the old type of school.¹ The students who did attend appear to have belonged to the better Coptic families,² and under Ismā'il Pasha many of them were employed in the administrations.

Cyril was responsible for the first private Arabic printing press in Egypt; he had it brought from Europe and it was met at the port of arrival and at the station with great ceremony. He had previously asked Sa'id's permission for four Copts to study the art of printing at the Būlāḡ Printing Press.³

Sa'id sent Cyril to Abyssinia in 1856,⁴ and he was absent for about two years. On his return, he concentrated his attentions on building up and reforming the Coptic Church. Unfortunately, he died in 1861; according to Butcher, he was poisoned⁵; Fowler states that he was poisoned at the instigation of, if not at the order of, the government.⁶

Cyril tried to elevate the position of the Copts in the government; he suggested to Sa'id that the Copts should be allowed to take part in the local government councils,⁷ and that, since the Copts had to perform military service, they should be eligible for promotion to posts of command.⁸ He also asked that Copts should be permitted to enter the military, engineering and medical schools⁹; Sa'id however would not agree to these suggestions and procrastinated until the death of Cyril, when they were dropped.¹⁰ He was a great loss to the Coptic community and to the cause of reform; but under the more sympathetic Ismā'il, the party was able to resume his work.

Sa'id appears to have been excessively harsh to the Copts, using the laws for conscription as a means of persecuting them;¹¹ after the death of Cyril, many Copts were dismissed from government service.¹²

Other Coptic Schools

One other type of school, in which Copts were taught and in which their priests participated in the teaching, has to be

¹ Rufailah, op. cit., p. 313.

² Ibid., pp. 314-5; *Hilāl*, Vol. IX, p. 320.

³ Rufailah, ibid., p. 315.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 132.

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Ibid., p. 322.

⁷ Butcher, ibid., II/380; Fowler, ibid., p. 133.

⁸ Loc. cit., also Senior, ibid., II/76, he appears to have dismissed many Coptic scribes even earlier than Cyril's death.

⁹ Ibid., p. 313.

¹⁰ Op. cit., II/402.

¹¹ Rufailah, ibid., p. 321.

¹² Loc. cit.

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mentioned, namely the Catholic schools. These Coptic Catholic Schools were particularly numerous in Upper Egypt, but little is known about them apart from casual references in the reports and standard works. They appear to have had some connection with the Franciscans and to have grown more important during this period. Some of them had mixed classes of boys and girls.¹ There was one in Old Cairo,² another in Cairo,³ one in Asyūt, Ṭaḥṭā, Iḫmīm, Gīrgā, Ḳenā, Nagādah and Farshūt.⁴

The Position of Education in 1863

The following table shows the number and classification of all non-governmental schools in 1863; boys', girls' and elementary schools have been counted separately in the case of the Greek community; Amici's figures have been given for each town by way of comparison:—

TOWN	Lazarists	Freres	Franciscans	Filles de la Charité	Bon Pasteur	Italian	Greek	Armenian	Jewish	American	English	Scottish	Coptic	Private	TOTAL	Amici
Alexandria	1	1	—	1	—	1	3	—	1	2	—	2	—	—	12	10
Asyūt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Cairo	—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	2	4	1	—	5	1	22	20
Damietta	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
al-Faiyūm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	2	2
Farshūt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Gīrgā	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1
Iḫmīm	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—
Kafr az-Zayyāt	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Ḳenā	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1
al-Manṣūrah	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1
Nagādah	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	2
Port Said	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Ramlah	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
Rosetta	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Suez	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	2
Ṭaḥṭā	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—
Ṭantā	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
TOTAL	1	2	13	1	2	1	9	1	3	8	1	2	12	3	59	42

Schools that had been in use but were closed in 1863, have naturally been excluded from this list; these included the Church Missionary Schools and the private School of Languages opened during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī.

This table shows only too plainly the rapid development of

¹ Dor Bey, ibid., p. 205.

² Amici, op. cit., pp. 248-9.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Dor Bey, ibid., pp. 205 and 282; Sachot, ibid., p. 47.

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modern schools in Egypt; the movement had barely started in 1840, and already by 1863, there were 59 schools actually in use all over the country, with 22 in Cairo alone.

The position of Egyptian Government schools in the same year presents a very different picture; the retrograde movement under Sa'id left the Egyptians with only three special schools: the School of Medicine in Cairo, the Naval School in Alexandria, and the Military School at the Barrage. These special schools can hardly be included in the same category as the schools set out above and described in the preceding pages.

We have seen the adverse reports on the School of Medicine¹; the Naval School, of which we know nothing, was useless from a practical point of view, as there was no navy, and the Military School at the Barrage, which had only been formed in 1862, could not have been first rate in the very nature of things; in any case, Ismā'il Pasha closed it in 1864.²

There were no modern primary or preparatory schools; modern education was non-existent. The only redeeming feature of Sa'id's educational policy would appear to have been the missions he sent to Europe, but even these included a number of non-nationals whose places might have been taken by Egyptians. The Moslem *kuttābs* and al-Azhar were still carrying on their traditional teaching, but they were not contributing in any way towards the new cultural movements in the country.

On the whole, Egyptian cultural interests were not served by Sa'id Pasha. His negligent policy towards them is blame-worthy for he could see the growth of European schools all around him and actually gave several of them great help; apart from the government buildings which he gave away, the amount of money which he gave to the Frères in Cairo and to the Italians in Alexandria was probably more than he spent on his educational budget during the whole of his reign.

Merruau in 1857, states that there were some secondary schools frequented by a limited number of young men belonging to the aristocracy, but that Sa'id "*n'a pas jugé utile encore de donner de grands développements à ces institutions et de les multiplier*"³; in other words, Sa'id thought it more suitable not to encourage the education of his subjects. We have seen, in fact, that the "secondary schools" mentioned by Merruau were closed altogether.

¹ *v. supra*, p. 323.

² Sāmī, *op. cit.*, app. III, p. 54.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

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Nadīm,¹ al-Ayyūbī,² and Rāfi'ī³ criticize Sa'id for making no attempt to open useful schools, all the more so because he is reputed to have had a good European education himself and should have known the value of it. The mistake of these writers is that they compare 'Abbās and Sa'id with Muḥammad 'Alī and blame both 'Abbās and Sa'id for not doing what their predecessor did. But the value of Muḥammad 'Alī's schools has already been discussed, and of the three rulers, 'Abbās had the most sensible policy, viz., one of moderation.

The real trouble, of course, was not so much with the ruler as with the people. Reform movements have nearly always had to be forced upon the Egyptians; they did not start with the people. The latter were not yet ready for enlightenment, and the ruler was still less prepared to help them along the right path.

It may be thought that it would have been possible to have begun a progressive system of elementary education, or an improvement in the *kuttābs*, especially in view of the fact that the Europeans, and even the Copts, were setting such excellent examples. It is significant that there is not a single contemporary document written by a native in which the European and Egyptian systems are compared. No one seems to have been aware of the growth of these various elements in the country and of the harmful effects they would have on the social, economic and cultural welfare of the Egyptians in the long run. European encroachment, however, was to continue for many decades to come, and more than ever during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 741-2.

² *Op. cit.*, I/183 sq.

³ *Asr Ismā'il*, I/44-5.

CHAPTER V

THE REIGN OF ISMĀ'IL PASHA (1863-1879)

"Quelles qu'aient été ses fautes, il est impossible de nier que son pays ait subi à cette époque une profonde transformation; malheureusement le gaspillage financier et son goût trop prononcé pour les réformes d'apparat vinrent compromettre les bons résultats de l'évolution économique."—(Bréhier, *L'Égypte de 1798-1900*, Paris, 1900, p. 177.)

Ismā'il Pasha, born the 12th January, 1830, the second son of Ibrāhīm Pasha, succeeded Sa'id Pasha on the 18th January, 1863; Ibrāhīm's first son, Aḥmad Rif'at, who was heir to the throne in succession to Sa'id, had been drowned at Kafr az-Zayyāt in 1858.

The new ruler had been educated in Egypt and in France¹; on his return to Egypt, the enmity between him and 'Abbās became very intense and Ismā'il was looked upon as the leader of the "Princes' Party" against the ruler.

With the accession of Sa'id Pasha, he began to take an active part in the affairs of the state; he was sent to Paris and to Rome on government missions and took over the regency while Sa'id was on his pilgrimage in 1861 and on his visit to Europe in 1862. He showed talent as a young man, both in the management of his vast estates and in the administrations; he had inherited some of the intelligence of both his father and grandfather; his European education, contacts and experience might have destined him to become a wise ruler; but the outcome of his sixteen years' reign, the catastrophe he brought upon Egypt, the years it took to recover from his misrule make it difficult to agree with Professor Sammarco when he claims that he was *le Souverain civilisateur et magnifique de l'Égypte*.²

A number of reasons helped to bring about Ismā'il's ruin of Egypt and his own downfall. His success as a private land-owner cannot be denied; this was in keeping with the family tradition; but when he became ruler, "his head was turned by his high position and the opportunity it gave him of figuring

¹ *v. supra*, p. 247 sq.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

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in the world as one of its most splendid princes"¹ This was the fundamental cause of Ismā'il's downfall; his contacts with European courts unbalanced his mind and turned him into a megalomaniac, whose one ambition was to emulate his royal friends in Europe. But though he paid no heed to the simplest rules of political economy and abused the power that was his, yet there were other circumstances which contributed towards the disaster.

The country was practically devoid of any social institutions capable of supporting the reforms²; the old ones had broken down and no new ones had yet come into existence as a result of the introduction of western ideas. So far, there was only imitation of the form rather than the adoption of the spirit of western civilisation. There were no public men, there was no public spirit; the bureaucracy was servile and corrupt; the people, the agricultural classes, were subjected to every kind of injustice and oppression and were not only without the means of redress but were completely ignorant of political rights; even the more enlightened elements in the population were politically ignorant.³

By far the most important factor which will have to be considered was the unusual influx of the European element into the country. The number of Europeans in Egypt in 1836 is put at 3,000⁴ and at 68,653 in 1878, of which 14,310 were French, 29,963 were Greeks and 14,524 were Italians.⁵ The statistics of 1866 state that one fortieth of the Egyptian population was either European or under European protection which would give the figure of 121,213⁶; Amici's figures appear to be more reliable.⁷

¹ Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² Broadley, *How We Defended Arabi*, London, 1884, p. 205; Milner, *England in Egypt*, London, 1894, p. 217.

³ Shafik Pasha, *Mudhakkarāt fi Nisf Karn*, Cairo, 1934, I/28-9; when Ismā'il Pasha set up the *Majlis an-Nawwāb* (Chamber of Deputies) in 1866, he had to order the members to form themselves into three parties, the Right, to support the government, the Left to oppose it, and a Middle party to represent the Moderates; every member, without exception, went over to the right with the exclamation, "How can we oppose the Government?"

⁴ Sabry, *La Génèse de l'Esprit National Egyptien*, s.l., 1924, p. 26, but it is impossible to give exact figures for this early date.

⁵ Amici, *op. cit.*, Chap. II, p. 5; a few Americans and others are included.

⁶ Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition Universelle de 1867*, Paris, 1867, p. 279; Bréhier gives 200,000 for 1876 (*op. cit.*, p. 179).

⁷ Amici's figures are much more acceptable than the wild guesses of some writers; by 1882, there were 90,886 foreign residents in Egypt and by 1897, 112,526; this period shows an increase of 24 per cent.—see Sylva White, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-141, who made use of the official statistics made by the Egyptian Government under British supervision.

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These figures are perhaps small when compared with the total number of Egyptians but four factors have to be borne in mind: firstly, the Europeans were, for the most part, concentrated in the towns; Amici gives 15,758 for Cairo, and 42,884 for Alexandria in 1878¹; secondly, they were occupied in exclusively European undertakings, nearly all the major commercial, industrial and banking enterprises being in their hands²; thirdly, the Europeans were better equipped intellectually and were culturally self-supporting, each community providing for the education of its own children in good schools, and these children subsequently taking their places in the rapidly increasing number of business houses, banks and industrial enterprises; and, fourthly, each group was politically independent of the Egyptian Government under the Capitulatory system which ensured them their "rights," and enabled them to exploit without being exploited, and with the open connivance of their Consuls.³ Just as the absence of political feeling and public spirit on the part of the Egyptian people permitted Ismā'il to exploit them so mercilessly, so did it encourage the European to settle in the country.

The emigration to Egypt was a part of western expansion of the 19th century: it was encouraged by the proximity of Egypt to Europe, by better and faster communications, by the opening of the Suez Canal and the introduction of railways, by the prodigality of Ismā'il Pasha which, unfortunately, attracted the wrong kind of European, and by the fact that a European was assured of the protection of his own consular authority. The ruler of the country and the European met on common ground, they both wanted money and to both, the unfortunate *fallāḥ* was a means to an end.

Nevertheless, Egyptian feelings began to be aroused during the reign of Ismā'il through the influence of non-Egyptians such as Jamāl-addīn al-Afghānī who was in Egypt in 1869, Salīm an-Nakḡāsh, a Syrian, who gave the Egyptians their catchword, "Egypt for the Egyptians" and latterly by James Sanua, a Jew, who published the satirical journal entitled *Abū-Naḡārah*,⁴ firstly in Egypt and afterwards in Paris. This paper is of special interest as it was written in colloquial Arabic, the

¹ Op. cit., Chap. II, p. 6; see also Francois-Levernay, *Guide annuaire d'Égypte*, 1872-3, Cairo, s.d., who gives the European population of Cairo as 19,512 (p. 266).

² Amici, op. cit., Chap. II, p. 5, and Edmond, op. cit., p. 280.

³ Milner, op. cit., pp. 48-9.

⁴ Colloquially pronounced Abū Naḡḡārah.

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language of the people, and was bitterly hostile to Ismā'il. It was banned after the issue of the fifteenth number and the editor exiled; he went to Paris where he used to lithograph it and have it smuggled into Egypt and other Arabic speaking countries. The paper reflects the popular feeling against the ruler and their bitterness about their misery.

In 1869, Ibrāhīm al-Muwailihī and 'Uthmān Jalāl published a weekly political newspaper entitled *Nuzhat al-Afkār*; it was suppressed after the second number because of the *agitation que pourrait provoquer dans les esprits cette publication inopportune*.¹

A French paper, the *Progrès Égyptien* appeared weekly from 1868 and was the most serious journal of the period as it was not in the pay of the Khedive.² It clearly reflects the discontent of the *fallāḥ* but emphasizes his submissiveness to the oppressions of the ruler³ and to the Turkish minority that surrounded Ismā'il.⁴ The *Progrès Égyptien* undoubtedly had much to do with the sudden appearance of privately run Arabic papers and with the beginning of the expression of discontent.

It is significant, however, that most of these criticisms and expressions of discontent came from the pens of men who were not Egyptians. The first Egyptian paper edited by an Egyptian Moslem, apart from the official newspaper, was the *Wādī an-Nīl*, begun in 1866 and edited by 'Abdallah Abū's-Su'ūd⁵; it was, however, in the pay of the Khedive and Abū's-Su'ūd defended his policy and interests until 1878 when he died.⁶

The opposition press did not begin until 1877⁷; the outbreak of feeling, expressed mostly by the Syrians Adīb Ishāq, Salīm an-Nakḡāsh, Salīm Taḡlā and Bishārah Taḡlā, was encouraged in the beginning by Ismā'il who thought he could work up popular feeling against European interference, but the opposition, embittered by the growing strength of the intervention, soon turned against Ismā'il himself.⁸ The Coptic

¹ Sabry, op. cit., p. 113; Tarrāzī, *Ta'rīkh aṣ-Ṣaḡāfah al-'Arabiyyah*, Beirut, 1913, II/277.

² Sabry, op. cit., p. 112; the columns of this paper supply a most useful commentary on contemporary affairs.

³ *Progrès Égyptien*, 26th June, 1869, quoted by Sabry, op. cit., p. 110, also for 14th July, 1869.

⁴ *Progrès Égyptien*, 6th September, 1869; Sabry, op. cit., p. 113.

⁵ Sabry, *ibid.*, also 118, Tarrāzī, op. cit., p. 277. 'Abdallah Abū's-Su'ūd had been a student of Rifā'ah and became a teacher under him (*v. supra*, p. 219); he was in charge of the Translation Bureau under Ismā'il Pasha and also taught history in the Dār al-'Ulūm. He is the author of several works in Arabic, and his knowledge of French enabled him to answer the *Progrès Égyptien*.

⁶ Sabry, op. cit., pp. 113 and 118.

⁷ Sabry, *ibid.*, pp. 99 and 126 sq.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-9.

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paper *al-Waṭan*, edited by Mikhā'il 'Abdas-Sayyid, established on the 17th November, 1877, devoted its columns to the Russo-Turkish war until the end of August, 1878, as its editor had not yet the courage to discuss the Egyptian question. With the setting up of the Commission of Enquiry, it at first took Ismā'il's side but as his position weakened, the paper gradually entered the ranks of the opposition.

The reasons which led to this opposition are to be found in the reaction against all the misery which Ismā'il brought to the country and also against the official interference of the European powers in the country's affairs in order to protect the bondholders. But this growing popular feeling, barely touched on educational and cultural problems; there was still no great demand by the Egyptians for education as understood in the west. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh, the Azharī reformer and disciple of Jamāl-addīn al-Afghānī, was the first to criticize the educational methods so far adopted and the first to turn public attention towards the necessity of reforming al-Azhar. His first articles on the subject appeared in 1876 in the *Ahrām*, the paper edited by the Taklā brothers, and they will be discussed in their appropriate place.

Education under Ismā'il Pasha

As far as the educational policy of the Egyptian Government is concerned, the reign of Ismā'il Pasha can be divided conveniently into two periods; the period 1863 to 1871, during which the old type of school opened by Muḥammad 'Alī was re-established, and the period 1871 to 1879, during which a type of school came into existence with more defined educational aims, in so far as it provided for public education to a very limited extent. Even though this latter type of school did not belong to the purely military system as in the previous years, yet, in the long run, the best students were destined for the military and special schools and so for government service.

The schools that were opened, maintained or reorganised during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha can be classified under the following headings:—

Government Schools:

Military,
Naval,
Industrial,
Special,
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Wakf Schools:

Primary,
Preparatory.
Primary, under Government supervision,
Elementary (*khitābs*),
Primary, opened by private individuals and maintained by pious endowments,

European and Communal Schools.

The Dīwān al-Madāris

On the accession of Ismā'il Pasha, there was no special administration for the schools. Hitherto they had either been managed by Sā'id Pasha in person, or else attached to the *Dīwān al-Jihādiyyah*. One of Ismā'il's first acts was to re-establish the *Dīwān al-Madāris* on the 26th January, 1863, under Adham Pasha¹; Adham Pasha appears to have been *Nāzir* of the *Wakfs* Administration at the same time, but he did not retain the *Nāzir*ship of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* for long as Sharīf Pasha succeeded him on 26th July of the same year² with 'Alī Mubārak (then Bey) as *Wakīl*.³ Sharīf Pasha was *Nāzir* until 15th April, 1868, when he was succeeded by his *Wakīl* who held the post until 21st September, 1870.⁴

Thereafter, the *Nāzir* was changed several times; Artīn⁵ gives the following list of *Nāzirs* and Councillors for the reign of Ismā'il Pasha:—

Bahgat Pasha (also Public Works)	12th May, 1871,
'Alī Pasha Mubārak (also <i>Wakfs</i>)	25th August, 1872,
Prince Husain Pasha Kāmil (also <i>Wakfs</i> and Public Works)	26th August, 1872,
Riyād Pasha,	15th August, 1873 to
	28th February, 1874.
Thābit Pasha,	25th May, 1874.
Prince Tūsūn Pasha (also <i>Wakfs</i>)	7th September, 1874
	to 31st August, 1875.
Thābit Pasha, Councillor,	17th September, 1874
	to 21st November, 1874.
Ḥasan Pasha Rāsim, Councillor,	22nd November, 1874
	to 2nd September, 1875.
Manṣūr Pasha,	1st September, 1875
	to 21st June, 1876.

¹ Artīn, op. cit., p. 169 and Sāmī, op. cit., p. 16.

² Artīn, loc. cit. and Sāmī, ibid., p. 17.

³ *Khīṭāṭ*, 9-49.

⁴ Artīn, loc. cit., and *Khīṭāṭ*, loc. cit.

⁵ Artīn, op. cit., pp. 169-170 and Sāmī, *passim*.

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Thābit Pasha, Councillor,

Riyād Pasha,
Ismā'il Pasha Ayyūb
'Alī Pasha Mubārak,

Thābit Pasha,

3rd September, 1875
to 1st January, 1876.
25th June, 1876.
14th October, 1877.
28th August, 1878
to 8th April, 1879.
9th April, 1879.

Primary and Preparatory Schools

In February, 1863, Ismā'il's first school was opened in Alexandria in the quarter of Rās at-Tīn near the palace. It included a Primary (*mubtadiyān*) and Preparatory (*tajhīziyah*) school under Aḥmad Bey Fathī until February, 1876.¹

Another Primary school was opened in July, 1863, in al-'Abbāsiyah under *Amīralāi* Ismā'il Bey Zuhdī until September, 1870²; it was transferred to an-Nāsiriyah in 1868. At the same time, a Preparatory school was opened in the same place under 'Alī Bey Ibrāhīm until October, 1874; it was transferred to Darb al-Gamāmīz in January, 1868.³

The Reorganisation of the Army and Navy and their appropriate Schools

Ismā'il Pasha turned his attention to the military and naval schools almost as soon as he came to power; the Naval School was continued under Federico until August, 1863; during 1864, there appears to have been no *Nāzir*; *al-Yūzbāshī* Muḥammad ad-Darāsī held the post in 1865 and Mr. MacKillop from May, 1869, to November, 1871; 'Abdar-Rāziq Bey Darwish was *Wakīl* from December, 1871 until April, 1875 and then *Nāzir* from May, 1875 until April, 1879.⁴

The Khedive appears to have followed the practice of Muḥammad 'Alī for there was another Naval School opened near the Arsenal which was probably used for shipbuilding while the other was used purely for naval training. Both European and Egyptian teachers were employed; the students were chosen from the primary school and the course lasted three years. The subjects taught were physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography, gunnery, navigation and management of ships, swimming, military law, Turkish and English; the names of the teachers were as follows:—

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 17 gives July, 1863; in the same work, app. III, 57 and 59 and Artin, op. cit., p. 186, February is given.

² Sāmī, op. cit., p. 17 and app. III, pp. 55-6.

³ Ibid., p. 17 and app. III, pp. 96-7.

⁴ Ibid., app. III, p. 53.

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Mr. Mackillop,
'Abdar-Rāziq Bey,
'Alī Ef. Salāmah,
Ibrāhīm Ef.,
'Uthmān Ef. Tal'at,
Muṣṭafā Bey Ṣādiq,

(also taught at
Mr. Gibson,
Mr. Abraham (?),
Sulaimān Ef. Zuhdī,

Navigation and Handling of Ships.
English, History and Physics.
Astronomy and Geography.
Navigation Charts.
Use of Weapons and Military Law.
Mathematics.
the preparatory school)
Gunnery and Sword-drill.
Torpedo exercises.
Turkish and Calligraphy.¹

Sa'id's Military School at the Barrage was transferred to Kaṣr an-Nīl and then to al-'Abbāsiyah in 1863; it was turned into the Artillery School in July, 1864, and then closed in January, 1865²; from that date, it was amalgamated with the rest of the military schools under an entirely different arrangement whereby they were all accommodated together in the palace built by 'Abbās Pasha and which gave its name to the district of al-'Abbāsiyah.

Ismā'il Pasha had determined to reorganise the army and to introduce various reforms, and for this purpose, he sent a military mission to France. This included Shāhīn Pasha, Ibrāhīm Pasha as-Sawārī, 'Alī Bey Riḍā aṭ-Ṭūbjī, 'Alī Bey Wahbī, Yūsuf Bey Ṣādiq, Muḥammad Bey Riḍā, Maḥmūd Bey Sāmī, Ismā'il Bey Ayyūb, 'Abdal-Kādir Bey Ḥilmī, Muṣṭafā Bey Fahmī, 'Uthmān Bey Ghālib, Aḥmad Bey Ḥamdī, Ḥasan Ef. Mazhar, Muḥammad Ef., and Aḥmad Bey 'Ubaid as interpreter.³ The officers represented every arm and were expected to acquire first knowledge and experience that would enable them to introduce the desired reforms into the Egyptian Army. In spite of this mission, however, another military mission of French officers was invited from France in 1864 under General Mircher; the other three officers were Rebatel, Larmée and Polard, and de Bernhardt, already employed in Egypt, was attached to it.⁴

The military training schools were placed under an administration called *Idārat al-Madāris al-Ḥarbiyah*, first of all under Salīm Pasha al-Jazā'irī, then under Mircher aided by General Karwel (sic), Sulaimān Bey Najjātī, Yāwir Bey, 'Alī Bey Ibrāhīm and 'Abdar-Rahmān Ef. Dhuhni (Zuhni).⁵ Each school had its own *Nāzir* and the students were chosen from the Preparatory

¹ Sarhank, op. cit., II/283-4.

² Sarhank, ibid., II/307.

³ Ibid., II/307-8.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., III, p. 54.

⁵ Sarhank, op. cit., II/307.

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and other schools.¹ The following schools were opened under this administration:—

School	Opening date	Director
Infantry	1864	Muhammad Amīn later de Bernhardt.
Cavalry	1865	Polard, later Yāwir Bey.
Artillery and Military Engineering Staff	1865	Larmée.
	1865	Mircher, later Shaḥātah 'Isā then Rebatel.
N.C.O.	1874	
Fencing	?	?
Munitions	?	?

A Military School was also opened in the Citadel in the year 1874, to train boys as non-commissioned officers; it was called *Madrasat al-Aṭfāl al-'Askariyah* or *Madrasat al-Khaṭariyah*. It had a short existence for it was closed in February, 1879, owing to the financial crisis. Khalīl Ef. 'Iffat was *Nāzir*.²

Four other schools were attached to the Military Training establishments at al-'Abbāsiyah; the Veterinary School under Lyonar, opened in 1868 with ten students; it was eventually placed under the control of the *Nāzir* of the Cavalry School.³ The School of Agriculture, opened in 1867, was attached to the Veterinary School, but was closed in 1875. The School of Coptic Accountancy, opened in 1867 and closed in 1872, was attached to the School of Cavalry, though the connection between the two is not quite clear.⁴ The fourth school was the *Muhandis-khānah*, opened in June, 1866, under Ismā'il Bey al-Falakī; it began with 42 students who were trained in irrigation, and architectural and military engineering.⁵

Every kind of military subject was taught in the military schools, each according to its speciality. As the schools were together, one teacher could give several courses at different schools; the majority of the teachers were Egyptians and Turks and the following list indicates the scope of the work undertaken by the teaching staff⁶:—

¹ Ibid., II/308; for June, 1873, Sarhank gives the following statistics of the strength of the army: officers 2,668, men 84,530, students in the military schools 1,890 (Sarhank, op. cit., II/311).

² Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 105.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., III, p. 104.

⁴ Ibid., p. 105.

⁵ Ibid., p. 98.

⁶ Sarhank, op. cit., II/309-310 (I, Infantry, S, Staff; A, Artillery, C, Cavalry).

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Name	Subjects Taught	Schools where Taught
Sh. 'Abdal-Hāfiz.	Arabic.	I.
'Abdallah Ef.	Turkish.	I.
'Abdar-Raḥīm Ef.	Mathematics.	I.
'Abdar-Raḥmān Bey 'Alī	Topography and Gunnery.	S.A.
Aḥmad Ef. Hilmī.	Geography and French.	I.C.
Aḥmad Ef. Kadri.	Arithmetic.	I.
Aḥmad Ef. Najīb.	Geometry.	S.
Aḥmad Ef. Zakī.	Fortifications.	S.A.
'Alī Ef. Zuhni.	Infantry Regulations.	A.
'Alī Ef. Rasmi.	Drawing.	I.
'Alī Ef. Rushdī.	Mathematics.	C.
'Amir Bey.	Mechanics.	S.
Bakir Ef. Shauki.	Topography.	I.
Mr. Bourke.	English.	S.A.I.C.
Gastinel Bey.	Chemistry.	S.A. and Medicine.
Hasan Ef. Najīb.	Calligraphy.	S.
Hasan Ef. Ra'fat.	Artillery Regulations.	A.
Mr. Iblich.	German.	S.A.I.C.
Ismā'il Bey.	Cosmography.	S.
Khafāji Bey.	Fortifications, Military Works, Topography.	S.A.
Khalīl Ef. Kāmīl.	Military Law.	S.
Khalīl Ef. Zakī.	English.	I.C.
Latīf Ef. Salīm.	Mathematics.	S.A.
M. Louis.	French.	S.A.I.C.
Maḥmūd Ef. Fahmī.	Arithmetic, Trigonometry and Topography.	C.
Maḥmūd Ef. Husnī.	Geography.	C.
Sh. Maḥmūd al-'Ālim.	Arabic.	C.
Maḥmūd Ef. Shaukat.	Drawing.	I.C.
Maḥmūd Ef. Zakī.	Drawing.	A.
Mikhā'il Ef.	Ethiopic.	I.C.
Muḥammad Ef. Ḥasan.	Calligraphy.	I.
Sh. Muḥammad al-Maniyālī.	Arabic.	I.
Muḥammad Ef. Nāsih.	Geometry.	I.
Muḥammad Ef. Sa'id.	Astronomy.	C.
Muḥammad Ef. Sulaimān.	English.	S.I.C.
Muḥammad Ef. Taufiq.	Signalling.	I.C.
Muḥarram Ef. Shaukat.	Fortifications.	I.C.
Muṣṭafā Ef. Naṣr.	Physics.	S.
Ramaḍān Ef.	Geography and French.	S.A.I.C.
Sayyid Ef. Aḥmad.	Military Tactics and French.	I.
Tāhir Ef.	Turkish.	I.
Yūsuf Ef. 'Ayyād.	Physics.	A.

Stone Pasha was made Chief of Staff in 1870, and on the return of the Egyptian Military Mission from France, its mem-

bers were placed under him. The staff had a special printing press where its maps and drawings were printed; it had an excellent library of military works and a military museum. Two military gazettes were edited, one called the *Jarīdat Arkān Harb al-Jaish al-Miṣrī* and the other the *Jarīdat al-Askariyat al-Miṣriyah* for the use of the officers and military students.

After the defeat of the French by the Germans in 1871, Ismā'il decided to introduce the German military system into Egypt; the German regulations were translated and adopted but the financial crisis affected his plans considerably and prevented the change from being carried through.

The Medical services of the schools at al-'Abbāsiyah were arranged on a large scale; a hospital was opened for the civil and military schools in April, 1864, under Nāfi' Ef. Ṣawālī¹; Muḥammad Ef. Sulaimān was made *Nāzir* in May, 1865, and Ḥusain Ef. al-Burdīnī the pharmacist. A European, Dr. Lawantier Bey, was appointed Chief Medical Officer in February, 1865; Doctors Zuhra'n Ef. Muḥammad and Maḥmūd Ef. Ibrāhīm were medical officers of the Primary and Preparatory School respectively.²

The Civil Schools

The educational policy up to 1868 was as has been noted on the same military lines as that of the Khedive's predecessors. By this date, the military schools were well established, and, through the influence of 'Alī Mubārak, an attempt was made to separate the civil schools from the military. At about this date, the military schools were placed under the control of the *Diwān al-Jihādiyyah*³; the Primary and Preparatory schools were withdrawn from al-'Abbāsiyah, the former being established in an-Nāṣiriyyah under Zuhdī Bey and later under Bur'ā Ef.⁴ and the Preparatory school was set up in the palace of Muṣṭafā Fāḍil in Darb al-Gamāmīz⁵ under 'Alī Bey Ibrāhīm.

The guiding hand in the educational policy of Egypt was that of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak; during his *wakilship* in the *Diwān al-Madāris*, he was sent to Paris on a mission connected with finance and while he was there, he took the trouble to visit

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 18.

² Loc. cit.

³ Sachot, op. cit., p. 10; Artin states that they were under the *Diwān al-Madāris* until 17th February, 1879.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 56.

⁵ v. supra, p. 348.

the schools in Paris and to investigate for himself the methods employed, their curricula and the kind of text books in use.¹ It was he also who suggested to Ismā'il Pasha that he should be allowed to transfer the schools to Cairo on account of the inconvenience caused to teachers, students and parents by the remoteness of al-'Abbāsiyah.² When 'Alī Pasha was made *Nāzir* of the *Diwān al-Madāris*, he held also the *nāzirship* of the *Wakfs* administration, the Public Works and the Railways, and he moved the offices of the schools, the *Wakfs* and the Public Works into the palace of Prince Muṣṭafā Fāḍil in order to facilitate his task of control.³ This enabled him to make a daily inspection of the Preparatory school and of the other schools that were eventually transferred or set up there.

A new principle was adopted in connection with the paying of school fees. In both the Primary and the Preparatory schools, sections were opened for students whose parents had to pay a little towards their education. No fixed rules were laid down as to the payments to be made, the amount depending on the discretion of the *Nāzir* of the *Diwān* and the means of the parents⁴; from the statistics available, the principle does not appear to have been accepted until 1875, for this is the first year in which a percentage (21 per cent.) of the students is shown as paying fees.⁵ A hospital was opened in the Darb al-Gamāmīz palace for sick students, and placed under Maḥmūd Ef. Ibrāhīm.⁶

The palace in Darb al-Gamāmīz soon became the hub of the new educational movement through the enthusiasm and energetic policy of Mubārak. In 1868, he opened the *Madrasat al-Idārah wal-Alsun* (School of Administration and Languages) which later became the School of Law which is still in existence.⁷ The director was M. Vidal, a French lawyer, who remained in charge of this school for twenty-four years.⁸ A School of Drawing was opened in the same year and also placed under Vidal.⁹ The *Muhandiskhānah* was transferred to this building in January, 1868, under Ismā'il Bey al-Falakī¹⁰ and a School of Surveying and Accountancy was opened in 1868 and placed under the director of the *Muhandiskhānah*.¹¹ Still another

¹ *Khitaṭ*, 9/49.

² Loc. cit.

³ v. infra, p. 386.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 99.

⁵ Sāmī, ibid., p. 91.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 91.

² *Khitaṭ*, 9/50.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁶ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 19.

⁸ Rāfi', *Aṣr Ismā'il*, I/209.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 98.

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school was opened under Brugsch for the study of Egyptology.¹ There was also a large general library and an amphitheatre for ceremonial occasions and public lectures.

Dor Bey, who had been appointed Inspector-General of the schools gives a report on several of them which he visited in 1871-2. The Primary School in Darb an-Nāṣiriyaḥ was under Bur'ā Efendī at the time.² He was assisted by twenty-one teachers and two tutors (*répétiteurs*),³ and there were four classes; in the first and second years, reading, writing and the memorising of the Ḳor'ān formed the main part of the syllabus, in the third year, Arabic grammar was begun and in the fourth, French and arithmetic. There were other classes for (English) and German; the Ḳor'ān was dropped for the fourth class and Turkish, Arabic syntax and elementary geography were given instead. An important place was given to drawing. The best subject was arithmetic but the language teachers gave too much time to parsing. The students dined at midday and there appears to have been 510 in the common refectory alone, including the external students who did not live in the school. The sons of Beys and Pashas dined in a separate dining-room. The school had an infirmary of which Dor had no good opinion.

He describes the Darb al-Gamāmiz schools in some detail.⁴ The Preparatory school⁵ had 309 students, all in uniform, the wearing of which Dor criticises to some extent, although he appreciates the reasons for its necessity in view of the general poverty of the boys and the call for military discipline. There were twenty-two Egyptian teachers and two Europeans who taught drawing; French and English were taught by Egyptians through the medium of Arabic. The other subjects were arithmetic, geometry, Arabic, Turkish and calligraphy. Some of the best students were employed as tutors (*répétiteurs*), a practice which Dor also criticises, but owing to the lack of teachers, as will be seen below, the Egyptian Government had no other choice.

The *Muhandisḵānah*, usually called the Polytechnic,⁶ had seventy-two students who were all internal and who were allowed to choose between the study of (English) and French; a deeper study was made of the European language with a

¹ Loc. cit.

² Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 232-4.

³ Ibid., pp. 385-6; they were all Egyptians.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 234-254.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 234-241.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 242-3.

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view to using it as a medium for learning other subjects. Dor states that the students learnt foreign languages with great facility. There were fifteen teachers, three of whom were Europeans, one teaching architecture and the other two French and German. The other subjects of instruction were mechanics, hydraulics, algebra, differential calculus, descriptive geometry, physics, chemistry, Arabic and Turkish.

The School of Administration under Vidal is also given the name of the *École de Droit* by Dor Bey¹; there were forty-four students and six teachers including (Vidal who taught Roman and French law, a shaikh taught Moslem law) and another Arabic; an *efendī* taught Persian and Turkish and the other two were tutors. The course was arranged over a period of four years.² Dor Bey complains of the lack of co-operation between the Egyptian and European teachers; the shaikhs were particularly antagonistic to their European colleagues.³

The School of Surveying and Accountancy had three Egyptian teachers who taught accountancy, arithmetic, geometry, surveying and French.⁴

The School of Egyptology⁵ had three European teachers who taught Ancient Egyptian, Coptic, Ethiopic and German; there were only a few students who were not prepared for this kind of study as they had neither philological and historical background nor scientific adaptability; the most that was expected of them was an ability to fill minor vacancies as keepers in the museum and foremen in the field.⁶

The Alexandria school under Aḥmad Bey Faṭḥī consisted of both a Primary and a Preparatory school⁷; there were 246 students and sixteen teachers, two of whom were European teaching French and drawing. The other subjects taught were the Ḳor'ān, Arabic, Turkish, calligraphy, (English) and mathematics.

The School of Medicine

The School of Medicine⁸ contained about a hundred students at this time, threequarters of whom were studying medicine

¹ Ibid., p. 243.

² Dor, op. cit., p. 244.

³ Ibid., pp. 253-4.

⁴ Ibid., p. 254.

⁵ See Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, pp. 48-9; Sharaf, op. cit., pp. 21-2; Mahfouz, op. cit., p. 43; Sachot, op. cit., pp. 17-19; Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 221-3.

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and the rest in the pharmaceutical section. At the suggestion of Dr. Burguières, the school was handed over to the Egyptians to manage¹; Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī was *Wakīl* in 1864 and 1865, Ḥāfiẓ Ef. was *Nāẓir* in 1865 and 1866, and then Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī became *Nāẓir* from December, 1866, until August, 1870; with an interval of a few months, August, 1870 to July, 1871, Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī was either the *Wakīl* or the *Nāẓir* until December, 1875, when Gaillardot Bey was made *Nāẓir* and held the post until March, 1883.²

The teaching staff in the medical section consisted of fourteen Egyptian teachers, and there were no Europeans; the school of pharmacy had one European, Gastinel Bey, who also taught in the military schools, and five other Egyptians. The Khedive allowed ten Syrians to attend the school gratuitously in order to qualify as doctors.

The usual practice of free tuition, board, lodging and pay was maintained during this period. The disadvantage of this system is brought out by Dor Bey. The students were not allowed to choose the section to which they wished to belong; lots were cast for the vacancies in the medical and pharmaceutical sections; the result was that the students who had to follow the pharmaceutical course did so very half-heartedly and because they had to. The reason for this was that they were not so well paid as their medical colleagues after graduation. They lost interest in their work and it could not be expected of such graduates to show any initiative in after-life.³

As the students had been fully maintained by the government, they had to spend the rest of their career in government service, and, on graduating, they were posted either to the army or to the civil service; here again, chance played a great part in the nominations; a man might be fortunate enough to be posted to a service where promotion was rapid; on the other hand, he might be employed in some branch of the government where he had no chance of promotion at all. The government appears to have been aware of this serious defect in the system⁴ and tried to rectify it by allowing students to attend the School of Medicine simply for the instruction, without any kind of obligation to the government after gradua-

¹ Sharaf, *ibid.*, p. 21.

² Sāmi, *ibid.*, pp. 48-49, Mahfouz, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-7, gives a list of the directors which differs from that of Sāmi.

³ Dor Bey, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

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tion. The experiment was not successful; Dor Bey states that out of 85 students, only eight took advantage of this offer. Nor did this type of student who had entered the school of his own free will endeavour to set out for himself in life and to depend upon his own qualifications, but still sought government employment.

According to Dor Bey, the course lasted five years after the two years of preparation. The courses were not optional; everything was done according to regulations and orders, and the students studied under strict supervision and military discipline.

The School of Pharmacy had twenty-one students under Gastinel Bey and appears to have been removed to Old Cairo. The School of Maternity, which was also removed to Old Cairo, was under the direction of Mme. Vial. There were forty-four internal students and ten external, with six teachers, three men and three women. The subjects taught were midwifery, surgery, bandaging, gynæcology, anatomy, *materia medica*, Arabic and arithmetic,¹ and the course lasted five years. Forty-seven midwives graduated from this school.

Industrial Schools

The old School of Arts and Crafts at Būlāḳ had been closed by Sa'īd Pasha. Under Ismā'īl Pasha, it was reopened through the efforts of Nūbār Pasha who was helped by M. Monnier in its organisation.² The outbreak of cholera in 1867 nearly put an end to this enterprise but the government managed to re-open it in January, 1868.³ It was given the name of *Madrasat al-'Amaliyāt* under the direction of M. Eloi Guigon and had thirty students.⁴ Dor Bey gives a good report of this school and remarks that it was situated in the midst of the workshops where the students were trained in a suitable atmosphere and where they could acquire ample experience. The school was well managed by the French director who, not knowing Arabic, used to write his lectures out in French, and have them translated by his Egyptian assistants who gave them to the classes. The course lasted three years, too short in the opinion of Dor Bey; later, the number of students was increased.

The great difficulty here, as with most technical schools, was the formation of the technical vocabulary; M. Guigon

¹ Dor Bey, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-7 and 385.

² Sāmi, *op. cit.*, app. III, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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endeavoured to compile a French-English-Arabic technical dictionary with the aid of the Egyptian masters.

There were twelve teachers altogether, of whom four were European; the subjects taught were English, French, Arabic, mechanics, drawing, metal-work and fitting, and in the language classes special attention was paid to the translation of technical passages.

A special section was opened in 1868 as a military workshop with 28 students, another for painting, opened in 1869 was closed in 1871, a third in connection with the railways was opened in 1870 and closed in 1872; a telegraph school was opened in 1868 and closed in 1869, and a general industrial section opened in 1868 and closed in 1872; they appear to have been all combined later under the direction of Guigon.¹

Still another industrial school was opened in July, 1875, under Ahmad Ef. Idris but it was closed in December of the following year.² The short existence of some of these schools indicates that the schemes were too ambitious and incapable of fulfilment; it would have been wiser to have kept to one establishment and to have developed it under one capable director.

Elementary and Primary Education

It is evident from Dor Bey's and other reports that, although the object of the schools was to train military and naval officers and administrative officials, and for some sixteen vocational schools there were only two Primary and two Preparatory schools, the Special schools were more up-to-date and were better staffed than they had been in the days of Muḥammad 'Alī. For one thing Ismā'il was now able to make use of the services of some of the Egyptians and Turks who had been sent to Europe during the earlier years, and, what was perhaps more important there was a stability which had not existed during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, since the country was not at war, and the minor campaigns to the south did not drain the country of its man power as the Syrian wars had done.

It has been pointed out that the capable and energetic 'Alī Mubārak was in charge both of the Schools Administration and of the pious foundations (*wakfs*) and that the offices of both services were housed in the same building with the schools. Through the *Wakfs* administration, the funds and property

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 94 and p. 20.

² Loc. cit.

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which had been settled on pious institutions naturally came under the jurisdiction of Mubārak, and amongst these were the *maktabs* or *kuttābs* previously described.¹ These had suffered considerably as we have seen, during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī owing to the confiscation of the *Wakf* endowments, to the discouraging effects of the war, the poverty and misery which resulted from the war and the monopolies, and the general disorganisation of social and economic life through the withdrawal of the men from their general occupations. But after 1841, the *kuttāb* system seems gradually to have resumed its place in the social structure of Egypt, and by 1848, the *kuttābs* are recorded as having 11,370 pupils.² Even so, the number of schools that were in use could not have been anything like the number that existed before the French occupation, for in Cairo alone Jomard estimated that there were 300 of them.³ No statistics are available for the period 1848 to 1869, in the *Progrès Égyptien* for the 26th September, 1868, however, the *kuttābs* are mentioned in the following terms, *ces écoles sont fort nombreuses en Égypte et il n'est pas de village un peu peuplé qui n'ait son kuttāb*. The writer goes on to say that these schools had been richly endowed, but the difficult times that the country had experienced together with the mismanagement of the *Wakf* funds had reduced the system to great poverty and degeneration.⁴

The earliest statistics are for the year 1869; they were apparently prepared by a certain Regaldi⁵ and were used by Regny in 1870.⁶ The figures include the larger towns but not the villages and are as follows:—

Cairo	6,040 pupils	
Alexandria	1,580	"
Damanhūr	582	"
Tanṭā	600	"
Zakāzīk	475	"
al-Manṣūrah	798	"
al-Gīzah	244	"
Banī Suef	313	"
al-Faiyūm	652	"
Minyā	478	"
		TOTAL .. 11,762 ⁷

¹ v. *supra*, Chap. I, pp. 2-7 and Chap. II, p. 152 sq.

² Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 213; in 1838, Bowring reckoned there were 20,000 altogether with 5,000 in Cairo alone.

³ v. *supra*, Chap. I, p. 4.

⁴ Mubārak also confirms this in his *Khitāṭ*, loc. cit.

⁵ Regny, *Statistique de l'Égypte*, Alexandria, 1870, p. 91.

⁶ Ibid., p. 91 and Regaldi, *Notice sur les établissements*, p. 9.

⁷ Loc. cit.

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Regaldi and Regny estimated there were about 60,000 students attached to *kuttābs* in the whole of Egypt for the year 1870¹; Dor Bey gives the number as 44,199 pupils in 1,223 *kuttābs* in the year 1872, including 18 *kuttābs* belonging to the Jews, Copts, Syrians and Armenians with a total of 543 pupils.² The estimate given by Regaldi and Regny would appear to be too high. The towns mentioned by these two writers had 17,735 *kuttāb* students in 1872, which figure represents approximately 40 per cent. of the total; calculated on the same basis, there would have been 29,400 in 1870. In 1873, the figure of 2,067 *kuttābs* with 77,292 pupils is given in the official statistics³; for 1875, Dor in the official statistics gives a total of 4,725 *kuttābs* with 119,903 students.⁴ Another set of statistics for the year 1291—1874-5, gives 3,745 *kuttābs* with 113,255 pupils⁵; Amici gives the following figures for 1872, 2,696 *kuttābs* with 82,256 pupils, for 1875, 4,685 *kuttābs* with 111,803 pupils and for 1878, 5,370 *kuttābs* with 137,545 pupils.⁶

For the sake of convenience, these figures are arranged in a table so that the comparative development can be seen at a glance:—

Year	<i>Kuttābs</i>	Teachers	Pupils	Authority
1848	?	?	11,370	Dor Bey.
1869	?	?	29,400	Regny 60,000.
1872	1,223	?	44,199	Dor Bey (official).
	2,696	?	82,256	Amici.
1873	2,067	2,381	77,292	official.
1875	4,725	4,881	119,903	Dor (official).
	4,685	?	111,803	Amici.
1878	5,370	?	137,545	Amici.

According to these figures, the *kuttābs* had increased about four and a half times in number in six years and the students over twelve times in thirty years. That there was a rapid increase was probably true but the absence of reliable figures for the period previous to 1872 makes it impossible to enter into comparisons; even then, the "statistics" for the period 1872 and 1878 show an increase of three times the original number according to Dor Bey and of one and a half times according to Amici.

¹ Loc. cit.

² Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 379-80.

³ *État statistique des Écoles*, 1873.

⁴ *Statistique des Écoles*, Cairo, 1875, pp. 17-35.

⁵ *Tableaux Statistiques*, Cairo, 1874-5.

⁶ Amici, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-227.

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The rapid increase in numbers from year to year can only be explained as having been due to a more exact system of calculation. There is no other evidence to show that there was a sudden development in the *kuttāb* system and it was not in the nature of things to expect an immediate increase in any one year. Every additional *kuttāb* meant at least one additional teacher and it would have been almost impossible to find a thousand extra teachers in any one year as suggested by the statistics¹ or, to be exact, 2,500 extra teachers for the period 1873 to 1875. A number of private individuals must have endowed new *kuttābs* during this period in accordance with the old custom, but the number would not have been so abnormal, unless extra pressure was brought upon the people to do so.

A better account of what actually happened can be found in the autobiography of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak who was actually in charge of the schools and responsible for the improvement of the *kuttāb* system. 'Alī Pasha had had sufficient experience to perceive that the educational policy of the country had been defective and inadequate; he had seen how ephemeral had been the schools set up by Muḥammad 'Alī, 'Abbās and Sa'id and that they served only one special object, namely, that of supplying the government with officials. His visit to France must have given him an idea of what was needed in Egypt; his control of both the schools and the *Wakfs* administration gave him the opportunity he was seeking. The combination of the military schools in one locality and the civil schools in another appears to have been an application of the principles adopted through him during the reign of 'Abbās Pasha.

'Alī Pasha reports that the *kuttābs* were functioning according to the old system; the only kind of instruction given was the memorising of the *Qur'ān*, reading and writing. He conceived the idea of reforming these schools, and, for this purpose, formed a committee of officials and notables in order to investigate its possibilities; their names were:—

Sh. 'Abdal-Hādī al-Abyārī,

Sh. Ismā'il al-Ḥalabī, former Mufti of the *Wakfs* Administration and of al-Azhar,

Aḥmad Abū Muṣṭafā, a notable of Malīg,

Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣirafī, a notable of Malbanah,

Mahmūd al-'Aṭṭār, a notable of Ca'ro,

al-Ḥājj Yūsuf 'Abdal-Fattāh, Provost of the merchants in Cairo,

'Abdar-Rabbuh Bey, an 'Alīm from Alexandria,

¹ *v. supra*, p. 360.

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Mahmūd Bey al-Falakī, Engineer,
Ismā'il Bey al-Falakī, Nāzīr of the *Muhandishkhānah*,
'Alī Bey 'Izzat, Wakīl of the *Dīwān al-Madāris*.

This committee, although called together under a government official, was certainly the first of its kind for it included private individuals, which suggests that they were moved by motives which had so far been absent among the Egyptians and which were probably inspired by the rapid progress of educational establishments among the European communities with which their own schools compared so unfavourably. The inclusion of highly placed '*ulamā*' on this committee was a wise move, and indeed necessary as the reforms contemplated were intended to affect the numerous institutions that belonged to the mosques and the pious foundations.

The Law of the 10th Rajab 1284—7th November, 1867

The outcome of the work of this committee was the famous law of the 10th *Rajab* 1284—7th November, 1867, which represents an important move in the right direction as it aimed at the official recognition and reform of the only permanent educational system in the country.¹ This law decreed that those *kuttābs* that had sufficient income from their endowments should come under the control of the government; in the case of the extinction of the families of the original founders, the endowments were to pass to the government for use on the schools. This meant that a number of *kuttābs* would be administered by the *Dīwān al-Madāris* but that their expenditure would be met from *Wakf* funds.

Many of the schools were in bad need of repair or of being rebuilt in order to suit modern requirements; architects and engineers were posted to the various provinces to draw up plans and estimates²; the cost of the repairs or reconstruction would have to be borne by the village or province concerned.³ Parents had to help towards the material used in the schools, and were also to supplement the salaries of the teachers (called *mu'addibs*) and the monitors (*'arīfs*). These two rules thus established the principle of paying fees for instruction, although no rates were fixed by the law. This applied particularly to

¹ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 215-6, also *Khiṭāt*, 9/49-51.

² *Khiṭāt*, 9/52.

³ It is not stated how the province was to pay for such work; probably private persons were made to subscribe.

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village schools; the provincial town schools were to be helped by the government in regard to the board and lodging of students but the parents would still have to pay for materials used by their sons. Another clause stipulated that the *Dīwān al-Madāris* would adjust the fees according to the status of the parents; sons of rich parents would have to pay for their own clothing, the government would pay for that of the poor. A register was to be kept in each of the provincial administrations in which gifts made by parents were to be recorded; their gifts were to be paid into the *Dīwān al-Madāris* and to be used for the school expenditure. The Khedive himself set an example by devoting 22,000 *faddāns* of land as an endowment towards their upkeep.

One clause states that the appointment of inspectors was to be avoided and that inspection was to be carried out by the provincial governors while another clause stipulates that inspectors would carry out frequent inspections.

The provision of board and lodging would apply to the provincial town schools, whereas in the village schools the pupils would have to return home to their parents at the end of the day. Another clause allowed for students who lived near the provincial town schools; these could pass the night at home, in order to relieve the *Dīwān al-Madāris* of a certain amount of expenditure.

All the schools were to follow the regulations closely; annual examinations were to be set "*pour le bien des élèves d'abord et conséquemment pour celui du gouvernement.*" The *mu'addibs* were to follow "*une marche progressive dans leur enseignement.*"

A school was to be established in the centre of each province and in each of the provincial towns; the number of students would be fixed in proportion to the population of the province. The schools were to be erected on government property as near a railway station as possible. When these schools accommodated both Moslems and Copts, the first year class was to be divided for the purposes of religious instruction.

The new law provided for three types of schools, the Primary schools in Cairo and Alexandria, the village elementary schools (*kuttābs*) and the Primary schools in the centre of the provinces and in the capitals.

The law contained forty clauses as follows:—

i.—A newly opened *kuttāb* in an unhealthy building and without a *Wakf* endowment should be condemned and the students dis-

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tributed among other schools. The condemned building should either be sold or let and the proceeds used for the foundation of other *kuttābs*.

ii.—Schools over *sabils*¹ beyond repair were to be let as shops or stores and the proceeds credited to the common school funds; the students were to be sent to other schools.

iii.—Schools endowed with *Wakf* funds but in a bad state of repair were to be temporarily closed and the revenues from the endowment saved until a sufficient amount was available for repairs; in the meantime, the students were to attend other schools. If, however, the *wakf* endowment had sufficient funds available for immediate repairs, they were to be undertaken; the decision as to what action was to be taken depended upon the *Nāzir* of the *Wakf* administration.

iv.—If a medical officer were to condemn a *Wakf*-endowed school building, then it should be treated as in iii.

v.—An existing school with limited accommodation, but many students, should be enlarged either at the expense of the state, or at the expense of a private individual, if the *Wakf* endowment be insufficient.

vi.—If the founder of a school had stipulated that the school had to be used for a special branch of study which was no longer required and the endowment itself had expired, then such a school could be used for any other purpose provided funds were forthcoming from some private individual.

vii.—If a school which had been founded for the purpose of the study of religion should be without students but has funds available, and, if a private individual wishes to make a fresh endowment for the school with a view to adding a new branch of study, such action would be legal and allowed. If such a school be in need of repairs, they would be effected from its own funds; if such funds were insufficient, the school would be closed and its funds appropriated for the foundation of another school.

viii.—If a person had endowed a school for his children but revertible to the poor in case of the extinction of the family, then such schools would be considered as charitable institutions and could be used accordingly.

ix.—The same rule as in viii would apply to similar *Wakfs* where the founder had appointed an executor.

x.—All *Wakfs* affected by viii and ix were to be examined; if the executor be suitable, he could be continued in his functions, if unsuitable, he would have to be replaced; if there be no executor, the funds would be applied to such schools as the Khedive saw fit.

The following clauses referred to the syllabus of the schools:

xi.—If a school has seventy students or more, its teachers would be appointed and paid from the endowment; the following subjects would be taught; writing, arithmetic, commercial know-

¹ Jomard visited 245 *sabils* nearly all of which had a school over them, v. *supra*, Chap. I, p. 4.

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ledge, grammar, ancient history, geography, a modern language and the principles of politeness.

xii.—If a *Wakf* school not under government control had sufficient funds, it had to follow xi; if the funds were insufficient, they would be supplemented from other *Wakf* endowments. In the cases of schools coming under clauses viii, ix and x, the parents would have to subscribe towards the education of their children, for which purpose, they would be presented with a monthly account.

xiii.—Elementary schools, whether under government supervision or not, would have to provide for the study of reading, writing and the "numerical value of the letters" (arithmetic).

xiv.—Schools not under government supervision had to conform to xiii; if a founder wished to add extra teachers as in the larger schools, according to xi, then the *Wakf* administration would give a subvention towards their salary.

xv.—All moneys which had been paid in the past by parents would still continue to be paid by them; this applied to school upkeep as well as teachers stipends.

The following clauses affected teachers:

xvi.—The *Diwān al-Madāris* appointed teachers and presented them with testimonials after examinations in the presence of the local authorities.

xvii.—Teachers had to live according to a high moral standard of respectability. They must know the *Qur'an* and their religion thoroughly, have a "beautiful calligraphy" and know the "numbers of arithmetic."

Rewards and Prizes:

xviii.—Students were to attend school of their own free will; promotion to the higher classes and eventually to the government schools was to be decided by the annual examinations.

xix.—Examinations were to be held in the month of *Sha'bān*; a ceremony was to be held for those students who passed with distinction; in the higher schools, a military band was to be in attendance.

xx.—Successful students were to be presented with prizes of inkstands, books, etc.

xxi.—Students who had been recommended for good conduct were to receive uniforms from the state.

School furniture and material:

xxii.—The books to be used in the schools were to be prescribed and printed by the government and paid for by the students; the prices were to be collected by the teachers and paid into the *Diwān al-Madāris*; the prescribed books were to include the *Qur'an*, and others on the subjects of the syllabus as in xi.

xxiii.—The School furniture was to consist of a chair for the *mu'addib* and benches for the students in the larger schools (called *secondaires*) and mats for the elementary schools. The furniture was to be paid for out of the *Wakf* funds or by the founder.

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New Schools :

xxiv.—New schools were to be built according to plan and any plan to build one had to be submitted to the *Diwān al-Madāris* for approval: the *mu'addibs* for such schools were to be appointed by the *Diwān al-Madāris*.

Clauses affecting public health :

xxv.—Students suffering from serious or contagious illness were not to be allowed admission to the schools; bodily deformity, however, was not counted as a disqualification.

xxvi.—The local public health officer had to visit the schools and to satisfy himself regarding the standard of cleanliness and the health of the students.

The Village Schools (called *primaires*) :

xxvii.—The instruction in the villages was to be given in a suitable building which would be attractive to the children; if the school was below standard, it was to be repaired at the expense of the local inhabitants.

xxviii.—The inhabitants of the provincial capitals were to pay for the upkeep of the buildings, the purchase of the furniture, the students' materials and the *mu'addibs*' salaries. In the case of a *Wakf* endowment being available, the parents were to pay for the students' materials only (a copy of the *Qur'an* and a slate); orphans' materials were to be paid for by other inhabitants.

Instruction :

xxix.—The syllabus of instruction was to be uniform everywhere; the books were to be prescribed by the *Diwān al-Madāris* and printed in the government presses; in the villages, it would be sufficient to teach the *Qur'an* and the "numbers of arithmetic." The hours of attendance were not to be fixed in the village schools but pupils whose names were inscribed had to learn their lessons in the prescribed time; parents could decide when to withdraw their sons from these schools; this rule did not apply to government schools where a student, once his name had been inscribed, had to complete the course; the village schools were to be open always and the *mu'addibs* were to be permanent.

The Teachers (referred to as *fikis*) :

xxx.—It would be sufficient that the teachers of the small towns, villages and hamlets knew how to read and write, knew the *Qur'an* by heart and the "numbers of arithmetic"; *fikis* already holding posts could keep them provided that they knew the *Qur'an* thoroughly and that they were in possession of a certificate that they are suitable to the inhabitants and capable of teaching. The certificate had to be granted by the local notables and by a delegate of the *Diwān al-Madāris*. As many of the

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fikis were blind, it would be necessary to provide a capable '*arif*' if they wished to keep their post; the '*arif*' must possess a certificate to the effect that he can read and write. As many of the *fikis* possessed all the necessary qualifications but did not know arithmetic, these could be given a year's leave during which time they could learn arithmetic. This privilege could only be granted to those teachers already in employment. Newly appointed teachers had to possess all the qualifications.

Books and students' materials :

xxxi.—Books had to be approved by a special committee in the *Diwān al-Madāris* before they could be printed. After they had been printed, they were to be distributed among the students and the prices of all books and students' materials had to be paid for by the parents; the blackboard and drinking vessels were to be considered as a part of the school furniture (see xxiii).

Treatment of students :

xxxii.—Yearly examinations were to be held in the month of *Sha'ban* in the presence of the *Shaikhs al-Balad*; students and teachers had to be encouraged. A register was to be kept of the students' names showing their attendance. Good students were to be allowed to proceed to the higher schools without examination; diligent students were to be exempt from the school *corvées*.

Provincial Capital Schools :

xxxiii.—The following towns would be provided with central schools:—*Tanṭā*, *Zakāzīk*, *al-Manṣūrah*, *Banī Suef*, *Minyā*, *Asyūt*, *Kenā*; these schools were to provide instruction to the students of the surrounding districts who had passed out of the *kuttābs*; the expenses of the student to be borne by the province in which the student was born.

xxxiv.—The inhabitants of the province were to pay for the building and upkeep of the school, each according to his means; if the government are in possession of a suitable building, it would be given to the *Diwān al-Madāris*; if the government gave the site, then the local inhabitants should pay for the building of the school; if no site were available, then the inhabitants should have to pay for this also; the site, in any case, would be exempt from taxes; it would be permitted for a person, inspired by charity to pay for the total or partial upkeep of the school.

xxxv.—The expenditure of these schools (called *secondaires*) was to be divided under two headings:—

(a) school furniture to be at the charge of the inhabitants:

(b) dormitory furniture, food, clothing and students' materials to be paid for out of the revenues of the 22,000 *faddāns* endowed by the Khedive or out of the *Wakf* funds; if this were insufficient, then the inhabitants had to pay.

The maximum salary of a teacher to be fixed at PT. 750 a month and the minimum at PT.200; the teachers' salaries were to be

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paid from the *Wakf* funds: the *nāzir*'s rank was not to exceed that of *Sāghakūl Aghāsī* (at £E.12 a month).

Two inspectors-general were to be appointed, one for Lower and the other for Upper Egypt; their salaries were not to be less than £E.12 a month; each inspector-general was to have an assistant who was to receive a salary of £E.5 a month.

High officials were to be qualified and appointed by the *Diwān al-Madāris*; all teachers were to be confirmed in their posts by the *Diwān al-Madāris* which paid the salaries (irrespective of the funds from which they were drawn).

The annual examiners were to be appointed by the *Diwān al-Madāris* and their expenses were to be charged to the respective provinces. Medical officers were to be appointed by the Khedive; schools were to be visited by them daily and medicine was to be provided by the Khedive.

Number of students and syllabus:

xxxvi.—The number of the students at each school was to be fixed at between 200 and 300; those who belonged to the province were to be called *dākhiliyah* (local); these were to have their expenses paid locally and could leave the school on Fridays and holidays; their number was to be fixed in proportion to the number of inhabitants: students from other provinces were to be called *khārijīyah* and could be received to the extent of 20 per cent. of the total number; if a parent wished to place his son in a school in another province, he would have to pay for his food and clothing.

The candidates for these schools were to be chosen from among the best *kuttāb* students with the recommendation of the notables, and *nāzirs* and the teachers.

Students could be accepted in the schools irrespective of their religious beliefs; they must be healthy, have good eyesight, but physical deformity would not be a disqualification provided it did not inconvenience the student in his work.

The period of study was to be for four years and the age of admission from ten to fifteen years.

A student once he was registered in the school, could not leave until he had finished the whole of the course; if a parent were to make an application for the withdrawal of his son, such application would have to be supported with very good reasons for such withdrawal and would be considered on its own merits for the students who enter these schools were "to be useful, not only to themselves, but to the country."

Orphans and poor children could be admitted gratuitously.

The syllabus would be arranged as follows:

- (a) Arabic, grammar, reading, *tauhīd*, elementary *fiqh* and politeness;
- (b) a modern European language, Turkish or another language; the student must learn to read, write and translate;
- (c) elementary geography and ancient history;

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- (d) elementary arithmetic, commercial knowledge, linear drawing and geometry;
- (e) zoology, botany, principles of agriculture;
- (f) drawing and calligraphy (*thuluth*, *diwānī* and *naskh*);

Books, materials, food and clothing:

xxxvii.—Books, see xxxi; food was to be given according to the standard of the provincial people; uniform was to be worn on all occasions and to consist of special designs and issued by the government; a student was to be issued with three shirts, three pairs of drawers, three belts, three tunics, three waistcoats, three skull-caps, four pairs of white stockings and a winter coat every two years.

Methods of developing instruction:

xxxviii.—In order to keep up to a certain standard, the teachers were to hold monthly examinations, the *nāzir*, inspector and judges were to conduct a quarterly examination and a yearly examination was to be held by the governor of the province, the officials and other dignitaries: a ceremony was to be held for prize-giving and a military band was to be in attendance: the students who desired to enter the government schools were to make written application after the yearly examination; the *nāzir* was to send the applications to the *Diwān al-Madāris* which decided upon the selection; the students chosen from the provincial town schools were to be replaced by others from the *kuttābs*; the vacancies were to be reported annually by the *nāzirs*.

Any student who failed to sit for an examination in his class had to remain in the school without promotion to a higher class and was to be considered as an external student, i.e., his food and clothing were to be paid for by his parents.

xxxix.—All moneys destined for the schools must be sent to the *Diwān al-Madāris* which alone had the right to decide upon expenditure.

All school accounts were to be made up annually in the province in the presence of the local notables and *nāzirs*; at the same time, the expenditure of the following year was to be decided upon.

xl.—Teachers and *nāzirs* appointed by the *Diwān al-Madāris* were to belong to the respective government *cadres* and were to be entitled to pensions; all service as teachers would count towards a pension.

The law concludes with advice to teachers as to their general behaviour and how they were to perform their duty, and was passed and put into operation from the 27th May, 1868.¹

The Application of the Law

In 1867, the committee reported that there were 222 *kuttābs* in Cairo, Old Cairo and Būlāḡ which were classified as follows:

¹ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 353-371.

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- (a) *Wakf* schools under government supervision;
- (b) *Wakf* schools not under government supervision;
- (c) Schools without pious foundations and not under government supervision.

eight of these schools had over one hundred students, smaller ones had between forty and fifty and several had only five or six. Some of the schools were in ruins but still held classes, others were new but had no students at all; some were richly endowed, others were without funds.

The law aimed at a levelling out process, not only in Cairo, but all over the country; and 'Alī Mubārak in fact, succeeded in partially resuscitating the *kuttāb* system¹ which had broken down under Muḥammad 'Alī. His success was due to the centralisation of the *Wakfs* and Schools Administration under one control, otherwise it would not have been possible to achieve this reform. It was further assisted by compelling the people to participate financially in the plan; to what extent pressure was brought to bear upon them is hard to say. The return to the *Wakfs* of some of the property which had been confiscated by Muḥammad 'Alī and, which was, fundamentally, the cause of the bad state of repair of many of the *kuttābs*, helped materially. The temporary prosperity of the country at the beginning of the reign due to the sharp rise in the price of cotton may have enabled the public to lend their support to the reforms.

While the material welfare of the schools was improved in that they were now officially recognised, and brought under some kind of control and were, on paper, run on uniform lines, yet it cannot be said that a better education was within reach of a very large percentage of the people, or that the *kuttābs* improved the standard of education given to their pupils. Dor Bey states quite frankly that there was no real progress through lack of men and money.²

The *kuttābs* are now generally referred to as "primary" and the provincial town schools as "secondary" schools. These terms are misleading, the former were still no more than elementary or *Ḳor'ān* schools and the latter only were true primary schools; only the preparatory schools, of which there were two, one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria, can be called secondary.³ The only modification in the syllabus of

¹ *Khīṭāṭ*, 9/52.

² Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 217, uses the term *secondaire*; this term, *ath-Thānā-wiyah* in Arabic, is used by al-Aḥyūbī, op. cit., I/191 *et passim* and by Sāmī Pasha, op. cit., p. 32. The term is quite misleading as there was little real

³ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 217.

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the *kuttābs* was the addition of elementary arithmetic which the majority of the *ḥikīs* were unable to teach, and a very long time must have been needed before they could adapt themselves to this new branch. Dor Bey states that the introduction of the study of arithmetic was never effected.¹

The reformers may have wished to develop a school system in Egypt in order to spread education more widely among the people but, in spite of this work, they could not break away from the idea that the schools had to be subservient to state control and that the students, although many of them never entered anything more advanced than a *kuttāb*, were finally destined for the provincial town schools, then the government primary and preparatory schools, going on from these to the special schools, either civil or military, and so to government service.²

Three kinds of primary schools came into use as the result of the new organisation, the *Maktab Ahlī* (pl. *Makātīb Ahliyah*—National Schools), the *Wakf Ibtidā'ī* (pl. *Auḳāf Ibtidā'iyah*—*Wakfs* Primary) and the *Wakf Ibtidā'ī* established by private individuals. Although the law stipulated for seven provincial central schools, only five were founded and were called *Makātīb Ahliyah*; there were in addition seven others in Cairo and its suburbs. They were opened in the following chronological order:—

Ṭanṭā (in the palace of 'Abbās Pasha at Banhā and sometimes called Banhā school)				Opened	Jan., 1868 ³
Asyūṭ	..	..	..	"	Jan., 1868 ⁴
al-Ḳarabiyah, Cairo	..	..	..	"	June, 1872 ⁵
Banī Suef	..	..	..	"	Aug., 1872 ⁶
al-Gamāliyah, Cairo	..	..	..	"	Jan., 1873 ⁷
al-Minyā	..	..	..	"	Feb., 1873 ⁸

secondary education; in a government report entitled "*Rapport de la Commission pour les Réformes dans l'Organisation de l'Instruction Publique*" Cairo, 1881, p. 24. Dor Bey is quoted from his report to the Commission as having said: "*L'enseignement secondaire n'est représenté aujourd'hui que par l'école préparatoire au Caire. Les quelques classes préparatoires qui se trouvent dans quelques écoles de province offrent toutes une lacune absolue sur l'une ou l'autre branche d'enseignement, et ne pourront entrer en ligne de compte que vers l'automne de l'année prochaine. Insuffisant comme qualité, ce degré scolaire est encore plus insuffisamment représenté comme quantité.*"

¹ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 323.

² Ibid., p. 219.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 23 and app. III, p. 63.

⁴ Ibid., p. 23 and app. III, pp. 64-5.

⁵ Ibid., app. III, p. 66.

⁶ Ibid., app. III, pp. 67-8.

⁷ Ibid., app. III, p. 65.

⁸ Ibid., app. III, pp. 66-7.

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Bāb ash-Sha'riyah, Cairo	Opened Dec., 1874 ¹
Old Cairo	" Jan., 1879 ²
'Abdīn, Cairo	" Jan., 1879 ³
al-Fashn	.. ..	" Feb., 1879 ⁴
al-Husainiyah, Cairo	.. ..	" Mar., 1879 ⁵

These *maktabs* were given a special department in the *Dīwān al-Madāris* which appears to have been placed under the control of 'Abdallah Bey Fikrī on the 27th March, 1871.⁶ They were apparently controlled by the *Dīwān* but their maintenance was at the charge of the joint funds of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* and the *Wakfs* Administration together with the support of the people.

There were eleven new primary *Wakf* schools and these were controlled by the *Dīwān al-Madāris* but the *Wakfs* Administration was responsible for their upkeep; they were as follows:

al-Habbāniyah, Cairo	.. ..	Opened July, 1872 ⁷
al-'Akkādīn, Cairo	.. ..	" 1872 ⁸
Sultān Mustafā, Cairo	.. ..	" 1872 ⁹
Sultān Kāitbāī, Cairo	.. ..	" 1872 ¹⁰
Abū'l-'Alā', Būlak, Cairo	.. ..	" 1872 ¹¹
an-Nahhāsīn, Cairo	.. ..	" Dec., 1872 ¹²
al-Ḳalāūn, Cairo	.. ..	" Dec., 1872 ¹³
Shaikhūn, Cairo	.. ..	" 1874-5 ¹⁴
For the Blind, Cairo	.. ..	" Jan., 1875 ¹⁵
Rosetta	.. ..	" Mar., 1876 ¹⁶
al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, Cairo	.. ..	" April, 1879 ¹⁷

and nine others were opened by private individuals and endowed with *Wakfs*. These individuals probably set up these schools at the suggestion of the Khedive in order to set an example to the public; or they may have felt the necessity of doing so in view of the large number of European schools that were being opened and the absence of similar schools where a better education than that of the *kuttābs* were available for the Egyptians. These nine schools were placed under the control of the *Dīwān* but they were entirely supported by their founders; they were as follows:

¹ Ibid., app. III, pp. 68-9.
² Ibid., app. III, pp. 70-1.
³ Ibid., app. III, pp. 69-70.
⁷ Ibid., app. III, p. 87.
⁸ Ibid., app. III, pp. 82-3.
¹¹ Ibid., app. III, pp. 81-2.
¹³ Loc. cit.
¹⁵ Ibid., app. III, p. 86.
¹⁷ Ibid., app. III, p. 87.

⁴ Ibid., app. III, p. 72.
⁶ Ibid., app. III, pp. 71-2.
⁹ Ibid., p. 23.
¹⁰ Ibid., app. III, pp. 84-5.
¹² Loc. cit.
¹⁴ Ibid., app. III, p. 86.
¹⁶ Ibid., app. III, p. 84.
¹⁸ Ibid., app. III, p. 88.

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al-Būšīrī, Alexandria	Opened 1869
Khalīl Aghā, Cairo	" 1871
Shaikh Ṣāliḥ, Cairo	" 1871
Umm 'Abbās, Cairo	.. ..	" 1871
Rātīb Pasha, Alexandria	.. ..	" 1872
as-Sayyidah Zainab, Cairo	.. ..	" 1872
Hāfiẓ Pasha, Cairo	.. ..	" 1873
Muhammad Sid Aḥmad Bey, Cairo	.. ..	" 1873
al-Ḳubbah, Cairo	.. ..	" 1875 ¹

Under the same system two girls' schools were established, one called as-Suyūfiyah, opened in January, 1873,² and the other called al-Ḳarabiyah, opened in 1874, but closed in 1875.³

Thus thirty-three schools were organised under the new arrangements and an attempt to describe the actual working of some of them could not be out of place here.

Dor Bey described the Ṭanṭā school and that of Asyūṭ⁴: the former had 300 students and eleven teachers at the time of his writing, while the latter had 200 with ten teachers. At the Ṭanṭā school, the director taught French, there were four shaikhs teaching Arabic and the Ḳor'ān, three *efendīs* teaching arithmetic, one of whom helped with French, another *efendī* for calligraphy and one for drawing. Asyūṭ had four shaikhs teaching Arabic and the Ḳor'ān, two of whom also taught calligraphy; two *efendīs* taught mathematics, one of whom helped with French, an *efendī* taught Turkish (not taught at Ṭanṭā) and another drawing.

The two schools of al-Ḳarabiyah and al-Ḳalāūn were among the first to be started on the new principle whereby the parents contributed towards the education of their children.⁵ They paid between PT.5 and PT.15 a month (one to three shillings) which made up a total of 70 per cent. of the total expenditure of the school. In 1872, Dor Bey gives the figure of 143 students at the former school and 122 at the latter. Al-Ḳarabiyah had ten teachers and al-Ḳalāūn had eight. At the former, the director taught mathematics, a shaikh taught Arabic, two others taught the Ḳor'ān aided by an 'arīf, two *efendīs* taught

¹ Amici, op. cit., p. 230; he states that Rātīb Pasha's school was opened in 1874 instead of 1872; Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 259, describes al-Būšīrī and the Rātīb Pasha schools.

² Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, pp. 88-9.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 255; he gives the opening date of the Ṭanṭā school as 1865 which is an error.

⁵ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 255.

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calligraphy, and there was one for each of the subjects French, geography and Turkish. At the latter, the director also taught mathematics, a shaikh taught Arabic and another taught the *Ḳor'ān* with the help of two '*arīfs*'; three other *efendīs* were employed, one for calligraphy, one for Turkish and one for French and geography.

The Būṣīrī and Rātīb Pasha Schools at Alexandria¹ were also visited by Dor Bey; the former had 100 students and the latter had 60; al-Būṣīrī had four teachers, a shaikh for the *Ḳor'ān* and another for Arabic, an *efendī* for calligraphy and another for Turkish and arithmetic; the Rātīb Pasha school had two shaikhs for the *Ḳor'ān* and one for grammar; the *efendī* who taught Turkish and arithmetic at al-Būṣīrī also taught the same subjects at this school.

These six schools, when compared with the government primary school in Darb an-Nāṣiriyyah, had not the same wide syllabus.² The predominance of the shaikh and the place of the *Ḳor'ān* in the syllabus is noticeable; fourteen teachers out of a total of forty-seven were teaching the *Ḳor'ān*. In spite of this tendency to retain the distinctive religious background of these schools, probably unavoidable in view of the large number of shaikhs on the committee that drew up the regulations and of the fact that they were essentially religious institutions, it must be admitted that this was the most useful kind of reform so far undertaken, and showed a wise tendency to combine the old type of education with the new; the original Islamic culture was respected and maintained and not sacrificed to the new. The unfortunate reformers had yet to solve the problem of teaching method which will be discussed below.

The Girls' Schools

An ambitious plan for the opening of a girls' school was drawn up about 1867 by a special committee under Mircher with Shaḥātah 'Isā as reporter.³ A girls' school was not opened until January, 1873, and this under the patronage and at the expense of Cheshmat Hānum, Ismā'il Pasha's third wife. This was the first Moslem girls' school, although the other communities, including the Copts, had opened girls' schools much earlier. There was, of course, the School of Maternity, but it

¹ Ibid., p. 259.

² v. *supra*, p. 354.

³ Sachot, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

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can hardly be included in this category. Few Moslem families appear to have taken advantage of the foreign girls' schools for the education of their daughters¹; the aristocratic families had already begun to employ European teachers privately,² but this practice had not yet been generally adopted by the people.

When the school was opened in 1873, the girls were recruited from among the white slaves belonging to the different families related to the ruler and from among the families of the officials; in 1875, their number reached 298, 203 boarders and 95 day scholars. The school was under a Syrian headmistress, Mlle. Rose Najjār, an *efendī* was in charge of the service, three shaikhs taught the *Ḳor'ān*, an *efendī* taught Turkish and another drawing; there were eight women teachers, four taught needlework, one taught the piano and another laundry, the other two were supervisors.

The *Wakfs* administration then followed with a girls' school at al-Ḳarabiyah on the same lines as that of as-Suyūfiyyah, Mlle. Cécile Najjār was the headmistress; an *efendī* also was in charge of the service and there were three shaikhs for the teaching of the *Ḳor'ān*. Five women teachers completed the staff, three for needlework, one for laundry and one for supervision. In 1875, there were 147 girls, 76 boarders and 71 day scholars.

Owing to the deposition of Ismā'il Pasha, Cheshmat Hānum had to withdraw both her patronage and financial support; al-Ḳarabiyah was then closed, combined with as-Suyūfiyyah and taken over by the *Wakfs* Administration³; it was later given the name of *Madrasat as-Saniyyah*.

In 1878, Ismā'il Pasha started to build another girls' school with the proposed name of *Madrasat al-Banāt-al-Ashrāf*, but owing to the financial difficulties and the dethronement of the Khedive, the plan had to be dropped.⁴

The Training of Teachers

The establishment of this type of primary school created a demand for teachers, and one of the biggest drawbacks in

¹ Artin, op. cit., p. 133.

² Ibid., p. 134; under Muḥammad 'Alī two Englishwomen came to Egypt to offer their services as teachers but without any success; see Puckler-Muskau, op. cit., p. 61.

³ Artin, op. cit., pp. 135-6.

⁴ Loc. cit.

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the system of education employed in Egypt from the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī was the lack of teachers. In 1875, the teaching staff of the schools was made up as follows:

Military and Naval Schools	52
Special and Industrial Schools	69
Preparatory and Government Primary	89
National and <i>Wakfs</i> Schools	229
TOTAL	439

Of this number, 73 were given double employment, which leaves a total of 366 teachers. There were 31 Europeans altogether, 4 in the military schools and 6 in the girls' schools, which left 21 for the other schools; 127 of the teachers were shaikhs: 9 in the Military, Naval and Special Schools, 23 in the Preparatory and Government Primary and 95 in the National and *Wakf* Schools. This leaves a total of 208 *efendīs* engaged in teaching the various subjects included in the curricula.

In the Military, Naval and Special Schools, the posts were partly filled with men who had completed their training in Europe, partly by graduates of the schools themselves. The number of Europeans employed is strikingly small, especially when compared with the number employed earlier under Muḥammad 'Alī. The number of shaikhs employed is comparatively large while a large proportion of the 208 *efendīs* would be engaged at teaching subjects for which a special training was required, such as mathematics, history, geography, European languages and drawing; these *efendīs* had been trained in the westernised schools while the shaikhs were Azharīs. The practice of employing the best graduates as tutors, (*répétiteurs*) had been accepted and followed from the earliest days, although the results appear to have been unsatisfactory.¹ With the creation of all these primary schools, it was soon found that the serious lack of teachers threatened the system with failure.²

'Alī Pasha Mubārak was aware of this defect³ and tried to meet it by opening a training college⁴ in which men could be trained as teachers of geometry, physics, geography, history

¹ Artin, op. cit., p. 100; Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 239-142.

² Artin, ibid., pp. 100-1.

³ *Khīṭaṭ*, 9/51, Sāmī op. cit., p. 26, Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr Ismā'īl, I/245.

⁴ Loc. cit., Artin, op. cit., p. 101, credits Dor Bey with the idea; he probably had a great deal to do with its organisation.

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and calligraphy, in addition to the branches taught in al-Azhar such as Arabic, Koranic Exegesis, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh*.¹ The students were chosen from al-Azhar and were fed, clothed and taught at the expense of the *Wakfs* Administration, in addition to receiving a monthly salary of one pound a month.

The innovation was an excellent idea; the Azharīs had been gradually attracted towards Darb al-Gamāmīz, the cultural centre, by a series of public lectures given in the lecture-hall from the month of July, 1871, by both Egyptians and Europeans, and attended by officials, teachers, and students. These public lectures included talks on literature by Sh. Ḥusain al-Marṣafī, astronomy by Ismā'īl Bey al-Falakī, Ḥanafī *fiqh* by Sh. 'Abdar-Raḥmān al-Baḥrāwī, Koranic Exegesis and *ḥadīth* by Sh. Aḥmad al-Marṣafī and various other lectures on physics, chemistry, railways, architecture, mechanics, botany and history.² The attempt to arrange a series of courses of instruction did a great deal towards the spread of knowledge amongst a limit circle, but it did not create teachers. Nevertheless, some of the Azharīs showed a certain amount of enthusiasm in joining the new Training School which was opened in September, 1872 and called the *Dār al-'Ulūm* after the name of the public lecture hall just mentioned.³

The decree issued by Ismā'īl Pasha fixed the number of students of the Training School at fifty, they were to be between the ages of 20 and 30 years, and were intended for appointment as teachers in the National Schools on completion of their studies.

The results of this interesting experiment were mixed. The Azharīs who became associated with the new institutions that disseminated western knowledge were initiated into European science and learning (whatever may have been its quality), and the fact that they were turbaned shaikhs following the same courses as the *efendīs* in the other schools paved the way for the acceptance and penetration of western learning throughout the country. Not unnaturally, the people who had become accustomed to hear the condemnation of western learning as diabolical and heretical, were now surprised at the participation of the shaikhs in these pursuits.⁴

Probably one of the main reasons for their acceptance of the new learning was the fact that these shaikhs were beginning

¹ *Khīṭaṭ*, 9/51 and Artin, op. cit., p. 101.

² Sāmī, op. cit., pp. 23-4.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ Artin, op. cit., pp. 102-3.

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to realise that to acquire it would open new fields for them, not in a cultural sense, as very few of them took up the new learning for its own sake, but fields where they could earn a living and where they could find a better future than that offered by the old religious institutions with al-Azhar at their head. Already at the *Dār al-'Ulūm*, the material advantages offered in the way of food, clothing, instruction and pay must have made it attractive to them; on graduation, they were assured of a post with a certain amount of promotion and a pension on retirement. The vocational aspect of the whole problem of the introduction of western science must not be overlooked; although at first, the Egyptians had dreaded the idea of the new schools because of their connection with the army and war, taxation and misery, they gradually realised that many of the students not only survived, but actually received promotion to very high posts, were honoured with decorations and the coveted titles of bey and pasha, and became very wealthy.

In 1875, the *Dār al-'Ulūm* was staffed with three shaikhs, including Aḥmad and Ḥusain al-Marṣafī, who were teaching Koranic Exegesis, the dogmas of Islam, and moral science, and four *efendīs* teaching mathematics, geography, history, physics, chemistry and calligraphy; there were 35 students. Thus, as in the combined school under Rifā'ah during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, Islamic and western learning were again united in one syllabus only, in the time of Rifā'ah, the main object had been to produce translators and officials, and it was an incidental consequence that most of his students had become teachers; whereas now the new school aimed solely at producing teachers for the primary schools, Rifā'ah's students had been drawn from the provincial *maktabs* and on graduation, were distributed among the administrations; now shaikh teachers were to be equipped to be sent out to the *maktabs*.

The popularity of (Husain al-Marṣafī) and the other teachers went a long way towards popularising modern learning and also towards the revival of the study of Arabic literature. It was a fortunate conjunction that the opening of the *Dār al-'Ulūm* coincided with the arrival of Shaikh Jamāl-addīn al-Afghānī in Egypt and the beginnings of Sh. Muḥammad 'Abduh's career; as well as with a new political awakening, with the inception of the Arabic press and the critical *Progrès Égyptien*, and with the feeling that al-Azhar was not all that it might be.

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Unfortunately, the *Dār al-'Ulūm* did not produce teachers; it produced a few men who filled the vacancies in the schools but they were not teachers.¹ From this point of view, the recruitment of Azharis was a disadvantage. The first batches of graduates were criticised because they were too old and had already imbibed too much of the Azharī method of teaching and learning which depended mainly on the memory.² But the regulations insisted that the students should have done a certain amount of work in al-Azhar, young men would not have suited from this point of view because they would have known very little and speed is not one of the characteristics of al-Azhar. In any case, they, too, would have already imbibed quite enough of the Azharī method to have been criticised for the same reasons.

The rigidity of the system employed by the Azharī teacher and, of course, the age of the students, would not permit of a remoulding of their Azharī mentality and outlook; they set to work and acquired the new sciences in the same way as they had memorised the *Qur'ān*, Arabic grammar, *fiqh* and the rest of the Azharī curriculum. It was all too new and they took the line of least resistance; they were not only unprepared to start off on new lines, there was nobody to show them how to do so. The syllabus did not include method; if a European had been employed for this purpose, he would not have been able to establish direct cultural and intellectual contact with the students on account of the language difficulty.

The methods of teaching Arabic remained Azharī and were notoriously bad; it was an accepted and well-known fact that Arabic teaching was below the standard of all the other branches. The students were weaker in this subject than in any other; Shafīk Pasha in his *Mémoires* relates that in his time Arabic teaching "was sterile"³ and that the students were weak in it.⁴ His teacher, Sh. as-Samnī, was once afraid that he would fail in an Arabic examination so they came to an agreement upon certain signs that he would make during the oral part of the examination so that the student would pass; when the shaikh held his beard, the word was in the nominative case, when he placed his hand under his beard, it was in the

¹ Only 27 students graduated from the *Dār al-'Ulūm* between 1872 and 1879; see *Recueil des Travaux du Premier Congrès Égyptien réuni à Héliopolis*, Alexandria, 1911, p. 160.

² Artin, op. cit., pp. 101-2.

³ Shafīk Pasha, op. cit., I/8.

⁴ Shafīk Pasha, op. cit., I/41 and I/47.

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genitive case and when he placed his hand on his forehead, the word was in the accusative.

Yet the fact that the new educational system had to have recourse to the shaikh gave recognition to their system and a sanction to their authority in the field of education, especially in the teaching of Arabic. Moreover, the government was forced to accept them on account of the lack of men and because the Azharis were cheap labour. Within a few years, however, the unsuitability of the *Dār al-'Ulūm* and its failure to produce teachers was recognised but it was not abolished, even when under Taufiq Pasha as will be seen, a more up-to-date training school was opened.

Reorganisation of the Schools, 1873-4

'Alī Pasha's reorganisation was soon afterwards supplemented by another keen reformer, Riyāḍ Pasha, who was made *Nāẓir* of the *Dīwān al-Madāris* on two occasions, although the Khedive's too frequent changes of officials were a hindrance to continuity of policy. Riyāḍ Pasha's first appointment as *Nāẓir* of the Schools Administration was made in August, 1873, but he was replaced in the following May. During these few months, he made an attempt to consolidate the work of 'Alī Pasha by increasing the control of the *Dīwān*. The unfortunate policy of discouraging self-reliance and the use of initiative in the officials and teachers was now well established; the educational system had begun under a military regime and the Egyptians could not conceive of any other method.

The reorganisation took shape under a set of new regulations dealing with:—

- (a) the admission of students to the civil schools;
- (b) syllabus of the Primary Schools;
- (c) syllabus of the Preparatory Schools;
- (d) syllabus of the School of Surveying and Accountancy;
- (e) syllabus of the School of Arts and Crafts;
- (f) syllabus of the *Dār al-'Ulūm*.¹

These syllabuses are interesting only as an illustration of the more intense centralisation of control over the schools and the gradual tendency towards committee meetings, reports, and elaborate regulations which very often remained inapplicable and ineffective.

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., pp. 28-9; *Écoles Civiles du gouvernement égyptien, Règlement pour la nomination des Directeurs et des professeurs, pour l'admission des élèves*, etc., Cairo, 1874.

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In the regulations for the syllabus of the Preparatory school, it was set out very clearly just how much work the teachers were to cover each year. The course consisted of four years' study and the Arabic syllabus, for example, illustrates the application of Azharī methods in this field. The *Alfiyah* was divided into three parts, 300 lines to be memorised in the first year, 400 in the second and 300 in the third; in the fourth year, the students had to learn as-Suyūṭī's commentary on it. The only texts that were prescribed were at-Tartūshī's collection of admonitions entitled *Sirāj al-Mulūk* and 'Abdallāh ash-Shubrāwī's work of the same kind entitled '*Unwān al-Bayān wa Bustān al-Adhḥān*'.¹ The system of learning by memory was applied equally to Turkish, Persian and modern European languages. The best part of the time was taken up with the study of formal grammar; the rules were set out in Arabic and learnt by heart; even the selected passages had to be memorised. The rest of the syllabus included history, geography, natural history, zoology, botany, physics and chemistry, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, cosmography, calligraphy and drawing, a very wide field for a four years' course. Artin Pasha states, however, that these regulations remained ineffective until 1885 because there was no strong hand to enforce them.²

Employment of Students between 1865 and 1875

It has been shown above³ that the main object, in the long run, was the provision of officials and officers in the government service, and it will be seen from the following table (p. 382) that the army absorbed approximately 63 per cent. of the total number of graduates employed by the government.

This table indicates that only the very small number of 19 was absorbed into the *Dīwāns*. Most of the graduates went into the branches which had been created during the 19th century; consequently the staff of most of the *Dīwān* offices was still made up of the old type of clerk.

The remarkable number of students sent home calls for some attention: the largest number, 658, were sent home in 1868, which was the year in which the Primary and Preparatory

¹ at-Tartūshī died in 1126 A.D., and ash-Shubrāwī in 1778.

² *Considérations sur l'Instruction publique en Égypte*, Cairo, 1894, pp. 52 and 61.

³ v. supra, p. 371. This table has been compiled from the official statistics for 1875, compiled by Dor Bey.

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schools were transferred from al-'Abbāsiyah to Darb an-Nāṣiriyaḥ and Darb al-Gamāmiz.¹

Branch	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	TOTAL
Palace	..	—	1	—	—	—	7	25	16	1	—	50
Army	..	19	79	179	685	5	46	302	48	55	81	1680
Public Works	..	1	—	—	—	4	—	10	1	2	—	18
Engineers	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Inspection	..	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	6	—	—	9
Navy	..	—	1	1	20	25	12	5	—	3	—	67
Railways	..	—	62	1	—	30	16	39	—	3	15	180
Telegraphs	..	—	20	1	2	31	10	—	—	—	—	64
Observatory	..	—	4	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	7
Interior	..	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Finance	..	—	1	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	5
Foreign Affairs	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Wakfs	..	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	3	8
Schools Adm.	..	—	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	4
Translation Office	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	7	—	19
School Officers	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
and Tutors	..	—	—	—	2	—	23	3	3	4	2	9
Public Health	..	8	—	12	2	1	10	—	1	—	—	2
Missions to Europe	..	—	3	17	—	3	34	4	21	6	—	6
Governorates	..	—	1	—	—	3	—	2	3	3	1	2
Provinces	..	1	2	—	2	1	1	3	7	5	5	1
Bulak Printing	..	—	—	13	14	—	10	—	—	—	—	—
Press	..	—	—	13	14	—	10	—	—	—	—	37
TOTAL	..	29	175	225	727	103	169	395	112	111	108	215
Transfers from	..	72	315	892	218	236	301	431	190	299	77	212
School to School	..	68	68	69	658	69	150	217	171	274	360	46
Returned Home	..	50	36	17	22	28	26	17	18	12	14	9
Deceased	..	50	36	17	22	28	26	17	18	12	14	9
TOTAL	..	219	594	1203	1625	436	646	1060	491	696	559	482

Edmond gives the following statistics for these schools and those of Alexandria in 1867 as ²:

Primary at al-'Abbāsiyah	..	..	1300
Preparatory in Cairo	..	..	600
Primary in Alexandria	..	..	400
Preparatory in Alexandria	..	..	200
TOTAL	..	..	2500

In 1868, after the transfer of the Primary school, it contained 388 students while the Preparatory had 400; the Preparatory school in Alexandria had 133 students and the Primary had 108, giving a total of 1,029.³ This represents a decrease of nearly 1,500 students; a large number of whom were probably transferred to the military schools, the statistics show that the latter

¹ v. *supra*, pp. 348 and 352.
² Edmond, op. cit., p. 310.

³ v. *infra*, p. 390.

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took 685 students that year, but, as the buildings in Cairo were too small to accommodate such large numbers, the surplus had to be sent home.

Gellion-Danglar, who was in Egypt between 1865 and 1875, remarks on the change in 1868 in rather unfavourable terms and confirms that the staff and the students were reduced in numbers.¹

A glance at the Government Primary and Preparatory School Statistics below for the years 1873 to 1878 will show that there was a gradual decrease from 1,368 pupils to 663. The students were probably sent home on account of the financial retrenchments; for, during the period 1871-1874, there was a big drop in the government budgetary expenditure on schools ²; 1875 and 1876 were better years, but from 1877 onwards, the allowance was again reduced. Some students may have been sent to the new National schools that had been opened from 1871.

Statistics and the State of Education during the period 1868-1878

The culminating year of Ismā'il Pasha's work for education in Egypt is generally given as 1875. The Egyptian Government had, by this date, learned the propagandistic value of statistics, and various Europeans were employed to draw up elaborate statistical tables, mainly for European consumption, as convincing evidence of the progress of the country. The effect of this kind of propaganda can be seen in several contemporary ³ and later writers. Amongst the latest to reproduce this exaggerated statistical evidence as a proof that Ismā'il accelerated the spread of public education may be mentioned Judge Crabites ⁴ and Professor Sammarco.⁵

These statisticians,⁶ by renaming the schools and, for example,

¹ Gellion-Danglar, *Lettres sur l'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris, 1876, p. 196: "en même temps, le personnel enseignant et administratif de toutes (the schools transferred to Darb al-Gamāmiz), comme aussi le nombre des élèves a été sensiblement diminué."

² v. *infra*, p. 386.

³ McCoan, *Egypt under Ismā'il*, London, 1889; same author, *Egypt as it is*, London, 1877; de Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, London, 1877; Mulhall, *Finance in Egypt*, *Contemporary Review*, Vol. XLII, 1882, pp. 525-535, and others quoted by Sabry, Crabites and Sammarco.

⁴ Crabites, *Ismā'il, The Malignant Khedive*, London, 1933, pp. 151-154.

⁵ Sammarco, op. cit., p. 300.

⁶ The statistics prepared by Dor Bey under the auspices of the Egyptian Government for the year 1875 were the basis for Cave's report on education; others that were published during the reign and which will be analysed below were:—Edmond, *L'Égypte à l'Exposition Universelle de 1867*, Paris, 1867; (Regaldi), *Notice sur les Etablissements d'instruction publique en Égypte*, Cairo, 1869; Regny, *Statistique de l'Égypte*, Alexandria, 1870; Dor Bey, *L'Instruc-*

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describing the *kuttābs* as *écoles primaires*,¹ gave a false impression of existing conditions. When Sir Stephen Cave came to Egypt in 1876, lack of time and ignorance of local conditions led him to accept figures and facts in connection with Egyptian education and government expenditure on the schools, which foreknowledge and a closer examination would have discredited. The acceptance of this information by a representative of the British Government and its inclusion in his official reports,² led the innocent, in turn, to accept them as indisputable, and gave Ismā'il's protagonists the official documentary support of the British Government.

Judge Crabites quotes from the Cave Report and from other writers to show that Ismā'il Pasha spent far more on education than he actually did; the passage from the Cave Report reads as follows:—"Education has been carefully attended to, the number of schools established on a *European model* having been increased from 185 in 1862 to 4,817 in 1875. In the latter year there were 4,817 schools with 6,048 masters and 140,977 pupils, being an increase on the previous year of 1,072 schools, 1,615 masters, and 27,722 pupils. The quality of the education necessarily varies, but it has on the whole decidedly improved, and is, in some cases, of a very superior character."³ Mr. Crabites also quotes a report by Mr. Beardsley, the American Consul, for 1873, whose figures are much lower than Cave's⁴ which divergence, according to Mr. Crabites, "grows out of the fact that Mr. Beardsley speaks of schools, Sir Stephen Cave of "schools established on a European model," and the Government publication of the "civil schools of the Egyptian Government."⁵

tion publique en Égypte, Paris, 1872, pp. 377-394; *État statistique des écoles en Égypte*, Cairo, 1873; *Tableaux Statistiques des Écoles Égyptiennes*, Cairo, 1875; Dor Bey, *Statistique des écoles civiles*, Cairo, 1875; Amici, *Essai de Statistique générale de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1879, Chap. II, pp. 185-261.

¹ Dor Bey, *L'Instruction publique*, p. 379 and *Statistique*, pp. 17-135; also Amici, pp. 187-227.

² Egypt, No. 4 (1876). *Correspondence respecting Mr. Cave's special mission to Egypt*, 1876; and, Egypt, No. 7 (1876). *Report by Mr. Cave on the financial condition of Egypt*, 1876. The glaring mis-statements in Cave's report can only lead one to agree with Blunt, op. cit., p. 21, who describes Mr. Cave in the following terms: "Mr. Cave, who was chosen by the English Government for the enquiry, was a worthy and, I believe, quite disinterested man, but one who lacked experience of the East, and so was specially easy to deceive; he lacked also the fibre necessary for dealing quite courageously with all the facts. Ismail, like most spendthrifts, when it came to the point of showing his accounts, had always concealed a part of them, and, with the assistance of Ismail Sadyk, now gave a fanciful budget of his revenue, which Cave too readily accepted."

³ Op. cit., p. 151; the italics are the present writer's.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 151-2.

⁵ Ibid., p. 152.

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Professor Sammarco classifies the number of schools existing in 1875 under the following headings:—

	schools	teachers	pupils
(a) Civil Schools of the Egyptian Government	9	136	1385
(b) Civil Schools of the <i>Wakfs</i>	27	186	3493
(c) Religious High Schools	3	426	15335
(d) Religious Elementary (<i>kuttābs</i>)	4685	4881	111896
(e) Foreign Schools	93	416	8961
¹ TOTAL	4817	6045	141070

which practically coincide with both Dor's² figures and those of the Cave Report.

This classification shows only too plainly that the majority of the schools belonged to the old type. The Religious High Schools refer to al-Azhar and to two other mosque schools which will be discussed below; the Elementary Religious Schools refer to the *kuttābs*, the position of which has been discussed above; the establishment of the foreign schools can hardly be credited to the Egyptian Government; and this leaves only the Civil and *Wakf* Schools, 36 out of a total of 4,817.

Judge Crabites states that "it is inconceivable that the physical equipment for so rapid an expansion could be met out of current revenues"³; it was not. He goes on to state that the accounts of the Egyptian Government throw no positive light on this question.⁴ Both 'Alī Pasha Mubārak and Artin Pasha give us reliable figures; the former gives us the following statement:—

Allowed by the Egyptian Government from the Budget	£E.48,015
Revenues of the Wādi Domain	20,000
Allowed by the <i>Wakfs</i> Administration	7,000
	⁵ £E.75,015

Artin Pasha, who was Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Education at a later date, gives the following figures for the period 1868 to 1879; he also adds other interesting figures regarding the

¹ Op. cit., p. 300.

² Actually Dor's figures are 4,817 schools, 6,045 teachers and 140,977 students.

³ Op. cit., p. 152.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ *Khitaṭ*, I/89 and quoted by Rāfi', *ʿAsr Ismā'il*, I/217. Mubārak's figures include sums which were not given by the Government and he refers to one year only.

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number of students, which, though they have not been considered in the general analysis given below, are useful for purposes of comparison :—

Year	Govt. Allce. from Budget	No. of Schools	No. of Students			Prop. of Free Stud.	Cost per hd.
			Free	Paying	Total		
1868	£E.67,000	13	—	—	1448	—	£E. 41
1869	67,000	13	—	—	1448	—	41
1870	67,000	13	—	—	1448	—	41
1871 ¹	50,000	9	—	—	1394	—	35
1872	50,000	9	—	—	1394	—	35
1873	49,240	9	—	—	1434	—	27
1874	51,820	9	—	—	1083	—	38
1875	60,083	9	958	260	1218	79	41
1876	61,309	9	913	308	1121	82	46
1877	41,267	8	706	92	798	88	41
1878	35,040	8	685	90	775	89	36
1879	45,108	9	1396	76	1472	95	26

TOTAL £E.644,867 ²

Artin Pasha states that these figures do not include the *Wakfs* Allowance and the *Wadi* Revenues, nor the *Wakfs* Schools, (27 according to Sammarco, but 33 according to above lists ³), he is referring to *State Schools only*.⁴

Judge Crabites also quotes Mulhall in connection with the financial aspect of the educational policy of Ismā'il Pasha ⁵; "Ismā'il established 4,632 public schools, under Messrs. Dor and Rogers, with 5,850 teachers, whose salaries ranged from £24 to £84 per annum: the outlay under this head reaching £3,600,000 during his reign."

Mulhall's figures are grossly exaggerated; Artin's financial statistics exclude the period 1863-1867, which, when included at £E.67,000 a year, do not approach the amount given by Mulhall. The statement that 5,850 teachers were paid by government is also absurd; the government, at any time, never paid for more than 74 teachers in the Special Schools (in 1874) and 89 teachers in the Primary and Preparatory Schools (in 1875); the maximum total of teachers paid by the Govern-

¹ This date probably coincides with the separation of the Military Schools from the *Diwān al-Madāris* and their attachment to the *Diwān al-Jihādīyah*.

² Artin, *Considérations sur l'Instruction Publique en Égypte*, Cairo, 1894, p. 33.

³ v. *supra*, p. 373.

⁴ Artin, *ibid.*, p. 34; meaning, of course, state civil schools; the Military Schools are excluded from 1871 onwards.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 152-3.

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ment for one year was 158 in 1875; there were 154 in 1874, and Sammarco gives 136 for 1875.¹

The cost of the *kuttābs*, the National Schools in the towns and provinces, and the *Wakf* Primary Schools, fell on the public and private individuals, as stipulated in the law of 1868; all available non-governmental resources were utilised in order to swell the statistics to give the impression that the educational welfare of the country was being "carefully attended to" by the ruler.

If we return to the Cave Report quoted by Judge Crabites, it is stated that the number of schools in 1862, i.e., during the last year of the reign of Sa'id Pasha, was 185. The chapter of the present work dealing with education under that ruler has shown that there were only *three* schools at his death, the Naval, the Military and the Medical. As military schools are excluded from the present analysis, only one can then be considered, viz., the Medical. The figure of 185 is thus purely fictitious; even counting all the European schools, which had nothing to do with the Egyptians and were there in spite of them, the total number, as we have seen, was only 59.

The number of 4,817 schools quoted in this report includes *all* schools, viz., *kuttābs*, mosque schools, European and communal schools. The *kuttābs* are stated to have been established on a *European model*; if they are to be included for this period, then they should also be taken into consideration for the reigns of the previous rulers. Unfortunately, early statistics are not available, and as they have not been counted for Muḥammad 'Alī, 'Abbās and Sa'id, it is proposed to exclude them for Ismā'il. Acceptance of the number of 4,685 *kuttābs* for 1875 ² leaves 132 schools of other kinds, of which 93 were foreign ³; this gives us a balance of 39 schools which is nearer the truth than the numbers quoted by Cave and accepted by Crabites. This naturally affects the number of students, since of the 140,977, 111,803 went to *kuttābs*. The number of students in the Egyptian Government Civil Schools and in the National and *Wakfs* Schools for the years 1868 to 1878 was as follows :—

1868—1,399
1869—1,956

¹ Op. cit., p. 300.

² Both Amici and Dor Bey give this number, although the total number of *kuttābs* in the 1875 statistics (pp. 17-135) is 4,725, v. *supra*, p. 360.

³ According to Dor Bey, 1875, and accepted by Sammarco, *ibid.*; for the foreign schools, together with those of the Coptic, Jewish and other Communities, v. *infra*, p. 443 sq.

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1872—2,323
1873—4,309
1874—4,609
1875—4,998 in 38 schools
1876—4,861
1877—4,401
1878—4,445 in 36 schools.¹

These figures have been arrived at after a careful analysis of all available statistical material²; they have been condensed into one table and given as an appendix. Of the 41 schools (counting the Primary and Preparatory Schools of Alexandria as two, and Kaïtbāi and Sulṭān Muṣṭafā as two, although they are generally considered as one institution, as is the case also with an-Naḥḥāsīn and al-Ḳalāūn) the Special, Preparatory and Primary come under the category of Government Schools; in 1875, there were nine of them, as the Schools of Drawing and Egyptology, seem to have been closed³; this agrees with Artīn's figures for the number of schools,⁴ but the figures of students at these nine schools do not. In 1876, there were 26 National and *Wakfs*' Schools, including the Training School of *Dār al-'Ulūm*; that of Muḥammad Bey Sīd Aḥmad had been closed on account of lack of funds while Kaïtbāi and Sulṭān Muṣṭafā seem to have been excluded from the statistics, although they are recorded as still in use much later.⁵ Amici gives a list of 24 of these schools.⁶ These schools were not, of course, supported by the Government, although the *Dīwān al-Madāris* controlled them; as has been mentioned above, they were maintained by the *Wakfs*' funds and by private and public endowments and subscriptions.

An important point to bear in mind is that under Ismā'il Pasha, as with his predecessors, the expenditure on schools was not devoted entirely to teaching. Judge Crabites quotes McCoan, whose statement reads as follows:—"True it is that much of this amount is absorbed by the board and clothing of pauper pupils, and so does not represent outlay on pure teaching; but without such bribes of free living, few or none of those who benefit by it could be lured to education at all." ⁷

¹ As the statistics for the years 1870-1-2 are incomplete, they have been excluded.

² The list is given on p. 383, note 6, *supra*.

³ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 91, gives the closing date of the School of Egyptology as December, 1876.

⁴ *v. supra*, p. 386.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 230-231.

⁶ Sāmī, *ibid.*, pp. 82-3.

⁷ Op. cit., pp. 153-4.

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GENERAL STATISTICAL SURVEY OF THE SCHOOLS IN USE DURING THE REIGN OF ISMĀ'IL PASHA FOR THE PERIOD, 1868 TO 1878

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

School	1868	1869		1870	1872		1873		1874			1875		1876	1877	1878
	T. S.	T.	S.	S.	T.	S.	S.(e)	S.(a)	T.	S.(a)	S.(t)	T.	S.	S.	S.	S.
Polytechnic	—	15	63	60	15	72	67	78	15	56	55	13	33	36	29	32
Survey and Acctcy. ..	—	—	58	—	3	44	64	59	11	40	39	12	26	21	20	17
Law and Languages	—	7	36	50	6	44	37	30	11	35	32	11	35	31	35	47
Drawing ..	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arts and Crafts ..	82	—	86	100	11	40	42	65	10	44	41	9	44	55	55	46
Egyptology ..	—	—	—	—	3	9	7	—	—	102t	5	—	—	—	—	—
Medicine and Pharmacy	—	14	71	100	20	87	85	102	19	100	101	18	195	178	152	177
Maternity ..	—	—	32	40	6	44	21	35	5	29	27	6	29	20	22	20
TOTAL ..	82	36	358	350	64	340	323	369	74	309	300	69	356	341	313	339

GOVERNMENT PREPARATORY AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

School	1868	1869	1870	1872		1873		1874			1875		1876	1877	1878	
	S.	S.	T. S.	T.	S.	S.(e)	S.(a)	T.	S.(a)	S.(t)	T.	S.	S.	S.	S.	
Preparatory Cairo ..	400	400	?	22	309	742	233	27	229	220	34	192	226	187	185	
Primary Cairo ..	388	530		23	570		714	33	582	536	34	539	469	312	262	
Preparatory Alex. ..	133	120	}	16	246		}	421	20	328 ^t 331	311	21	298	280	208	216
Primary Alex. ..	108	148														
TOTAL ..	1029	1198	—	61	1125	742	1368	80	1142	1067	89	1029	975	707	663	

NATIONAL AND WAKFS' SCHOOLS IN PROVINCIAL TOWNS

School	1868	1869	1870	1872		1873		1874			1875		1876	1877	1878
	S.	S.	T. S.	T.	S.	S.(e)	S.(a)	T.	S.(a)	S.(t)	T.	S.	S.	S.	S.
Alexandria ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	109t	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-Būṣīrī ..	—	—	—	4	100	85	88	5	91	109	5	139	180	154	130
Alexandria ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	129t	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rātib Pasha	—	—	—	5	60	72	—	6	93	129	6	129	101	119	123
Asyūt ..	95	200	—	10	200	213	200	11	169	162	12	178	136	97	102
Banī Suef ..	—	—	—	—	—	270	206	10	251	251	13	232	195	134	162
Minyā ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	5	157	149	9	201	135	111	92
Rosetta ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	91	102
Ṭanṭā ..	193	200	—	11	233	262	247	10	252	238	11	233	213	174	190
TOTAL ..	288	400	—	30	593	902	801	47	1013	1038	56	1133	1030	880	901

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NATIONAL AND WAQF SCHOOLS IN CAIRO

School	1872		1873		1874			1875		1876	1877	1878
	T.	S.	S.(e)	S.(a)	T.	S.(a)	S.(t)	T.	S.	S.	S.	S.
Dār al-'Ulūm ..	—	—	50	28	7	36	36	8	35	13	38	35
Abū'l-'Alā' ..	—	—	65	101	6	93	76	7	97	108	93	91
al-'Aḳḳādīn ..	—	—	90	64	6	63	58	7	70	60	68	65
Bāb ash-Sha'riyah ..	—	—	—	—	5	86	81	9	135	154	158	170
Blind and Dumb ..	—	—	—	—	1	57	8	11	88	42	42	46
al-Gamāliyah ..	—	—	—	141	11	140	118	11	123	140	113	165
al-Habbāniyah ..	—	—	43	52	6	57	50	7	62	77	80	87
Hāfiẓ Pasha ..	—	—	66	90	5	90	87	6	80	100	100	90
Ḳāitbāi ..	—	—	58	—	6	85	79	7	63	—	—	—
Ḳalāūn ..	8	122	145	145	11	116	95	11	112	129	148	136
al-Ḳarabiyah ..	10	143	183	173	10	190	146	11	193	232	228	227
Do. girls' ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	147	148	150	142
Khalīl Aghā ..	—	—	150	182	—	163	142	9	285	326	251	277
al-Ḳubbah ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	95	100	100	100
Muḥ. Bey Sid ..	—	—	—	—	—	33t	—	—	—	—	—	—
Aḥmad ..	—	—	20	29	4	34	29	4	11	—	—	—
an-Naḥḥāsīn ..	—	—	60	59	6	58	47	6	62	78	75	75
as-Sayyidah Zainab ..	—	—	—	121	—	138	—	—	114	112	129	118
Shaikh Ṣāliḥ ..	—	—	46	100	8	95	71	8	99	100	100	100
Shaikhūn ..	—	—	114	139	6	182	170	9	160	172	175	181
Sulṭān Muṣṭafā ..	—	—	49	—	6	57	54	7	52	—	—	—
as-Suyūfiyah ..	—	—	—	226	—	305	—	15	298	283	298	248
Umm 'Abbās ..	—	—	112	121	7	100	89	11	100	141	155	189
TOTAL ..	18	265	1251	1771	111	2145	1436	181	2480	2515	2501	2542

(T) Teachers, (S) Students, (e) État statistique, (a) Amici, (t) Tableaux, in the year 1874 column, where the figures in Tableaux differ from Amici, they have been superimposed but not counted in the total.

TOTAL

	1868	1869		1870	1872		1873		1874			1875		1876	1877	1878
	S.	T.	S.	S.	T.	S.	S.(e)	S.(a)	T.	S.(a)	S.(t)	T.	S.	S.	S.	S.
Govt. Special Schools ..	82	36	358	350	64	340	323	369	74	309	300	69	356	341	313	339
Govt. Prep. and Primary Schools ..	1029	—	1198	—	61	1125	742	1368	80	1142	1067	89	1029	975	707	663
National and Waqfs' Schools in Provincial towns ..	288	—	400	—	30	593	902	801	47	1013	1038	56	1133	1030	880	901
National and Waqfs' Schools in Cairo ..	—	—	—	—	18	265	1251	1771	111	2145	1436	181	2480	2515	2501	2542
TOTAL ..	1399	36	1956	350	173	2323	3218	4309	312	4609	3841	395	4998	4861	4401	4445

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Al-Ayyūbī states that the cost of food, board, clothing and allowances used up three quarters of the budget.¹ The principle of paying for one's education had not yet become widely accepted, in spite of 'Alī Pasha Mubārak's attempt to introduce it, and McCoan's statement does not give the impression that the people were beginning to seek the benefits of education for itself.

The heavy expenditure that was encountered in feeding, clothing and paying the students had four serious effects; firstly, the Budget was limited and, as a great part of it had to be spent in this way, it naturally restricted the number of students who could be accepted in the Government Schools; secondly, as the students were kept by the Government, it reserved the right to dispose of them as it wished without reference to their inclinations and desires²; thirdly, it established the principle that education in these westernised schools was vocational, so that it was looked upon merely as a kind of apprenticeship, a means to an end, by which even a village pauper might rise to official appointments, rank and wealth; fourthly, the absorption of such a large part of the budget for purposes other than instruction led to very unfair treatment of the teachers, many of whom were grossly underpaid. On this last point, Dor Bey states that it was impossible to acquire the services of good teachers when many of them were paid no more than 72 and 62 francs a month, as was the case in the two Cairo schools of al-Ḳalāūn and al-Ḳarabiyah, where parents contributed towards the education of their sons.³ Al-Ayyūbī remarks that European teachers' high salaries had a crippling effect on the financial resources of the education budget⁴; but the statistics given above regarding the number of teachers⁵ prove that the number of Europeans employed in the schools was insignificant. Moreover, the few who were employed were paid at practically the same rates as their Egyptian colleagues. The following table for 1872 shows the salaries of the various teachers; the total amount spent was £E.20,780, or rather more than a quarter of the combined allowance of £E.50,000 from the Government, the £E.20,000 from the revenues of the

¹ Op. cit., I/195.

² Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 304 and al-Ayyūbī, op. cit., I/197. This arbitrary method of disposing of the students was considered by Riyād Pasha as harmful and he actually tried to stop it in 1876.

³ Op. cit., p. 257.

⁴ Op. cit., I/196.

⁵ v. supra, p. 376.

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TABLE SHOWING SALARIES PAID TO TEACHERS IN THE SCHOOLS IN THE YEAR 1872

Grade of Pay in £.	Polytechnic	Survey and Accountancy	Law and Language	Arts and Crafts	Egyptology	Medicine and Pharm.	Maternity	Prep. Cairo	Prim. Cairo	Prim. & Prep. Alexandria	Rāṭib Pasha Alexandria	al-Baṣṭī, Alexandria	Asyūt	al-Kalāūn	al-Karabīyah	Ṭanṭā	Grade of Pay in £.	Total No. of Teachers
769	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	769	2
600	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	600	2
480	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	480	7
300	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	300	1
240	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	240	13
180	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	180	4
162	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	162	1
144	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	144	21
120	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	120	12
90	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	90	13
72	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	72	14
60	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	60	41
54	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	54	2
48	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	48	9
42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	42	1
36	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	36	7
30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	3
27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	27	2
24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	24	8
18	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	18	6
15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	15	2
12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	1
Total £.	3,108 for 15 teachers	360 for 3	1,093 for 6	1,356 for 11	1,009 for 3	5,412 for 20	624 for 6	2,172 for 22	1,578 for 23	1,878 for 16	108 for 5	90 for 4	774 for 10	231 for 8	333 for 10	654 for 11		173

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Wādī domain and the £E.7,000 allowed by the *Wakfs* Administration. One hundred and seventy-three teachers shared this amount, of this number, forty received less than £E.1 a week and seventy less than £E.2.

The financial crisis that was rapidly overtaking the country made itself felt in the schools; Rāfi'ī states that the Government allowance was reduced to £E.20,000.¹ Artin's figures, probably more reliable, show a drop of approximately £E.20,000 between 1876 and 1877 and another £E.6,000 between 1877 and 1878.² The number of students in the state schools had to be decreased, Artin's figures showing a drop from 1121 in 1876 to 798 in 1877, and 775 in 1878.³ The general statistical survey in the appendix shows a big decrease in the number of Government Primary and Preparatory schools from 1368 in 1873 to 663 in 1878.⁴

The National Schools of Asyūt, Banī Suef, Minyā and Ṭanṭā also show large decreases; Asyūt sank from 200 in 1873 to 102 in 1878, Banī Suef from 252 in 1875 to 162 in 1878, Minyā from 201 in 1875 to 92 in 1878 and Ṭanṭā from 262 in 1873, to 190 in 1878; The *Wakfs'* schools, on the contrary, show a general increase of 25 per cent., due to the fact that they were dependent on the old-established *Wakfs'* institutions and not on the uncertainties of an extravagant and short-sighted government.⁵

The Military Schools had to be closed down altogether in February, 1879, owing to lack of funds and in April of the same year, one military school was set up under Larmée Pasha, who retained the post until 1893. This school provided for all kinds of military training.⁶

Education Missions to Europe

During the reign of Ismā'il Pasha, the policy of sending students to Europe was continued but the names of these students are so far not available. The education mission was still maintained in France under French management, the post passing to M. Misner at one period. Most of the students during the later years appear to have been studying in the universities of Aix and Montpellier.⁷

Sachot states that in 1868, there were fifty-five students in

¹ *As Ismā'il*, I/217.

² Loc. cit.

³ *v. supra*, p. 389.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., app. III, p. 105.

⁵ Misner, *Souvenirs du Monde musulman*, Paris, 3rd ed., 1892, p. 289.

⁶ *v. supra*, p. 386.

⁷ *v. supra*, p. 369.

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France¹; according to the biographical notices above,² there were twenty-eight students in France when Ismā'il Pasha came to the throne, of whom thirteen were recalled on his accession in 1863. The students referred to by Sachot had all presumably been sent on mission after that date. The subjects assigned to them included medicine, military science, law, administration, engineering, and mining,³ but the most popular subject was medicine, for in 1868, there were twenty medical students in France.⁴ For some time, the students had been given more liberty than before, for they were now allowed to live in private families instead of being accommodated altogether.

Regny states that the Egyptian School was reorganised in Paris in 1869, and controlled the activities of forty students who were studying civil subjects and another hundred who were pursuing military studies⁵; this figure seems rather high. He also states that fifteen students were sent to the *Institut international* at Turin in 1870 to pursue civil studies and three others to England to study engineering, thus making a total of 158.⁶

The authorities report that 172 students were sent to Europe during the period 1863-1879,⁷ al-Ayyūbī states that about 120 were sent to France, 50 to Turin and three to England⁸; he does not refer to any sent to Germany, although the statistics for 1873⁹ show that there were two in Germany. The same statistics show that there were only twenty-four students in France, thirteen in England and twelve in Italy, thus giving a total of 51 in Europe for that year.

For the period 1866-1875, there were eight different missions sent as follows:—

1866	..	3	students sent
1867	..	17	" "
1869	..	3	" "
1870	..	34	" "
1871	..	4	" "
1872	..	21	" "
1873	..	6	" "
1875	..	6	" "
TOTAL		94	¹⁰

¹ Op. cit., p. 28; Misner, *ibid.*, gives the number as 49.

² *v. supra*, pp. 304-7 and 326-9.

³ Sachot, *ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴ Regny, op. cit., p. 90; Rāfi'i, 'Aṣr Ismā'il, I/215.

⁵ Artin, op. cit., p. 209; al-Ayyūbī, op. cit., I/228.

⁶ *État statistique*, 1873.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Regny, loc. cit.

⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁰ *v. supra*, p. 382.

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Misner states that in ten years, eighty-six students received diplomas and eight were returned to Egypt as 'unfit'¹; his figures refer to France alone. No students were sent to Europe in 1865, and, if the number of 172 sent during the whole reign be correct, then the remaining 88 students must have been sent in 1863-4 and 1876-9. Of the 28 in France in 1863, 13 were recalled, thus leaving fifteen; if twenty were sent in 1866-7, this meant that another twenty must have been sent between 1863-4, if Sachot's figure of 55 be correct, thus leaving a total of 68 sent during the years 1876-9.

Al-Azhar

The activities of al-Azhar during the eighteenth century have been discussed in the introductory chapter and occasional references to Azharīs are to be found in the chapters above. The main points to be noted include the confiscation of the property belonging to al-Azhar and the other pious institutions, thereby affecting the material welfare of both teachers and students; that Azharī students and teachers played an active, though subordinate, part during the reigns of Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors, even if it was against their wishes; that many of the teachers were employed as correctors and editors in the translation departments of the schools, and others as teachers, either in the Special Schools or in the provincial *maktabs*; and that Azharī students had been recruited to some of the technical schools, particularly the Medical School, where nearly every Egyptian teacher had been originally an Azharī.

Under Ismā'il Pasha, the Azharīs were employed on a much larger scale. In the first place, the fact that Arabic was given a more important place in the curriculum of the schools naturally created a greater demand for the shaikh-teacher; the number employed in 1875 has been given above² and shown to represent a large proportion of the teaching staff. The increase in the number of *kuttābs* and the creation of the shaikhs' Training College (the *Dār al-'Ulūm*) added to their authority as the only accepted teachers of Arabic.

The fact that Sa'id Pasha had acquired the right from Constantinople to appoint his own judges³ made a great difference to the status of the Egyptian judge. The *Qāḍī'l-Qudāh* had always been appointed by the Sublime Porte, who in turn

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

² *v. supra*, p. 376.

³ Merruau, op. cit., p. 18; Rāfi'i, 'Aṣr Ismā'il, I/49; Sammarco, op. cit., p. 23.

appointed his subordinates; as he generally paid for his election, so those whom he elected had to pay him, an arrangement which must have affected the paths of justice. In addition to this appointment now being in Egyptian hands, Sa'id Pasha had created a number of Provincial Courts (*Majālis or Maḥākīm al-Aḳālīm*) which were to function alongside the normal Moslem Law Courts (*al-Maḥākīm ash-Sharī'iyah*). There were five of these new Provincial Courts, one in Ṭanṭā, another in Samannūd, a third in al-Fashn, a fourth in Girgā and the fifth in al-Khartūm; in each of these Courts, two shaikhs were appointed, one for Shāfi'i law and the other for Ḥanafī.¹ Sa'id Pasha, however, just as he had opened and closed schools, abolished the Courts in 1860 on the grounds that the judges were inefficient and corrupt.²

When Ismā'il Pasha came to the throne, he reopened these Courts and set up others.³ The need was felt for some kind of reform, not only in the legislation, but also in the personnel. Already some attempts had been made to teach students both *Shar'i* law and the French Codes in the school under Rifā'ah⁴ and in the School of Law in Darb al-Gamāmiz.⁵ French Codes had been translated and modified to suit local usage and an attempt was made also to codify Moslem Law in a more suitable form than that which existed in the Moslem Law books. Muḥammad Qadrī Pasha, who had been a student of Rifā'ah's in his school,⁶ was one of the most important contributors in this field.⁷

The question of the provision of personnel provided quite another problem; it was one thing to produce codes in Arabic to serve as a basis for passing judgment in the law courts, but quite another to produce efficient judges to fill the vacancies in the judicature. A glance at the biographical notices above of the students who were sent on mission to Europe will show that men of the *efendī* class were appointed as judges, both in the native courts and in the mixed courts, although the majority of them had had no training as lawyers or judges, and, in order to carry out their duties, could only apply the exact letter of the law as produced in the new codes and regulations.

¹ Rāfi'i, *Aṣr Ismā'il*, I/48.

² Ibid., II/282-3.

³ *v. supra*, p. 355; Dr. Adams is under the impression that the *Dār al-'Ulūm* was also used for training *Shar'i* judges, *v. op. cit.*, p. 45; a section for this purpose was not added until 1888, *v. Sāmī*, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴ *v. supra*, p. 270.

⁵ Rāfi'i, *Aṣr Ismā'il*, I/293-4.

⁶ Ibid., p. 50.

⁷ *v. supra*, p. 268.

With the shaikh-judges who were called upon to administer the *Shar'i* law, it could not be stated that they had not been trained in law for this would have been untrue, *fiqh*¹ being one of the main branches taught in al-Azhar. But, on the other hand, they could be charged with inefficiency and backwardness, with inadaptability to the new social conditions and lack of understanding of the new spirit which was gradually permeating society through contact with Europeans. The *efendī* in spite of his lack of training, was more polished and adaptable and quicker witted than his shaikh colleagues.

Of the Rectors of al-Azhar during the nineteenth century,² few seem to have been especially inclined towards or even to have understood the necessity of reform; Sh. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār had been a supporter of Muḥammad 'Alī's reforms and had encouraged Rifā'ah, but his influence was confined to a few individuals and not to al-Azhar as a whole. No ruler had made any attempt to instil new life into that institution³; 'Abbās I used to attend the lectures of Shaikh al-Baijūrī in al-Azhar,⁴ but such patronage would only tend to encourage the Azharīs in their conservatism. During the reign of 'Abbās, however, there were signs of discontent and lack of discipline; the Maghrabī students gave so much trouble in the year 1853, that the troops had to be called in to put down the rebellion and to close their *riwāḳ* temporarily, and four of the ringleaders were exiled.⁵

Under Sa'id Pasha, the unruliness of the Azharīs seems to have reached a climax; the Pasha had extended conscription to all classes and, in order to avoid being recruited into the army, many of the villagers had entered al-Azhar under the pretext

¹ *v. supra*, Chap. I, p. 41.

² The following is a list of the Rectors of al-Azhar during the nineteenth century up to the accession of Taufīk Pasha: Sh. Muḥammad ash-Shanawānī, d. 1817; Sh. Muḥammad al-'Arūsī, d. 1829; Sh. Aḥmad ad-Damhūjī, d. 1830; Sh. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār, d. 1834; Sh. Ḥasan al-Kuwaisnī, d. 1838; Sh. Aḥmad as-Safī, d. 1846; Sh. Ibrāhīm al-Baijūrī, d. 1860; a period of four years intervened during which a committee of four shaikhs was appointed under Sh. Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī; their names were Sh. Ismā'il al-Halabī al-Ḥanafī, Sh. Aḥmad al-'Idwī al-Mālikī, Sh. Khalīfah al-Fashnī ash-Shāfi'i and Sh. Muṣṭafā as-Sāwī ash-Shāfi'i; Sh. Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī, appointed in 1864, retired 1870, d. 1876; Sh. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī al-Ḥanafī; was Rector twice, the first time until 1882; d. 1897; apart from the election of al-'Arīshī in 1793 (*v. supra*, Chap. I, p. 38), he was the first Ḥanafī Rector of al-Azhar; the other Rectors were all Shāfi'i.

³ Dr. Adams states in error that Muḥammad 'Alī sent his mission to Paris in 1828 with the intention of introducing reforms into al-Azhar; *v. op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴ *Khiṭaṭ*, 4/40.

⁵ Loc. cit.

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of pursuing religious studies.¹ Some village headmen found themselves obliged to enter the mosque in order to complain to Shaikh al-Baijūrī. Al-Baijūrī, a wise old man, and a great believer in the sanctity of the mosque, but entirely incapable of controlling the Azharīs, was teaching as they entered; when they addressed him, he ordered the students to attack and thrash them and one of them was killed. Other incidents occurred during the *shaikhship* of al-Baijūrī, the most serious of which was the clash between the Syrians and the Upper Egyptians while Sa'id Pasha was in the Hijāz. The trouble actually started during lecture time, whereupon the two parties came to blows. Each side was reinforced by fresh arrivals of their comrades armed with cudgels (*nabbūts*), and eventually the Syrians were forced into their own *riwāk* and besieged by the Upper Egyptians. Sh. Muḥammad ar-Rāfi'i reported the affair to several notables and Syrian merchants who formed a delegation and went to Khair-addīn Pasha, the Prefect of Cairo. Albanian soldiers were sent to quell the riots and to put down the Upper Egyptians; unfortunately, however, the cruelty of the troops only roused the Upper Egyptians to still greater wrath and they actually succeeded in repulsing the notorious Albanians. The regular army was then called out; the soldiers entered the mosque fully armed and with their boots on, arrested some thirty of the students with three of their shaikhs, and succeeded in establishing order. Ismā'il Pasha was then acting as the senior regent during Sa'id's absence; it was brought to his attention that al-Baijūrī was no longer mentally or physically capable of fulfilling his duties as Rector, whereupon he appointed the four '*ulamā*' as *wakīls* under Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī.² The affair was reported to Sa'id Pasha on his return, who, after blaming Khair-addīn Pasha for acting on his own initiative, literally kicked him out of the service.³

It can readily be understood why Ismā'il Pasha deemed it essential to turn his attention to the reform of al-Azhar, if only to restore discipline among the students and teachers. It was necessary to produce more efficient teachers and judges⁴ and the Khedive also felt that it would be more compatible with his own position as a ruler to endeavour to form a theocracy which

¹ Loc. cit. and *Projet de Réforme*, op. cit., p. 9.

² v. *supra*, p. 397.

³ *Khīṭaṭ*, IV/40-1.

⁴ *Projet de Réforme*, op. cit., p. 9; *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Vol. I, 1927, p. 97, article by A. Sékaly.

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would lend some dignity to his court. He found a suitable co-operator in Sh. Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī, who was Rector from 1864 to 1870, and appears to have been held in great awe both by students and teachers.¹ His main efforts were directed towards the introduction of the examination system for teachers in order to eliminate certain abuses which had crept into the traditional method of election.² The old spirit of emulation between prospective candidates, students and teachers, had given way to slackness and connivance on the part of the students who facilitated the path towards the election of one another instead of subjecting would-be teachers to a harassing examination round the pillars of the mosque, and on the part of the teachers who indulged in favouritism towards relations and friends.³

Al-'Arūsī, supported by the Khedive, was inclined towards reform and a general improvement in standards; he endeavoured for example, probably at the instigation of the Khedive, to prevent beggars from reciting the *Kor'ān* in the streets. Unfortunately for the reforms, however, there was a very strong body of conservative opinion led by Sh. Muḥammad 'Ilīsh, who had become shaikh of the Mālikīs in 1853.⁴ He had a very large following, for it must be remembered that the Upper Egyptians were Mālikīs and they formed the largest *riwāk* in the mosque.⁵ 'Ilīsh opposed the Rector and actually brought about his resignation in 1870.⁶

From 1724 to 1870, the *shaikhship* of the mosque had been in the hands of the Shāfi'īs, except when al-'Arīshī had managed to get elected for a few months in 1793.⁷ From 1863, i.e., with the accession of Ismā'il Pasha and the reform of the Law Courts, the Ḥanafī rite became more important, as the official rite in the first place, and, secondly, because of the fact that the judge-ships were preferably Ḥanafī and that they were all given to Egyptians now instead of Turks. 'Alī Pasha Mubārak reports that many Egyptians changed over to this rite after 1863 in order to seek employment as judges.⁸ It is significant that with the retirement of al-'Arūsī, his successor was the Ḥanafī Sh. Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-Mahdī, a grandson of Sh. Muḥammad

¹ *Khīṭaṭ*, IV/41; Raṣad, op. cit., p. 146.

² v. *supra*, Chap. I, pp. 68-9.

³ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 153-4 and Raṣad, *ibid.*, p. 146 and *Khīṭaṭ* IV/41.

⁴ *Khīṭaṭ*, IV/43.

⁵ v. *supra*, Chap. I, p. 39 sq. and *infra*, pp. 401-2.

⁶ *Khīṭaṭ*, IV/41.

⁷ v. *supra*, Chap. I, p. 39.

⁸ *Khīṭaṭ*, IV/30.

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al-Mahdī, the Copt who had been converted to Islam during the 18th century and who died in 1814.¹

Sh. al-'Abbāsī endeavoured to continue the reforms already begun on the basis of al-'Arūsī's plans. His reorganisation was given official support and a short list of regulations was embodied in a decree promulgated the 3rd February, 1872.² The main object of the reorganisation was to establish the examination system before the title of 'ālim could be officially recognised. The subjects of study were limited to eleven branches, viz., *uṣūl*, *fiqh*, *tauhīd*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *naḥw*, *ṣarf*, *ma'ānī*, *bayān*, *badī'* and *manṭiq*. The candidates were examined by a commission of six 'ulamā' chosen by the Rector.³ The successful ones were divided into three classes, and granted a diploma, which was given the name of *shahādāt al-'ālimiyah*, and those who were placed in the first class were given a robe of honour by the Khedive. Candidates who had been placed in the second and third classes could present themselves again in order to be placed in the first class. The examination was not a general one set for one and all alike, and there is no reference to a written examination, the students were examined in the books of their rite, which were now generally restricted to the principal standard works, instead of the greater variety of works that used to be studied during the 18th century.⁴

This is the first time that any kind of official reform was introduced into the mosque. The reorganisation was very limited, as it was probably realised that very little could be attempted so early. It can be seen that the reforms only effected the passing out of teachers or judges; nothing was attempted that might improve the organisation of actual student life, the method of registration and the duration of studies. The restriction of the programme to the eleven sciences was a very short-sighted policy; they became known as the "eleven sciences" and the average Azharī became thoroughly convinced that there were no others in existence. It is strange that, although, the general attitude towards outside interference was objectionable to them to a degree, yet certain decrees emanating from the Khedive and offering them some advantage,

¹ Zaidān, *Mashāhīr*, II/186-9; Rāfi'i, *Aṣr*, I/294-5, 214-5; Arminjon, op. cit., p. 47.

² *Projet de Réforme*, ibid., p. 9.

³ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 154, i.e., two 'ālims from each of the three important rites.

⁴ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 373-6.

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either a gold-braided *kuftān* or a better chance for a post, were looked upon as divine revelation. Their attitude to the curtailing of their studies was typical; they entrenched themselves behind their barricade of the "eleven sciences" and anybody who dared suggest any additional subject was accused of heresy and infidelity.¹

The list of subjects actually studied in the mosques during the eighteenth century shows twenty-six branches²; this does not include certain other scientific subjects that students took up independently and which are discussed in the introductory chapter.³ In a report written by the Shaikh of al-Azhar dated 19th February, 1867, he includes a list of twenty-one subjects and, even then, adds that certain students took up other subjects of a scientific nature if they felt inclined.⁴ These reforms then, while insisting on the essential branches, simply killed all initiative; the students read, or rather memorised, nothing but that which was decreed by law and the education given at the mosque became more than ever vocational. Ismā'il did his best to win over the old school by gifts of generosity and honours but the opposition of the conservative element increased under the leadership of Muḥammad 'Ilīsh. They undoubtedly looked upon the new law as robbing them of a good deal of their traditional scholastic authority of granting *ijāzahs* and bestowing it upon the Commission of Six. But although the opposition went forward under the cry of "no reform," yet the main cause of the trouble and the motives of their refractoriness were concealed in internal intrigues and personal ambitions within the mosque circle itself.

As the *shaiikhship* of al-Azhar had been in the hands of the Shāfi'is for such a long time, they had never actually appointed a separate shaiikh as head of the rite, for the Shāfi'ī Rector was automatically its head. When the rectorship now passed into the hands of the Ḥanafis, the Shāfi'is, still thinking that the post would come back to them, did not appoint a head and so were without a leader for the time being; the Mālikīs, on the other hand, had always had their leader, who had much influence as his position was considered next in importance to that of the rector.⁵ The Mālikī shaiikh at this time was none other than the

¹ *Projet de Réforme*, op. cit., p. 10.

² v. *supra*, Chap. I, pp. 41-2.

³ v. *supra*, Chap. I, p. 77 sq.

⁴ *Projet de Réforme*, op. cit., p. 98.

⁵ *Khiṭaṭ*, IV/41.

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hard-headed Muḥammad 'Ilīsh; the reformers were under the leadership of the Ḥanafī rector, al-'Abbāsī, while the opposition was led by 'Ilīsh supported by the Shāfi'ites whose main interest was in the re-acquisition of the rectorship.

During this period, two other important factors added to the already difficult position. Ismā'il Pasha wanted al-Azhar to become a more dignified institution than it had been during the preceding decades and, above all, he wanted complaisance. But just at this stage, there entered into the arena the dominating personality of Sh. Jamāl-addīn al-Afghānī; he came to Egypt for the first time in 1869, and then returned there in 1871 and stayed until 1879. The other factor was the development of the Arabic press, mainly under the Syrians.¹ Both Jamāl-addīn and the Syrian press group tended to criticise the existing regime and the growth of European influence, while the Shaikh himself was fearlessly critical of al-Azhar and its teachers.

Unfortunately for al-Azhar, the number of shaikhs who attached themselves to Jamāl-addīn was very limited owing to their uncompromising attitude.² Those who did follow him were of the *efendī* class who found in him an inspiration for the expression of their feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. Perhaps it was the beginning of a nationalist feeling, but as yet this was very vague; they needed a leader to mould their thoughts and to put them into some kind of shape. Jamāl-addīn was partly responsible for the literary revival, the growth of journalism and the development of "platform" speaking, the culmination of which we find later in his student Sa'd Zaghlūl. The Syrian contribution to the literary revival, however, cannot be ignored.

The arrival of Jamāl-addīn might have coincided with a wider application of cultural reforms in al-Azhar, but even for him the opposition was far too strong. Sh. Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī appears to have been sympathetic, for he supported Muḥammad 'Abduh's candidature for the *'ālimiyah* in 1877 although the rest of the examiners were prejudiced against him on account of his association with Jamāl-addīn and wished to fail him.³

Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh, however, was one of the few shaikhs to attach themselves sincerely and wholeheartedly to Jamāl-addīn and to fall completely under his influence.⁴ Already

¹ v. *supra*, p. 344 sq.

² Ibid., p. 43.

³ Adams, op. cit., pp. 14-5.

⁴ Adams, ibid., p. 34.

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as a student in 1876, through the influence of his master, he wrote a series of articles in the Syrian newspaper, *al-Ahrām*, the fourth of which deals with education; he criticises the *'ulamā* for their negative attitude towards the modern sciences in spite of the fact that such knowledge had been taught in Moslem *madrasahs* in the past and of the fact that the Khedive was doing all he could for education. The fifth article deals with the Arabic language, its scientific use in the early ages and its present decline.¹ Sh. Muḥammad 'Abduh was eager for the introduction of such branches as arithmetic, geometry, algebra, geography, history and other modern sciences as taught in the government civil schools.

Still more interesting are his words on the teaching in the mosques in Egypt: he had attended the Aḥmadī mosque in Tanṭā from the age of thirteen in 1862; he spent a year and a half learning the text and commentary entitled *Sharḥ al-Kafrāwī 'ala'l-Ājurrūmiyah*, "without learning a single thing, because of the harmful character of the method of instruction; for the teachers were accustomed to use technical terms of grammar or jurisprudence which we did not understand, nor did they take any pains to explain their meaning to those who did not know it."² Other illustrations of this harmful teaching method in use in the mosques are given by Dr. Adams from the writings and speeches of Muḥammad 'Abduh.³ The work on education in the mosques written by Shaikh Muḥammad al-Aḥmadī az-Zawāhirī entitled *al-'Ilm wa'l-'Ulamā*,⁴ the sincerest and soundest treatise on the subject, bears out many of the opinions and statements of Sh. Muḥammad 'Abduh; on the teaching of grammar, for example, Sh. az-Zawāhirī states that the "time spent in learning formal grammar would suffice for the study of ten other branches."⁵ He states that the student began with the *Sharḥ al-Kafrāwī*, and spent eight years learning it by heart with other glosses and commentaries, and at the end of that period, when asked questions on the subject, replies, "I cannot remember (*mush fī bālī*)"⁶ He then goes on to illustrate the futility of the method of studying obsolete works and the following of an out-of-date teaching system.

¹ Ibid., pp. 37-40.

² Quoted from Adams, ibid., pp. 21-2 who translates from the Shaikh's biography in the *Manār*.

³ Adams, ibid., pp. 22-3.

⁴ Tanṭā, 1904; described in the article on al-Azhar in *Encycl. of Islam*.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 151.

⁶ Loc. cit.

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The Shaikh takes each branch separately and criticises the method and uselessness of much of the ground covered while the more important and practical branches such as history, geography, languages and mathematics are neglected.¹ As an illustration of the ignorance of the 'ulamā,' Sh. az-Zawāhirī states that his teacher taught him that the sun, when it set, climbed up to God's throne in order to prostrate itself before Him, then returned and rose next morning. The moon continued to prostrate itself nightly and increased in light accordingly. By the time it reached the full, it became haughty and failed to perform its devotions, so its light decreased gradually until the end of the month, then it was taken away and thrown into hell-fire and another was brought.²

His remarks on the reasons for study in the mosques are illustrative of the spirit and mentality of the Azharī; he writes "but he who investigates our condition to-day does not know whether the object of devotion to religious science is for religion itself or whether it is merely with the object of earning a living; if the latter is the case, then it is just like any other trade from which one earns a livelihood; perhaps the student takes up religious science to acquire kudos and the admiration of others, or merely to fill up the vacancies so that the Islamic community should not be without officials; perhaps the object is merely to keep up tradition and early practice even though they have become meaningless; or perhaps it is simply to create a group of men to represent those great scholars who laid the foundations of Islamic scholarship and erected a magnificent edifice in the early centuries just as a play is acted on the stage."³ Further on, he emphasizes the vocational aspect of Azharī studies; the acquisition of a diploma by passing an examination appears to be the be-all and end-all of their studies.⁴

Both Sh. Muḥammad 'Abduh's and Sh. az-Zawāhirī's writings on al-Azhar show to what extent that institution had degenerated and stood in need of thorough reorganising. But in spite of the good wishes of a few, it would appear to have been impossible of fulfilment. This *madrasah*, nearly a thousand years old, where scholars spent years in the footsteps of their ancestors, had as its main object, the transmission of traditional science as handed down by the early fathers of the faith. The 'ulamā' and shaikhs could hardly be looked upon as investigators and

¹ Ibid., pp. 125-202.
² Ibid., pp. 49-50.

³ Ibid., pp. 101-2.
⁴ Ibid., p. 56.

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interpreters of the religion, but simply as the transmitters of doctrines and formulae upon which the orthodox theologians and jurists had decided in the early centuries. Al-Azhar was no place for independent opinion and personal initiative; it had no room for innovations. To have effected a reformation in al-Azhar, it would have been necessary to start all over again with new blood and new ideas which was an impossibility.

Statistics of al-Azhar and other Madrasahs

The number of students in al-Azhar during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī has been given at between 1,000 and 3,000¹; figures are not available for the reigns of 'Abbās and Sa'id. In the report of the Shaikh of al-Azhar dated 19th February, 1867, he places the number of students at 4,712²; Edmond for the same year gives 5,000.³ Complete statistics are available for the period 1872 to 1878.⁴ The total number of students for this period was as follows:—

1872	9668 of which	1128 were foreigners
1873	10216 „ „	1172 „ „
1874	10780 „ „	1214 „ „
1875	11095 „ „	1214 „ „
1876	7695 „ „	689 „ „
1877	7695 „ „	689 „ „
1878	7695 „ „	689 „ „

The Aḥmadī mosque at Tanṭā had 3,827 students in 1875 and 4,838 in 1878; that of Ibrāhīm Pasha at Alexandria had 413 in 1875 and 312 in 1878.⁵ The Aḥmadī School had 36 teachers in 1875 while that of Ibrāhīm Pasha had 65.⁶ It is possible that the increase in the numbers of religious students was due to the growth in the population or to the fact that students who attended religious schools were exempt from military service.

In 1867, the number of teachers was 221 in al-Azhar⁷; in 1872, there were 314⁸; in 1875, there were 325⁹ and in 1878, their numbers were down to 231.¹⁰ It is difficult to account for this big drop in the number of students and teachers between 1875 and 1878 unless their numbers were reduced for financial

¹ v. *supra*, Chap. I, pp. 27-8.

² *Projet de Réforme*, p. 98.

³ Op. cit., p. 307.

⁴ *Annuaire d'Égypte*, 1872-3; Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 377-8; Amici, op. cit., II/236-8.

⁵ Amici, op. cit., p. 238.

⁶ *Statistique*, 1875, p. 15.

⁷ *Projet de Réforme*, p. 98.

⁸ Dor Bey, op. cit., p. 377.

⁹ *Statistique*, p. 15.

¹⁰ Amici, op. cit., p. 237.

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reasons. During the same period, as we have seen, the government Primary, Preparatory and Special schools had also had their numbers reduced.¹

Non-Governmental Education Work under Ismā'il Pasha

The growth and development of European schools and those belonging to the local communities is the most remarkable feature of this reign. Nearly one hundred and thirty schools were opened between 1863 and 1879, and statistics are actually available for 152 schools of this type for the year 1878. It is proposed to deal with them in the following order:—

(a) Catholic	28
(b) American Missionary ..	36
(c) English Missionary ..	1
(d) Greek	7
(e) Italian	1
(f) German	3
(g) Écoles gratuites, libres et universelles	2
(h) Private	25
(i) Coptic	25
(j) Jews	1
(k) Armenians and Syrian Maronites	

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(a) The Catholic Schools

The *Pères Missionnaires de la Haute Égypte* continued their education work on a large scale, mostly in Upper Egypt, probably with a view to counteracting the growing influence of the American Missionaries. Their schools were opened in the following chronological order:—

1863	Kenā, for boys
1875	Cairo, for boys
1875	Sh. Zain-addīn for boys
1875	Kāmūlah, mixed
1876	Farshūt, for boys
1876	Tahtā, for boys
1876	Tahtā, for girls
1877	Asyūt, for boys
1877	Ikhmīm, for boys
1877	Ikhmīm, for girls
1878	Girgā, for boys ²

¹ v. *supra*, p. 393.

² Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-255.

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The Lazarists

The Lazarists in Alexandria, whose school had been closed in 1860, reopened it in 1867¹ under Abbé Thomas and the orphans were transferred to a building belonging to M. Antoniades. In 1875, the orphans were accommodated in a school which had been specially built by Ismā'il Pasha for them as a gift.² Amici records the opening of two other Lazarist schools, that of Sainte-Marie in 1872³ and the other, apparently for foundlings under the *Filles de la Charité*,⁴ in 1874.⁵

Dor Bey speaks highly of the Lazarist college which was reopened in 1867; in 1872, they had eight Fathers and four external teachers and a restricted number of students. The instruction was based on the classics in an attempt to copy the syllabus of the French Lyceums, and the school aimed at a high standard. The dormitories, refectory and library of the school were well arranged, but as Dor Bey was not allowed to enter the classes, he was unable to give an account of the teaching.⁶

The orphanage had 52 boys under the combined charge of the Fathers and the Sisters.

The immense building opposite the Lazarists' church belonging to the Sisters of Saint-Vincent de Paul, accommodated 1,030 students, 880 girls and 150 boys, in the year 1872; they were distributed over five different establishments, a *pensionnat*, an infant school, the orphanage, a free school and a workroom. Dor Bey remarks that there was a lack of girls' schools in Alexandria which obliged the French colony to depend on the Sisters for the education of their daughters.⁷ With the setting up of other schools, this situation seems to have changed considerably for the number of students diminished; in 1875, they had 798 students and in 1878, 900. The French colony does not appear to have been the most important one for in 1878, there were only 38 French girls in the school while there were 325 Italians and 149 Maltese.⁸ The Khedive used to make annual gifts of cereals to the Sisters.⁹

The Soeurs du Bon Pasteur

The Khedive gave the Sisters of the *Bon Pasteur* a large

¹ Guérin, op. cit., pp. 48-9 and 58.

² Amici, op. cit., pp. 250-1.

³ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 260-1.

⁴ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 276-8.

⁵ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 277-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁷ Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 274-6.

⁹ See statistics in appendix.

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site in Shubrā in 1869 on which, with the help of gifts from other sources, they built a monastery and a chapel.¹ In due course, they erected a *pensionnat* and an orphanage, while still retaining their school in Cairo² situated in Darb al-Gunainah.³

In 1865, the Sisters extended their activities to Port Said, where they established an orphanage in 1865,⁴ and a Day school in 1874 where the students paid fees,⁵ and to Suez where they set up another school in 1865.⁶ They also opened the Mont Carmel School in Būlāk in 1877.⁷

The Franciscans

The *Religieuses franciscaines*, a group under French protection (the *Pères franciscains* in Upper Egypt were under Austrian protection),⁸ opened a school in Būlāk, in 1868,⁹ another in al-Manṣūrah in 1871,¹⁰ one in Damietta in 1872,¹¹ a fourth in Kafr az-Zayyāt in 1873,¹² and a fifth in Ismā'īlyah in 1874¹³; the *Pères* opened a school in Port Said in about 1877¹⁴ and the *Pères de Terre Sainte*; another in Ismā'īlyah 1875.¹⁵ The *Franciscaines des Missions africaines* opened a temporary school in Zakāzīk in 1877 and their permanent one in November of the following year; they also opened a school in Ṭanṭā at the same time.¹⁶

The Cairo girls' school opened in 1859¹⁷ referred to as the school of the *Soeurs Clarisses franciscaines* by Dor Bey,¹⁸ seems to have extended its activities considerably, thanks to a gift of 50,000 francs from Ismā'il Pasha on his accession; in addition to an annual subvention in kind of 90 *ardabs* of wheat.¹⁹ They had 137 students in 1872 and 255 in 1875, with twelve teachers, accommodated in a *pensionnat*, a day school and an orphanage.²⁰

¹ Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 168 and Amidou, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2.

² *v. supra*, pp. 275-6.

³ Amici, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-1.

⁴ Loc. cit. and Guérin, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁵ Amidou, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁶ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 252-3; Guérin, *ibid.*, pp. 190-1; Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 279.

⁷ Amici, loc. cit., Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 196.

⁸ Amici, loc. cit., Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁹ Amici, loc. cit., Guérin, *ibid.*, pp. 214-5.

¹⁰ Amidou, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 207.

¹¹ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 252-3.

¹² Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 252-3; Amidou, *ibid.*, pp. 129-130; Guérin, *ibid.*, pp. 97 sq., and 129.

¹³ *v. supra*, p. 332.

¹⁴ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 278-9.

¹⁵ Loc. cit., Guérin's information on this school is incomplete.

¹⁶ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 279 and statistics in appendix.

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The school catered for all nationalities, but the Italians were in the majority.¹

The Frères

The Frères seem to have had the advantage of all the European schools but in 1865, their work was considerably hindered by the outbreak of cholera.² Dor Bey, who visited their schools in 1871-2, states that they had 26 teachers and 305 students in the two Cairo establishments, while in Alexandria they had 38 teachers and 680 students.³ The students were of three categories, those who went to the free schools, the boarders and the day scholars⁴; the Cairo boarders paid 100 francs a month and those of Alexandria paid 60 francs; the day scholars in Cairo paid 50 francs a month while the Alexandrians paid 30 francs.⁵

As a general principle, the Frères did not allow non-catholics to attend the freeschool,⁶ although the statistics in the appendix for 1878 show that they had 15 Jews and 3 Moslems out of 144 students in the free school. They gave great attention to the teaching of Italian. Dor Bey criticises their method of developing the memory rather than the judgment and the intelligence of the students; he complains of their adhesion to old teaching methods begun by La Salle in 1680 which were *aussi machinale que celle des écoles égyptiennes*,⁷ and asserts that the text-books were out-of-date and unsuitable.⁸ In spite of these adverse criticisms, it cannot be denied that the Frères' work for education in Egypt has been of the greatest utility.

The Frères opened a college at Ramlah in October, 1873 under Frère Évagre, who was succeeded by Frère Casimir in November, 1876. A Noviciate had been opened in 1861, but owing to lack of teachers and resources, very little had been done for its development until 1879.⁹

The Jesuits

The Jesuits opened a seminary in al-Mūsķī in 1879¹⁰ with the intention of forming clergy for the Copts and "to fight

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

² Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 381.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 271-2.

⁵ Loc. cit., it is important to note that Dor Bey was a partisan of German methods; Amidou criticises him somewhat bitterly on account of his franco-phobia, *v. op. cit.*, p. 27 sq.

⁶ Guérin, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-7.

⁷ Arens, *Handbuch der Katholischen Missionen*, Freiburg, 1925, p. 42.

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against the progress of Protestantism in Upper Egypt." ¹ The Coptic students were to be encouraged to open schools in Upper Egypt where they were to teach French in order to compete with the schools of the American and English Protestants. ²

In order to provide the means of educating the Copts, the Jesuits opened a school called the *Collège de la Sainte Famille*, where students were to pay fees, and in which pupils of every race and creed were to be accepted. The superior was Père Jullien, who was introduced to the Khedive on his arrival by the French Consul General, M. Godeau, as the Jesuits were under French protection. ³ The school started with eight pupils and rapidly increased as time went on. The studies were based on the French syllabus and, eventually, the school prepared students for the French *baccalauréat*; as the development of this school falls outside the present period, it is not proposed to discuss it further.

(b) The American Missionaries

The efforts of the American Missionaries were especially remarkable during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha, for no less than 36 schools were opened between 1865 and 1878. The following is a chronological list:—

1865	Asyūt	Theological Seminary
1865	Asyūt	Training School for girls
1866	Kūš	Evangelical School, mixed
1866	al-Manṣūrah	Evangelical School, for boys
1866	al-Manṣūrah	Evangelical School, for girls
1868	Sinūris	School for boys
1868	Sinūris	School for girls
1869	Nukhailah	Evangelical School, mixed
1869	al-Maṭī'ah	Evangelical School, mixed
1871	Asyūt	Protestant College for boys
1872	Mallawī	School for boys
1873	Bākūr	Evangelical School for boys
1873	Maidūm	School for boys
1873	al-Badārī	Evangelical School, mixed
1874	Ṭaḥṭā	Evangelical School, mixed
1875	Mishtah	Evangelical School for boys
1875	Asyūt	Evangelical Preparatory School, girls
1875	Kuṣair	Evangelical School for boys
1875	Sanhūr	School for boys
1875	al-'Azīziyah	School for boys

¹ Guérin, *ibid.*, p. 165.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ Amidou, *ibid.*, p. 58 sq.

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1875	Asyūt	Evangelical Preparatory School, boys
1875	Bānūb	School for boys
1876	az-Zarābī	School for boys
1876	Minyā	School for boys
1877	Banī 'Adīn	School for boys
1877	Asyūt	Evangelical Primary School for boys
1877	aṭ-Ṭawīlah	School for boys
1877	Nagādah	Evangelical School for boys
1877	al-Bayādiyah	School for boys
1877	Manfalūt	School for boys
1877	al-Ma'sarah	School for boys
1877	Asyūt	Evangelical Primary School for girls
1878	Isnā	Evangelical School for boys
1878	Armant	Evangelical School for boys
1878	Lukṣūr	Evangelical School, mixed
1878	Asyūt	Evangelical School for enfranchised slaves (boys) ¹

The Americans chose Asyūt as their headquarters, although they still kept their important schools in Cairo the majority of their students were Copts, although they accepted Greeks, Syrians and Moslems; They seem to have understood the necessity of establishing training schools before expanding their school system, and the schools were staffed mainly with Coptic teachers who had been trained in their own training schools; the senior schools and the Seminary had also qualified American teachers on the staff. Unfortunately, there do not appear to be any reports issued on these schools opened by the American Missionaries. Dor Bey visited the Cairo schools in 1871-2, but does not comment on them very favourably; he states that there was a total absence of intelligent management; *la discipline, l'ordre, l'émulation, la raison, tout y fait défaut.* ² The Cairo school in al-Azbakiyah had eight teachers, mostly all Copts, and 137 students in four classes. The minimum salary of the teachers was £E.31-300 m/ms. a year, or little more than £2 10s. od., a month. Dor Bey states that the teachers were not qualified to undertake their work; the syllabus aimed at a secondary education, when, in his opinion, they should have been satisfied with giving a good primary education including Arabic, arithmetic and geography.

Dor Bey had a better opinion of the girls' schools, one in Hārat as-Sakḳā'in was a model of good order. ³ In 1871-2, there were 35 girls, nearly all Copts, and the syllabus was wisely limited to reading and writing, arithmetic and needlework;

¹ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 252-5.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 282-3.

³ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 281.

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the other school in al-Azbakiyah had 120 girls on the registers, of which 80 were generally present, including 20 Moslem girls.¹

The school in Alexandria was not so badly managed as the first Cairo school described above; there appears to have been a special section for blind children. The schools in Upper Egypt were only in process of establishment at the time of his report; he states that there were six of them by 1871 with 17 teachers and 240 students.

The majority of the schools given in the list must have been elementary and the opening of such a large number was made possible by the employment of native Copts at a very low salary. There was probably a system of inspection from the Asyūt college.

(c) *The English Missionary Schools*

Apart from Miss Whately's schools described above,² there was only one English Missionary School opened at Damietta in 1878,³ about which very little is known.

(d) *The Greeks*

Cairo

The schools belonging to the Greek Community of Cairo were still handicapped by lack of funds. Politis states that the boys' Primary School was closed in 1868 and the committee maintained the girls' school only; the male students seemed to have made use of the Abet School. In 1875, a boys' school was reopened near the Patriarchate in al-Ḥamzāwī. The Community had to rely on subscribers and when they failed, it had to suppress a part of the school until funds were available; this state of affairs continued until 1883.⁴

The Abet School, on the contrary, seemed to have made excellent progress. Owing to the increase in the number of Arabic speaking Egyptian boys who knew no Greek, a special section was opened in 1876 so that they could follow their studies in Arabic. This innovation, one of necessity as it appears to have arisen out of demand, is interesting; the students who belonged to this annex (for so it was called) were mostly Moslems, and went to this school because of the insufficient educational facilities offered in their own community. Unfortunately, there is no statistical evidence to establish this

¹ Loc. cit., and p. 284.

² Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 252-3.

³ *v. supra*, pp. 333-4.

⁴ Politis, *ibid.*, I/414-5.

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statement; the 1875 figures do not give the various nationalities of the 140 students and of the 81 students in 1878, only two are shown as Moslems. The annex was not in operation for very long, however, for after the British Occupation, the Egyptian schools were reorganised and the Egyptians were able to avail themselves of a better education in their own institutions.¹

Dor Bey has a good report of the Abet School which he visited in 1871-2 when it had eight teachers and 125 students.² The Lancaster method, disapproved of by Dor, was in use in this school. He also visited the girls' school which he maintains, should have served as a model for such schools in Egypt.³

Amici records the opening of a Greek Orthodox School in Shubrā in 1872 for boys and another in 1873.⁴

Alexandria

The Greek Community Schools in Alexandria began to push forward again in 1871; they had the good services of Ralli as president of the Community, and the capable Tymbas, Vernardakis and Venetoclis, who did excellent work for the schools.⁵ Dor reports that the two boys' schools had eight teachers and 187 pupils while the girls' school had four teachers and 95 students in 1871-2.⁶ Politis gives 264 boys and 159 girls in 1871.⁷

The syllabus of the schools, while still based on the classical method as in Greece, was modified to suit local conditions; modern languages, and in particularly Arabic, were given a more important place; higher classes were added for more advanced studies, and in 1878, commercial subjects were taught for the first time.⁸

Dor Bey gives an excellent report on the schools in Alexandria under Tymbas (*sic*); modern and ancient Greek, Italian, French, Arabic, mathematics, geography, history and the catechism were taught. He criticises the use of the Lancastrian method, especially in the primary school. The Greek girls' school, although not up to the standard of the Cairo one, was still superior to other such schools in Egypt.⁹

Alexandria had two other schools which might be included here; the Greek school run by Emmanuel Samaripa with six

¹ Politis, *ibid.*, I/462-3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9.

³ Politis, *ibid.*, I/282-3.

⁴ Politis, *ibid.*, I/282.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I/283, Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 286-7 speaks highly of the teaching of the classics.

⁶ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 289.

⁷ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 285-6, and p. 381.

⁸ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

⁹ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 381.

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teachers and 28 students¹ and the Greco-Syrian Catholic School with one teacher and 30 students.²

Port Said

In July, 1866, de Lesseps gave a site to the Greeks for the purpose of building a church, schools and other public institutions in recognition of their services in the digging of the Canal.³ Politis states that the Community maintained a chapel, a boys' and a girls' school from 1866.⁴ Amici gives the date of the foundation of the boys' school as 1869 and that of the girls as 1878.⁵

Suez

The Greeks of Suez formed their first group in 1870-1 with the object of building a church and a school, but a school does not appear to have been opened until later.⁶

Zakāzīk

The Zakāzīk Community was formed in April, 1870; a sum of £E.1,000 was collected by private subscription for the purchase of a site for a church and a school.⁷

Other Greek Communities

A beginning was made in Shibīn al-Kaum in 1870,⁸ in Ismā'īl-iyah circa 1870⁹ and in other towns, usually with the construction of a small church or chapel and the employment of a teacher whose salary was paid by private subscriptions.

(e) Italian Schools

The Italian School in Alexandria has already been referred to above¹⁰; it was known as the Royal Italian College and was considered in the same class as the high schools in Italy, from the government of which country it received an annual subvention of 30,000 francs. This school was probably the best financed in the whole of Egypt. In 1871-2, it had twelve teachers and 137 students¹¹; Dor Bey had a very high opinion of M. Pagani, the director, and the method employed in the school.¹²

¹ Ibid., pp. 289 and 381.

² Politis, op. cit., I/331.

³ Amici, ibid., pp. 252-3.

⁴ Ibid., I/348-50.

⁵ Politis, ibid., I/366 and Amici, ibid., pp. 252-3.

⁶ v. supra, p. 336.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 295-8.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 206 and 381.

⁹ Ibid., I/335.

¹⁰ Politis, ibid., I/338-9.

¹¹ Politis, ibid., I/359.

¹² Ibid., pp. 252-3.

¹³ Dor Bey, ibid., p. 381.

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The Cairo school, called the *École gratuite Victor-Emmanuel*, was founded by Tito Figari in 1869¹; in 1871-2, it had three teachers and 45 students; Italian, Arabic and French were taught.

(f) German Schools

The first German school was opened in Alexandria in 1866²; at first, it appears to have been mixed but Dor shows the boys' and girls' schools separately in 1871-2; the former had six teachers and 75 pupils, the latter two teachers and 26 pupils.³

Another boys' school was opened in Cairo in 1873 and a girls' school in 1874.⁴

These schools appear to have made the teaching of religion optional. In 1872, Dor Bey states that the German school of Alexandria was distinguished from the others on account of its being secular⁵ but in the syllabus of 1875, he includes religion⁶; the Froebel method was applied by the teachers.

(g) Écoles gratuites, libres et universelles

The heterogeneity of the population of Egypt presented a major problem in the education of the people. The existence of a French, German or Italian school did not necessarily imply that each community made a special point of using that particular school; cutting across the idea of nationality was the more important question, as far as Egypt is concerned, of religion. The numerous religious and missionary schools which had grown up in Egypt served as a stimulant to cultural independence with some of the communities and individuals.

Some of the leading personalities were jealous of the fact that the education of the children of their compatriots or co-religionists was in the hands of others; the Copts, who, as we shall presently see, opened a large number of schools during this period, were undoubtedly spurred on by the increasing influence of the American Missionaries in Cairo and in Upper Egypt; they also felt the necessity of overhauling their traditional educational methods in order to compete for the posts in the government and in the increasing number of commercial

¹ v. supra, p. 336, and Dor Bey, ibid., p. 295; Amici, op. cit., pp. 246-7.

² Amici, ibid., pp. 250-1.

³ Amici, ibid., pp. 246-7.

⁴ Statistics for 1875.

⁵ Dor Bey, ibid., p. 381.

⁶ Dor Bey, ibid., p. 284.

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houses. The Greeks and Italians were particularly independent and were generally averse to entrusting their children to priests.¹ The Frères, as we have seen, did not allow non-catholics to take advantage of their free education, while many French parents were reluctant to send their children to their schools.²

There was also a psychological side to the question. While the principle of free education was still thoroughly ingrained in the Moslem community, the conscientious European parent, on the other hand, generally had enough pride and individuality not to wish to accept charity, especially if he were in a comfortable position. Acceptance of free education from the community school suggested something of a certain social stigma which so far was entirely absent in Moslem society, while acceptance of the same thing from a religious school probably meant some concession in religious belief incompatible with their independence of spirit. For the class of person who was in a better financial position, there sprang up a number of private schools which will be discussed below.

In order to counteract the influence of the purely religious school and in answer to a certain demand for a school of a more secular character, a notable development took place during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha.

M. Dauphin was among the first to understand the necessity of a type of school in which children of all creeds and races should be taught without any distinction. His first school of this description was opened in Alexandria in September, 1868³ and given the name of the *École gratuite, libre et universelle*. It was first of all supported by private subscription and protected by Taufik Pasha, the heir to the throne; the beginnings were uncertain as it was difficult to cement together the heterogeneous elements and the subscribers were not very enthusiastic⁴; they probably thought the idea would not go very far. Fortunately, however, Taufik Pasha became a subscriber and gave about £E.460 a year towards the upkeep of the school, and thanks to this generosity the school authorities were enabled to secure a better building.

The same group of founders under Dauphin had, just pre-

¹ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 285.

² Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 290. Even as late as 1925, we have seen the outburst of a Jewish lawyer against the influence of the Christian religious schools on Jewish children, *v. supra*, pp. 283-4.

³ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 290, Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 250-1.

⁴ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 290-1.

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viously to the opening of this school, started evening classes for adults and then appear to have amalgamated these classes with the *École gratuite*.

One of the main objects of the support of the Khedivial family was probably to encourage contact between Egyptians and Europeans, and to what extent this was successful can be judged from the following figures given by Dor Bey for the year 1869-70.¹

	Number of Students on registers	
	in day school	in adult school
European	149	158
Maltese	8	18
Egyptians, Turks and Syrians ..	91	273
Persian	—	1
	248	450

These figures show that the Egypto-Turko-Syrian element took advantage of the evening classes and that it accounted for 60 per cent. of the total number of students, but only for 36 per cent. of the day school.

A report published by the School Committee in 1872² gives more details, particularly on the question of the nationality and religion of the students; the figures are given for the session 1868-9:—

Adult Classes :		Day School :		
Nationality		Nationality	Religion	
French .. 21	French .. 25	Catholics ..	69	
Greeks .. 20	Italians .. 43	Orthodox ..	16	
Egyptian Rayahs .. 59	Greeks .. 20	Protestants ..	7	
Italians .. 52	Egyptians } .. 34	Copts ..	2	
Turks .. 2	Turks	Jews ..	49	
Maltese .. 24	Syrians	Moslems ..	10	
Syrians .. 32	Maltese .. 17			
Egyptian .. 17	Austrians .. 9			
Tunisians .. 1	Belgians .. 2			
Bavarians .. 2	Swiss .. 1			
Poles .. 1	Poles .. 1			
Armenians .. 1	Spaniards .. 1			
Prussians .. 2				
Swiss .. 3				
Russians .. 2				
Roumanians .. 1				
	240	153		153

¹ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 292-3.

² *Rapport du Comité Directeur sur les Examens publics*, Alexandria, 1872.

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With the Adult Classes, the combined element of Egyptian Rayahs, Turks, Syrians and Egyptians formed 46 per cent. of the total, while the Egyptians, properly speaking, were only 7 per cent.; in the Day School, 6.5 per cent. of the total was Moslem.

In 1872, there were eight teachers, the maximum salary being just over £E.62 per annum¹; Dor Bey was of the opinion that a director and two teachers who were well paid would have been better than eight badly paid.²

The major criticism of Dor Bey was the system of admission of students at any time. The very fact that the classes lacked homogeneity already made teaching difficult; by allowing students to join up at any time the work of even good teachers must have been nullified and disorder encouraged. The disadvantage of this system appears to have been realised by the public, for in 1869-80 there were 269 students on the registers of the Day School while there were only 153 in attendance³; in 1871-2, there were only 105 present out of 226 on the registers.⁴ This does not give the impression that the school was very successful.

The syllabus for the Adult Classes consisted of French, arithmetic, geography, geometry, book-keeping and Arabic; for the Day School: French, Italian, Arabic and English, arithmetic, and history. Prizes were given after the annual examinations; in 1872, 54 students received prizes, of this number six were Egyptian, four Moslems and two Copts; one Moslem received a prize for Arabic, another for French and Italian, and two for mathematics, while the two Copts received prizes for modern languages.⁵

A similar school was opened in Cairo in 1873⁶; in 1875, it had 13 teachers and 486 students on the registers; owing to the fact that it was in Cairo, it had more Moslems than the school in Alexandria. The figures are as follows:—

Moslems ..	217	Orthodox ..	34
Catholics ..	148	Jews ..	62
Protestants ..	6	Miscell. ..	19
TOTAL: 486 ⁷			

This Cairo school does not appear in the statistics for the year 1878, nor is there any further account of it; consequently, it

¹ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 390.

² *Rapport, du Comité Directeur*, *ibid.*, p. 3.

³ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 294-5.

⁴ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-3.

⁶ *Rapport*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷ Dor Bey, *Statistique*, *ibid.*, p. 136.

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must have been closed within three or four years of the date of its establishment.

(h) Private Schools

For the reasons already explained, a demand grew up for a more exclusive or private kind of education as the European population increased and became more settled. This demand was met by a number of teachers or people of business enterprise who opened up private schools, chiefly in the towns. They are set out in order of date:—

Cairo

1867	Institution Carlo Tommasi	mixed
1870	École Berthy	mixed
1872	Pensionnat Fichera	boys
1872	Maison d'Éducation	girls
1873	Institution Marcel	mixed
1873	Institution de Bono	mixed
1875	École Crespin	girls
1877	École Crurda	girls
1877	Institution C. G. Grech	boys
1877	Institution Chauvin	girls ¹
?	Collège Bonola Miller	mixed
?	Pensionnat Cartel	mixed ²

Alexandria

1866	Institut Penso Porpurgo	mixed
1867	Pensionnat de Mme Vve Remy	girls
1869	Institution Vallot	boys
1869	Institution Cerioni	girls
1873	École Dominici	mixed
1874	Pensionnat Musso	girls
1875	Institution Kirby	mixed
1876	Pensionnat Goldstein	mixed
1877	Pensionnat Cardahi	mixed ³

Port Said

1873	École laïque	boys
1875	École laïque	girls

Ramlah

1876	Institution de Bernardi	mixed
1876	École Scalese	mixed ⁴

There are no reports available on these schools but the statistics in the appendix give details as to the number of teachers and students.

¹ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 246-9.

² Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 248-251.

³ Dor Bey, *Statistique*, 1875.

⁴ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 250-1.

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(i) *The Copts*

The Copts are recorded as having opened 23 schools in Cairo, Alexandria, Asyūt and al-Gizah; the exact date of the establishment of their schools is not given but 1873 appears to have been the date of the recommencement of the reform policy, and the schools were opened between that date and 1878.

In the death of Cyril IV, Demetrius was elected Patriarch in his place; he was just and wise, but not progressive. He excommunicated the Copts who had joined the Presbyterian Church, which was taking a firm hold of the Copts, especially in Upper Egypt, but he made no attempt to reorganise the church or to introduce reforms.¹ Demetrius died in 1873 and the Coptic laity, who had by this time realised that their community was in need of reforms, decided that they had better draw up a plan before the election of the new Patriarch and make the acceptance of this plan a condition of his election.

The laity therefore formed a party which they called the "Reform Society" and invited the Metropolitan of Alexandria, Marcus, to act as Vicar General until their schemes were fully completed. A council was formed by law in 1873 and called the *Majlis Milli*, the function of which was to supervise the financial and civil affairs of the Coptic community with the Patriarch; a district council was set up similarly in every diocese, its members being drawn from the clergy and the laity, with the bishop of the diocese as president.² The new Patriarch, Cyril V, was elected in 1875, and promised to abide by the new constitution, which undoubtedly robbed him of some of his powers. The community thereby took a new lease of life for some time, but in due course there were further troubles; the Patriarch was smarting under the new regime whereby he lost the arbitrary powers of his predecessors, and the community itself split up into two distinct parties instead of working amicably together. However, the new constitution was effective in introducing immediate reforms so far as education was concerned and during the period 1873-8, the following schools were opened:—

Old Cairo	3 schools at the Convent of St. Mary Girgis for boys between 1875-8
" "	1 school for boys before 1875

¹ Butcher, op. cit., II/402-3.

² Rufailah, op. cit., p. 339 sq.; Butcher, *ibid.*, II/403-4.

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Cairo	4 schools in Hārat as-Sakḳā'in for boys, 3 between 1875-8 and 1 before 1875
"	2 schools in Darb al-Ibrāhīmī for boys between 1875-8
"	1 school in Hārat ar-Rūm for boys before 1875
"	1 school in Hārat az-Zuwallah for boys before 1875
"	1 school in Hārat ad-Duḥdarah for boys before 1875
"	1 school in the Convent of Abū Zūr for boys between 1875-8
"	1 school in Darb al-Gunainah for boys before 1875
"	1 school in Darb al-Wāsi' for boys before 1875
"	1 Theological Seminary opened before 1875 and closed before 1878
"	1 school in Hārat al-Gabrūnī for boys before 1875 ¹
Alexandria	1 school in Darb al-Murḳusiyah for boys before 1875
"	1 school called Abū'l-Mallah for boys before 1875 ²
Asyūt	2 schools for boys between 1875-8 ³
al-Gizah	1 school for boys before 1875 ⁴

The development of the Coptic schools took place after Dor Bey wrote his book, but he gives a brief description of the building and locality of the primary schools opened by Cyril IV⁵ and a detailed account of the girls' schools, with a favourable report of the work done, which was limited to arithmetic, reading and writing and needlework.⁶

The large Coptic Boys' School in Hārat as-Sakḳā'in had three classes and 125 students in 1871-2 under eight teachers who taught French, English, Italian and Arabic. About 20 students studied Coptic; history and geography were not taught. The teaching methods were mechanical and unsatisfactory and the teachers were badly paid. One of them received only PT.180 a year, three shillings a month, and two others received only twice that amount.⁷

The Patriarchal School, on the other hand, seems to have been superior; there were 18 teachers and 243 students, 20 of whom were Moslems; Arabic, Coptic, French, English, Italian, chanting, mathematics, history, geography and logic were taught. The method of teaching the languages is criticised by Dor Bey on the ground that it was too dependent on the memory and on grammatical analysis. The teachers were badly paid, one received PT.360 a year, another PT.690, a third PT.770, a fourth PT.900 and two others PT.960; nine others received between £E.12 and £E.24 a year.⁸

¹ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 254-5.

³ Dor Bey, op. cit., pp. 184-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 187-191.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-1.

⁶ Loc. cit.

⁷ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 185-7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

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The Khedive Ismā'il gave 1,500 *faddāns* towards the upkeep of the schools managed by the Patriarch¹; the students were all taught gratuitously.²

The Theological Seminary appears to have been opened to provide priests for the Coptic Church; it was placed under an able clergyman, by the name of Philotheus,³ who was supported by four teachers teaching Coptic, Arabic and theology. In 1875, there were 12 students, but Cyril V had the school closed after a short time because he was not satisfied with the teaching.

The Copts had two other Catholic Schools opened between 1875 and 1878, one in Cairo and the other in Old Cairo.⁴

(j) The Jewish Schools

In 1872, the Jews had four elementary schools in Cairo, two being primary schools where Italian and arithmetic were taught; in the latter schools, the students paid PT.5 to PT.10 a month for their tuition and the teachers were better paid than the Egyptian teachers in similar schools.⁵

At Alexandria, the Jews had four primary schools; Prosper Osima had opened a primary school as a business enterprise where students paid from PT.40 to PT.60 a month for their education, and which was reputed to be the best Jewish school in Alexandria.⁶ The Jewish community had two schools, one for boys and another for girls where the students were taught free of charge. Amici reports that a Jewish school called the *École Farag* was in use in Alexandria during this period⁷; this was probably one of the primary schools mentioned above.

The largest and most important of all the Jewish schools was that mentioned above,⁸ founded by Samuel Rabino in 1860. In 1871-2, it had five teachers and 83 students; the teachers were all well-paid. Parents who could afford it paid for the education of their children.⁹

(k) Other Communities

The Armenians had one elementary school in Cairo and the Syrian Maronites had three, one in Darb al-Gunainah, another in al-Azbakiyah and the third in Shubrā; all were

¹ Ibid., pp. 194-5.

² Butcher, *ibid.*, II/404.

³ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

⁴ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 250-1.

⁵ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

⁶ Ibid., p. 194.

⁷ Amici, *ibid.*, pp. 248-9.

⁸ Ibid., p. 202.

⁹ *v. supra*, p. 337.

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elementary; the students generally went to the Frères' school afterwards or, if they were intended for the church, were sent to Beyrūt.¹

Statistics of the European and Community Schools

The statistics given in the appendix for the years 1875 and 1878 have been drawn up from information and figures given by Dor Bey² and Amici.³ The total number of teachers in 1875 was 438 and of students 9,010, of which 523 were Moslems; the total number of students for 1878 was 12,629 of which 1,119 were Moslems.

The total number of students in these schools shows an increase of 40 per cent. in 1878, while the Egyptian Government and *Wakf* Primary Schools show a decrease of 11 per cent. for the same period. The Copts, 1,212 in 1875 and 3,012 in 1878, show an increase of 148 per cent.; the Jews, 661 in 1875 and 1,464 in 1878, many of them probably being of European extraction, show an increase of 121 per cent., while the increase in the number of Moslems attending European schools was 111 per cent.

Languages were the principal subjects on the syllabuses of these schools; some schools taught as many as five, which seems to have left very little time for anything else. The following is an index of the number of schools teaching Oriental and European languages in 1875:—

Language	Egyptian Govern- ment and Wakfs' Schools	European and Community Schools	TOTAL
Arabic	33	62	95
Armenian	—	1	1
Coptic	—	12	12
English	13	33 ⁴	46
French	21	44	65
German	5	7 ⁵	12
Greek	—	8	8
Hebrew	—	6	6
Italian	1	34	35
Latin	—	2	2
Persian	2	—	2
Turkish	27	1	28

¹ Dor Bey, *ibid.*, p. 205.

² Dor Bey, *Statistique des Écoles civiles*, Cairo, 1875.

³ Amici, *Essai de Statistique générale de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1879.

⁴ There were six other schools where English was an optional language.

⁵ There were five other schools in which German was an optional language.

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Many of the schools taught Arabic; the place of Turkish in the Egyptian schools was still important; of all the European languages, French held the first place, both in the Egyptian and in the European schools. Even in strictly national schools such as the Italian and Greek, French was given a high place in the curriculum. But for the American Missionary schools, English would not have had such a large representation. Italian held an important place on account of its commercial value, although it was often only a secondary language in some of the schools in which it was taught. The cultural importance of French and Italian can be easily estimated; in 1875, there were only 205 French students in the European schools and 328 Italians; in 1878, there were 524 French (4 per cent. of the whole) and 1,508 Italians (12 per cent. of the whole).

The fact that the majority of the French teaching schools were concentrated in the towns assured them of a maximum amount of contact with the population, while the American Schools, in spite of the fact that they were numerous (38 in 1878), had far less contact than their rivals. In Cairo, in 1878, they had 323 students altogether, in Alexandria, they had 195, in al-Manṣūrah they had 112, while in Upper Egypt where they had established over thirty schools, they had 978 students, whereas the twelve Pères and three Coptic schools in the same area had 1,300 students.

CHAPTER VI

TAUFİK PASHA AND THE BRITISH OCCUPATION (1879-1883)

"Un souverain qui perd son trône et doit abandonner l'administration de son pays entre les mains des Étrangers à la suite de ses dettes excessives, ne peut prétendre laisser à son successeur autre chose qu'un triste héritage."—Chafik Pasha, *L'Égypte Moderne et les Influences Étrangères*, Cairo, 1931, p. 77.

The financial and political troubles which began in 1876 eventually brought about the deposition of Ismā'il Pasha on 26th June, 1879. He was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad Pasha Taufik, who, had it not been for the legacy of his father, might have shone a little more brightly during the thirteen years of his reign. No ruler could have come to the throne of Egypt in a more discouraging atmosphere; already by May, 1876, International Control had been legitimized; by November of the same year, the so-called Dual Control was sanctioned as a result of the Goschen-Joubert Mission; this was suspended in December, 1878, but revived under Taufik Pasha in September, 1879 and then destroyed by the 'Arābī movement in 1881-2 which led to the British Occupation in September, 1882.

The following is a list of the *Nāzirs* of the Schools Administration from the beginning of the reign of Taufik Pasha until shortly after the occupation by the British:—

Maḥmūd Pasha Sāmī, appointed 2nd July, 1879;
'Alī Pasha Ibrāhīm from 18th August, 1879, to 9th Sept., 1881;
Muḥammad Pasha Zakī, from 14th Sept., 1881, to 2nd Feb., 1882;
'Abdallah Pasha Fikrī, from 4th Feb., 1882 to 26th May, 1882;
Sulaimān Pasha Abāzah, appointed 20th June, 1882;
Aḥmad Pasha Khairī, from 28th August, 1882, to 22nd May, 1883;
Muḥammad Pasha Qadrī, from 24th May, 1883, to 7th Jan., 1884;
Maḥmūd Pasha Ḥamdī al-Falakī, appointed 9th Jan., 1884;
'Abdar-Raḥmān Pasha Rushdī, from 20th July, 1885, to 9th June, 1888;
'Alī Pasha Mubārak, appointed 11th June, 1888.¹

¹ Artin, op. cit., pp. 170-1; Sāmī Pasha, op. cit., p. 35.

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The Report of 'Alī Pasha Ibrāhīm

The only *Nāzir* to remain in office for any reasonable length of time up to the date of the British Occupation was 'Alī Pasha Ibrāhīm whose name we have met in connection with the 1844 mission to France¹ and with the reform of the Engineering School and other services under 'Abbās Pasha.² He appears to have been a capable man and fully aware of the weaknesses of the system of education, for under his administration some attempt was made to investigate very fully the educational machine with the intention of introducing such reforms as were deemed necessary.³

The attitude of Taufīk Pasha was favourable to the work of recuperation, reform and progress; he had shown an active interest in education before his accession for he had lent his patronage to the *Écoles gratuites*⁴; he had opened the Ḳubbah School in 1875⁵ in which he took a personal interest, even visiting the kitchens in order to satisfy himself as to the quality of the food.⁶ In January, 1881, he opened a special school for the Princes and sons of the nobles under the *nāzir*ship of 'Uthmān Bey Ṣabrī (later Pasha) in order to give them a sound education⁷; M. Montant was the French teacher and Mr. Corbett was appointed to teach English.⁸

The Khedive does not appear to have discouraged 'Alī Pasha Ibrāhīm in his task of investigation; in May, 1880, he addressed a report in the Schools to the Council of Ministers (*Nāzirs*) expressing therein his opinion that they were in a bad state and that the budget allowance allotted to them was insufficient. In the same report, he emphasized the necessity of improving curricula with a view to establishing some kind of continuity between the various grades of schools; he criticised the lack of primary education facilities for the people, except in Cairo itself, which did not give the Preparatory School wide enough choice of suitable candidates and which naturally affected the standard of the student who had to be accepted in this school and in the Special Schools; the students chosen from the Primary Schools for the Preparatory School were not insufficiently prepared which resulted in a low standard throughout and consequently a very poor type of official was produced.

¹ *v. supra*, pp. 251, 253.

² Sāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³ *v. supra*, p. 373.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-1.

⁵ *v. supra*, p. 298.

⁶ *v. supra*, p. 417.

⁷ Shafīk Pasha, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

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As the administrations and technical services had no other sources from which they could recruit their requirements, their efficiency was considerably affected.

'Alī Pasha Ibrāhīm suggested an increase in the number of Primary Schools, an improvement in the standard and the granting of school certificates, which, up till then, had not been given. The object of granting school certificates was to control the promotion of students from one class to another and from one school to a higher one, and to make the possession of a school certificate a condition of employment in the government.

The Pasha was fully aware of the two main obstacles in the path of progress, viz., lack of money and capable teachers; he mentions in his report that he hoped the *Majlis* would find a solution to the money question by means of providing a larger allowance from the Budget; as regards the provision of capable teachers, he suggested an improvement in the *Dār al-'Ulūm* and made the valuable suggestion that another Training College should be opened in which teachers could be trained in European languages, mathematics, history, geography, physics and chemistry. He emphasized in his report the necessity of a general improvement in primary and preparatory standards in order to ensure an output of better men for the special schools. He aimed at establishing a third class primary school in every important village, a second class primary school in every small town and a first-class primary school in every provincial capital.¹ 'Alī Pasha proposed that this ambitious and costly programme should be financed by the people through the village headmen and local government boards. He further suggested that all officials should be made to insist on the people being educated in order to improve general culture and to eliminate illiteracy.

Another of his suggestions was the creation of a *Council of Education* in the *Diwān* itself in order to organise and criticise the school programmes and arrangements, to choose and prescribe the required text-books and to order the preparation and translation of others. The Translation Bureau was to be under the supervision of the *Diwān*.

'Alī Pasha wisely asserted in his report that immediate results were impossible; he fully realised that the education of the people was a question of time.

This report, probably the most reasonable and enlightened

¹ *v. infra*, p. 430.

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that had yet been drawn up by a native, aimed at the heart of the trouble, but, even then, the question of the provision of government employees was still allowed to govern the policy of education in the long run. The provision of primary schools all over Egypt would have necessitated a very considerable outlay of money which was not then forthcoming in view of the financial straits of the country, and, even if the enterprise had been financially possible, it would have necessitated a radical change in the method of producing, not only good teachers, but plenty of them. Nevertheless, the budgetary allowance was increased in 1880 to £E.59,415, over £E.11,000 more than in the previous year, to £E.81,949 in 1881, and to £E.88,078 in 1882, the highest that had ever been allowed.¹

The result of the introduction of the qualifying certificate could not be foreseen at this stage; the idea was, of course, borrowed from Europe and was suitable when applied to a society which appreciated education and culture for other than purely vocational reasons; unfortunately, the acquisition of a school certificate was to become a kind of mania with the Egyptians; once acquired, it was considered the end of this so-called education and entitled its holder to a post in the government.

The introduction of a new kind of training college for the western sciences at the same time maintaining the *Dār al-'Ulūm* resulted in the creation of a gap between the two cultures, the Islamic and the Western, which was to widen gradually to such an extent as to create an impassable barrier between the Arabic teacher and the teacher of modern subjects. A more determined effort might have been made to blend the two types; attempts should have been made to introduce new and more up-to-date methods in teaching Arabic; the evils of this duality are still quite apparent in any Egyptian school at the present day.

The idea of employing village headmen and local government boards to demand money of private people for the upkeep of schools was dangerous as it opened the way to bribery, corruption and oppression.

The method whereby the *Council of Education* was to be responsible for the prescribing of text-books led to another kind of corruption well known to every Egyptian to-day. Writers, or rather translators, simply plagiarised and translated the works of Europeans and offered them for acceptance as text-

¹ Artin, *Considérations sur l'Instruction publique*, p. 33.

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books. With the increase in the number of students, the acceptance of a translated work became a valuable source of income and it became worth while to use back-door influence to get it prescribed. The officials in the *Diwān* itself naturally had priority and many an Egyptian official who has been fortunate enough to find favour has enriched himself in this way and made more money out of a translation than the original writer. Another disadvantage about this system was the tendency to regard an accepted work as prescribed for all time with the result that out-of-date books were very often in use.

Apart from the above, there were also the general disadvantages of the growth of centralisation. This was unavoidable in the early stages perhaps, as it certainly aimed at uniformity and improvement, but it stifled initiative and freedom of action and thought and tended to turn the education system into a machine run by one man or a council at the top which was allowed to govern every action and movement of administrators, teachers and students. Yet, though this type of centralisation with its restriction of liberty and suppression of initiative and individuality would doubtless meet with disapproval in certain European countries, it may be questioned whether liberty of action and initiative would have been wise and advisable in a country like Egypt where the spirit and mentality of the people had been numbed by years of oppression.

Riyāḍ Pasha was *Nāẓir* of the *Majlis* at the time when 'Alī Pasha Ibrāhīm presented his report, and he sent it to the Khedive with a covering letter which made a point of indicating the beneficial results of such a programme on the eventual product of the schools, viz., the government official. The schools could not be considered as centres of education for its own sake, but merely for the training of officials. He recommended the formation of a *Commission* (called also *Ḳūmisīyūn* in Arabic) for the purpose of drawing up a full report under the presidency of 'Alī Pasha Ibrāhīm; the other members were 'Abdallāh Pasha Fikrī, Larmée Pasha, Sālim Pasha Sālim, Dor Bey, Rogers Bey, and Vidal Bey.¹ The plan was agreed to by the Khedive on 27th May, 1880 and the *Commission* sent in its report on 19th December of the same year.

The report dealt with the statistics of 1875 and the propor-

¹ Sāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The material for the reign of Taufīk Pasha will be found mostly in Sāmī Pasha's work; where the information has been derived from other sources, the references have been given.

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tion of schools to the population; it stated that they were insufficient and that the education offered by them was valueless. The *Commission* decided that in order to improve education, more schools would have to be established and more teachers specially trained.

The three classes of primary schools to be set up were described as follows:—

Third Class:—

Syllabus: The Kor'an, reading, writing, elementary arithmetic, weights and measures, elementary geography, hygiene;
Teachers: One for every 40 students;
Locality served: For a village or a number of neighbouring villages, the total population of which was between 2,000 and 5,000 souls.

Second Class:—

Syllabus: As in the third class with the addition of the History of Egypt, natural history, practical elementary surveying;
Teachers: As for the third class;
Locality served: For every *markaz* (district) or town of from 5,000 to 10,000 souls;

First class:—

Syllabus: As in the Government Primary Schools in order to prepare for the Preparatory School;
Teachers: As required;
Locality served: Every large town, one school for every 100,000 souls.

The student of the last type of school who did not wish to enter the Special Schools was to have extra lessons in surveying, agriculture, and natural history as applied to agriculture, if he lived in an agricultural community; a student living in a commercial community was to be taught commercial arithmetic, calligraphy and book-keeping, and gives some idea of industry and commerce.

The *Commission* did not recommend the immediate application of this programme; in other words, it was merely a "hypothetical" reorganisation. Even if it had been possible to open these schools immediately and to fill them with students, the *Commission* fully realised that there were no teachers available.

The *Commission* decided that the people should give more assistance in order to establish primary schools; it maintained

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that as each district would benefit from the school, the local people should be made to pay and that the clauses of the 1868 law¹ should be brought into full force. It was suggested in the report that a special tax should be levied by law on the people in order to carry on the work of reform and the building of schools. Each province and governorate should have its own school council which would decide on the distribution of the tax, would pay school teachers and have full control over the funds without interference from the central administration in Cairo, which would be responsible for the inspection only. Schools were to be built according to the plans and specification of the *Dīwān*, furniture and material were to be uniform. The *Dīwān* should be responsible for the arranging of the syllabus, the grading, transfer, promotion and dismissal of the teachers and for the supervision of the students.

The report then gave the statistics and syllabus of the government primary, the national and *Wakfs* schools.² Apart from the lack of uniformity in the programme and the incapacity of the teachers, it was found that the lower classes were often up to their full complement but not the higher classes, as the students frequently did not complete their courses but gradually fell away as their turn came to be promoted to a higher class.

Regarding secondary education, the *Commission* referred to a report written by Dor Bey, who maintained that only the Cairo Preparatory School could be considered as providing a secondary education; the Special School drew their candidates from this school which, in September, 1880, had but forty students in the final class, of which number only seventeen were fit for admission to the Special Schools; nine of these were sent to the School of Engineering and eight to the School of Law; nine others were weak in mathematics but accepted as good enough for the School of Medicine.³ In November, 1880, the Preparatory School had 292 students in four classes and, to illustrate the fact that the higher classes were always below their full complement, the following figures are given in the report:—

4th class	110 students
3rd "	87 "
2nd "	74 "
1st "	21 "

¹ *v. supra*, pp. 362 sq.

² In 1880 they had 4,709 students, not many more than in 1878.

³ *Rapport de la Commission pour les Réformes*, op. cit., pp. 24-5.

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It is also interesting to note the percentage of students studying different foreign languages :—

French	208 students	71 per cent.
English	63	22
German	21	7

The report recommended an increase in the number of teachers and an improvement in the standard of history and geography instruction. It was suggested that after the second year, the useless and inefficient students should be eliminated; that there should be two sections for the third and fourth years, a literary and a scientific section, so that students could have a chance to find out the career they preferred to follow and the Special School they desired to enter. The report also stated that discipline was poor owing to the lack of officers in the school.

In 1879, Preparatory Classes had been attached to the Primary Schools of Cairo, Alexandria, Ṭanṭā, Asyūṭ, Banī Suef and Rosetta, the total number of students being 240; but the Rosetta classes were suppressed in 1880 as there was no authority given by the *Dīwān*. It was recommended that extra Preparatory Schools should be gradually opened in Alexandria, al-Manṣūrah, Ṭanṭā, Banī Suef and Asyūṭ. New schools should provide a two years course to begin with and the third and fourth years could be added as required.

Special Schools

The report[†] then dealt with the Special Schools: it was recommended that, since Egypt was an agricultural country, a School of Agriculture was essential. The School of Medicine was in need of a copyist to re-write the teachers' translations and an editor to correct their Arabic. The School of Pharmacy had only seven students, but the teaching was satisfactory. The School of Maternity had thirteen women students whose conduct was bad because they had neither means nor relatives. The Polytechnic was severely criticised; in 1880, it had 54 students; those in the final class had not completed their course by any means; certain subjects were not given because there were no teachers available; other branches were taught which had no connection with engineering studies, such as Arabic versification and rhetoric, and it was recommended

[†] In the Cairo Primary School, 55 per cent. of the students were studying French, 18 per cent. English and 30 per cent. German.

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that they should be removed from the syllabus. The practical work at this School was insufficient and some of the teachers lacked experience; there was sore need of text-books and equipment. The fact that some teachers had to work at other schools added to the difficulties of administering the school. It was recommended that a special committee be set up to report on the school.

The School of Survey, under the same direction as the School of Engineering, was reported to be useless, both to the students and to the government. The students were mis-employed on graduation, and were often given posts which should go to the graduates of the School of Engineering.

The School of Law was not properly staffed; the director sometimes gave lessons, and sometimes an ex-student was employed as a teacher or even the best student of the class. The School was in need of complete reorganization. Turkish was regarded by the *Commission* as useless for judiciary purposes and it was recommended that it should be abolished. Arabic should be taught with the special object of training the students in the use of legal language and in composition. The best students should be sent to Europe as it was too early yet to set up an up-to-date Faculty of Laws.

The School of Languages, which had been re-opened in 1878, accommodated insufficient students. There was a great demand for translators in the administrations and the supply coming from this school was not enough to meet the demands. The training of translators had practically ceased with the closing of the establishment directed by Rifā'ah and the government services had to fall back on Syrians or foreigners. It was recommended that Turkish should be optional as only Turkish speaking students found the course useful. Students should concentrate on Arabic, French and English. German should be abolished as it was one of the subjects taught in the Training College; Italian was introduced, natural history abolished and there was some hesitation about teaching Moslem Law. It was recommended that Arabic should be taught with a view to handling technical terms and drawing up official documents. The question of dealing with technical terms presented great difficulties to the *Commission*; it was recommended that the services of experts from the different technical branches such as the engineering services, the railways, etc., should be utilised by the government for this purpose.

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The *Commission* recommended that this School should be divided into three sections, one for translators, another for accountants and a third for clerks and secretaries and that parents should be prohibited from taking their children to the offices to learn their profession; they should be ordered to send them to school.

At the *Dār al-'Ulūm*, it was recommended that an elementary course of pedagogy should be given and a foreign language if desired.

The services of the School of Veterinary Science, of the School for training workmen and the School of Arts and Crafts were fully recognised by the *Commission* who recommended that these establishments should be as practical as possible.

Education Boards

The *Commission* recommended that an Education Board be set up consisting of fifteen members under the presidency of the *Nāzir* of the Schools Administration; other members were to be the *Wakīl*, the Chief Inspector, four members from the various administrations, five directors of the Special Schools, two teachers and one other cultured Egyptian. It was also recommended that each school should have its own Board whose duty it would be to maintain a high standard in the school.

Language Teaching

The attention of the *Commission* was called particularly to the weakness of the students in their "mother tongue"; after spending from twelve to fourteen years in the schools, a graduate entered the service without being able to write a letter in Arabic or to draw up a report. Many of the officials had to rely upon the services of a clerk who often abused their confidence.

The results of the teaching of Arabic were out of proportion with the efforts and time spent on the subject; the *Commission* fully realised the difference between the language taught and that in current use, also the difference between the colloquial, i.e., "the mother tongue," and the written language. The teaching method was defective, being mainly confined to memorising certain compendiums and to grammatical analysis. The teaching of versification in the Schools of Engineering and Survey, for example, pointed to the lack of a practical understanding on the part of those responsible for the arrangement

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of the Arabic syllabus. A further obstacle and drawback was the lack of suitable text-books for use in the schools; the *Commission* declared itself incompetent to solve the difficulties in teaching Arabic and recommended the formation of a special committee for that purpose.

It was recommended that Turkish should be made an optional language in the Primary Schools and in the Preparatory classes in the Provincial Schools; Egyptian students forgot Turkish as soon as they left school.

The teaching of French was generally unsatisfactory: the European teachers usually knew no Arabic and found the task of explaining the lessons difficult. The native teachers were often weak in the subject and could not pronounce. The problem of the provision of teachers was dependent upon the creation and success of the Training College; until then, nothing could be done. There was a general lack of text-books such as grammars and readers for all languages. It was suggested that more time should be given to reading, dictation, conversation and translation and less to grammatical analysis.

English was given in a limited number of schools; the report states that this language was taught in a more satisfactory way; in the Special Schools it was well taught; the same difficulty existed here in connection with the lack of text-books. German and Italian had a less important place in the language syllabus.

Other Subjects

There were no history teachers worth speaking of, and their provision depended upon the Training College; the same applied to geography which was badly taught, and amounted to the mere memorising of names.

Mathematics were well taught but more practice was required; physics, chemistry and natural history were not given sufficient importance and more practice was needed.

* Gymnastics should be made obligatory and the children should be allowed more recreation.

General Remarks

The Medical Service of the Schools was in need of reorganisation; doctors should attend the Schools daily at a fixed hour.

Credits were required for the formation of school libraries and the purchase of periodicals.

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School material was in a bad state and required renewing. Discipline and supervision were unsatisfactory; a Council of Discipline should be set up for teachers.

Education Missions to Europe

In 1880, the report gave the number of government students as 38 in France, and one each in England and Switzerland; there were nine others in France at the expense of their parents. Fourteen were studying medicine, ten law, two civil engineering, two arts and crafts, eight veterinary science and thirteen were engaged in preparatory studies for the same branches.

The *Commission* criticised the absence of an annual report and stated that most of the correspondence to and from Mission students dealt with accounts. It recommended that students should be chosen with more discrimination; their physical condition was as important as their intellectual capacity. Some of the students sent were not well equipped and were objects of favouritism of those in authority. It was impossible to supervise students sent all over France and delays should not be allowed. When the men returned to Egypt to take up posts, they were unfit for their work and lacked practical experience. The budgetary allowance to the mission students was insufficient.

European Schools

The percentage of students of Egyptian nationality in 1878 in the European schools was given as 52 per cent.; this included many who were local subjects, i.e., not pure Egyptians, but, on the score that they were of Egyptian nationality, the *Commission* maintained that the *Dīwān* should have the right of inspection. The *Commission* declared that most of the schools run by the foreign colonies and the missionaries did not offer education beyond the primary stage, mainly through lack of funds; it stated that Europeans of the better classes sent their children to Europe to be educated.

The strong points of the European schools were admitted, namely, the teaching of foreign languages, European calligraphy, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, history and geography, but the weak point was the teaching of Arabic. The *Commission* having described the teaching of Arabic in Egyptian schools as unsatisfactory and having, in fact, declared itself incompetent of reorganising it, could hardly hope to step in to improve

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matters. It maintained that it was the duty of the *Dīwān* to provide good Arabic teachers and to make subventions.

In dealing with the European schools, the Commissioners failed, however, to bring out that essential difference between the fundamental backgrounds of the two societies, the Western and the Islamic. The children of the Islamic community were at the great disadvantage of being almost entirely deprived of the benefits of a home life, and particularly of the educative influence of the mother who did so much in the West for the preparation of the child for its place in society. The teaching of the schools of the foreign colonies and missionaries was based on this important background which undoubtedly made them superior to the Egyptian or Moslem schools; in Moslem society, even with the new type of school, the child was prepared for a society in which the woman had no function beyond that allotted to her by nature. If the Egyptian experiments in modern education were a failure, it was hardly the method which was at fault, but rather the whole structure of Moslem society and the material with which the would-be educators had to build up their system.

Western education was the outcome of a different kind of culture and moral background with which the Moslem world had very little in common; the most the Moslem world could hope to acquire of this Western culture was a superficial knowledge from books which could not stand the strain of Western competition. Very little could have been expected of Moslem experiments in the fields of Western culture and education until the structure of its society had changed and it had assimilated some of the moral characteristics of the West.

Finance and Administration

The *Commission* criticised the financial and administrative arrangements in a general way; the administration of the financial department was complicated in every detail; there was an immense waste of labour in the intricate inter-departmental system of book-keeping. The clerks were unable to use French and the translation bureau was badly managed.

Thus ran the frank and sound report of the *Commission* which was composed of very able men. It was practically an indictment of the whole system of Egyptian education and comes conveniently at the end of the period during which the experiments were made by the Egyptians themselves;

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the report, written for the most part by Egyptians themselves, needs very little amplification or further qualification.

On the recommendation of the *Commission*, the Education Board, called in French the *Conseil supérieur de l'Instruction publique* and in Arabic, the *Majlis al-Ma'arif*, was duly formed of the following members:—

The *Nāzir* of the Schools Administration,
 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *Nāzir* of the Public Works Dept,
 Husain Pasha Fakhrī, *Nāzir* of the Dept. of Justice,
 Mr. Money, Commissioner of the Public Debt Dept,
 M. D. Liron d'Airolles, Secretary of Commission of Inquiry,
 Gen. Stone Pasha, Chief of Staff,
 'Abdallah Pasha Fikrī, *Wakīl*, Schools Administration,
 Larmée Pasha, *Nāzir*, Military School,
 Dr. Sālim Pasha Sālim, President, Council of Public Health,
 M. G. Maspero, Director of the Museum,
 M. Gaillardot Bey, *Nāzir*, School of Medicine,
 M. Mougel, *Nāzir*, Training College,
 Ismā'il Bey al-Falakī, *Nāzir*, School of Engineering,
 Mr. Rogers, Bey, *Nāzir* of the Dept. of Govt. Domaines,
 M. Vidal Bey, *Nāzir* of the School of Law,
 M. Guigon Bey, *Nāzir* of the School of Arts and Crafts,
 Mr. Spitta Bey, *Nāzir* of the Khedivial Library,
 M. Montant, *Nāzir* of the High School,
 Šadiq Bey Shanān, *Nāzir* of the Preparatory School,
 'Uthmān Bey Ghālib, *Wakīl*, School of Medicine,
 Sh. Husain al-Maršafī, Teacher, *Dār al-'Ulūm*,
 Sh. Muḥammad 'Abduh, Editor-in-Chief, Official Journal,
 Sh. Zain al-Maršafī, an *Ālim*,
 Sh. Hasūnah an-Nawāwī, Teacher, School of Law,
 M. Bernard, Teacher, School of Languages,¹

Its duties were carefully laid down by a Khedivial decree; they were as follows:—

- (i) to examine all proposals, laws, constitutions and time-tables connected with education in government schools;
- (ii) to investigate all proposals for new schools;
- (iii) to examine all petitions for subventions received from other educational bodies;
- (iv) to examine the text-books in use and those proposed for use in the government schools;
- (v) to control the administration and the financial arrangements of the government schools;
- (vi) to examine all questions connected with the affairs and promotions of teachers;
- (vii) to discuss any matter brought up by the *Nāzir*.

¹ Sāmī, op. cit., pp. 44-5.

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The first meeting was held on 4th April, 1881, but, in the meantime, the *Dīwān* had been trying to remedy some of the difficulties. It had set up the Taufīkiyah Training College in September, 1880, together with a Primary and a Preparatory School in the same building¹; it had also opened a special department for Translation and Correspondence (*Ḳalam at-Tarjamah wa't-Tahrīr*) under Adīb Ishāk in October, 1881.²

The following Primary Schools were opened in the provinces:

al-Manšūrah, January, 1881, for 500 students,
 Kalyūb, November, 1881, for 110 students,
 al-Gīzah, November, 1881, for 220 students,
 Tūkh (3rd cl) January, 1882, for 60 students.³

The Inspectorate of the Schools was not reorganised until during the third Ministry of Sharīf Pasha when Khairī Pasha was *Nāzir* of the Schools Administration; he appointed Muḥammad Bey Unsi as Chief Inspector and Laṭīf Bey Salīm (afterwards Pasha), Sh. Zain al-Maršafī, Sh. Ḥamzah Faṭḥallah, Muḥammad Ef. Šālīḥ (later Bey) and Walberg Bey as Inspectors⁴; as their work falls in the post-occupation period (Khairī Pasha became *Nāzir* in August, 1882), it is not proposed to discuss them further here.

In spite of these apparent efforts to reorganise the Education Department and the Schools, Taufīk Pasha and his lieutenants were not able to improve on the existing system up to the time of the British Occupation. It might be put forward that the Taufīkiyah Training College was the most successful experiment yet made in the field of education during this period; it was, in fact, the first serious attempt to set up an institution in which teachers could be trained in modern methods for the various Primary and Preparatory Schools. It was not intended that it should replace the *Dār al-'Ulūm* which, as has been stated above, specialised in the training of Arabic teachers.

The Taufīkiyah Training College was the outcome of the discontent with the existing system of instruction in the government schools, and perhaps was an attempt to copy the organisation of education that had been going on in France for some fifteen years, as was suggested by Amadou.⁵

The ambitious plan of reform drawn up by the *Commission* depended to a great extent on the creation of an efficient training

¹ Ibid., app. III, p. 57, p. 97 and p. 100.

² Ibid., p. 46 and app. III, p. 100.

³ Ibid., p. 47.

⁴ Sāmī, op. cit., p. 46.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 25.

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school for teachers. The Egyptian Government turned to France for assistance and M. Mougél was sent out as director with Messrs. Bernard and Montureux as teachers. Unfortunately, the political events leading up to 1882 and the outbreak of cholera in 1883 impeded the early progress of this school and it was not until 1885 when M. Peltier was made its director that it began to be of real service.¹

During the period 1879 to 1882, the ruler was faced with the difficulties created by the financial crisis and the abortive 'Arābī rebellion; between July, 1879 and July, 1885, just six years, there were no less than nine changes in the *nāzir*ship of the Schools Administration; Although it was part of the declared policy of both the Khedive² and the Nationalist Party that the educational needs of the country should be served,³ yet circumstances did not permit the introduction of any of the reforms or improvements suggested and recommended in the report.

This report, excellent in itself as it reflects the Egyptian opinion of the actual state of educational affairs, remained a dead letter until 1885, i.e., three years after the British Occupation.⁴ During the first six years of the reign of Taufīk Pasha, very little was done beyond reporting on the existing state of affairs and the opening of a few extra schools which were hardly an improvement on those already in use. The fact, however, that the Egyptians were alive to the evils and defects of their system of education is not to be underestimated.

The Education Board which was formed did practically nothing for education; its size and heterogeneity were a handicap, and the members were unable to establish a satisfactory system of education compatible with Egyptian needs.⁵

The Reports of Lord Dufferin and Mr. H. Cunyngame

Two other reports are available for the end of this period that of Lord Dufferin written in 1883,⁶ and the other written in 1887 by Mr. H. Cunyngame.⁷ Lord Dufferin states that,

¹ Ibid., p. 32 sq.

² Artin, op. cit., p. 103 and Malortie, op. cit., p. 202 sq.

³ Blunt, op. cit., p. 558.

⁴ Artin, op. cit., p. 103. Sarhank, op. cit., II/440-1; Silva White, op. cit., p. 212.

⁵ Artin, op. cit., p. 103.

⁶ *Parliamentary Reports, Egypt*. No. 6 (1883). Further correspondence respecting the reorganisation in Egypt (C.3529), London, 1883, pp. 63-66.

⁷ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX, 1887, pp. 223-237.

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there were twenty-seven so-called Upper Primary Schools with 4,664 pupils as compared with 5,370 *kuttābs* with 137,553 pupils; the Preparatory School had 292 pupils while six of the Primary Schools had preparatory classes for the first two years. The Special Schools had the following attendance:—

School of Medicine	176	pupils
Do. Pharmacy	7	do.
Do. Midwifery	20	do.
Do. Engineering	50	do.
Do. Survey	30	do.
Do. Arts and Crafts	51	do.
Do. Law	37	do.
Do. Languages	23	do.
Training College	60	do.
School for Workmen	79	do.
Do. for the Blind	75	do.
Girls' School	300	do.

The number of pupils in the schools does not appear to have decreased to any extent owing to the political troubles. Lord Dufferin emphasizes the fact that the efforts of the Egyptian student produced diminishing returns as he approached the higher branches of study.¹ He suggests early marriage, defective eyesight and the over-use of the memory as the main impediments to advancement. Another defect was the promotion of students to higher classes merely to fill vacancies as they occurred each year, regardless of the fact that they had not completed their current studies and so were below standard.

The Preparatory School, practically the only source from which the Special Schools recruited their candidates, was, in the opinion of Lord Dufferin, utterly insufficient for the demands upon it; as a temporary remedy, he suggested that the schools of the foreign missions and colonies, in which much better results were obtained than in the government schools, should provide candidates for the Special Schools. Apparently the Egyptian authorities objected to this measure on the grounds that Arabic was not sufficiently well taught in these schools.

Lord Dufferin suggested that the School of Engineering, the Schools of Survey and Arts and Crafts should be merged into one as they all served one object, viz., the training of engineers. He further suggested that the Law School from which judges and officials for the Native Tribunals were selected was organised on an inadequate basis for the needs of the country

¹ Op. cit., p. 65.

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and should be enlarged; he also remarked that the School of Languages was insufficient as nearly all the official translators were Syrians who had availed themselves of the superior instruction given in the schools founded in Syria by Americans, French and German missions. He maintained that a School of Agriculture was essential and also a body of capable inspectors with special authority to see that the teachers who were appointed were efficient, that the examinations were properly conducted, and that the students were not promoted to higher classes until they had passed their examinations; he was also of the opinion that the inspectors should inspect the foreign schools.

Text-books were antiquated owing to the fact that delay was unavoidable until they were translated and published in Arabic.

Lord Dufferin concluded his report on education with the remark that it had little chance of making much progress with the masses until children were taught the vulgar Arabic instead of Koranic Arabic.

This report really concludes the period under investigation. Mr. Cunynghame wrote his account four years or so after the Occupation, and brings out one or two points worth mentioning, the chief one being that the Education Department was opposed by the *Wakfs* Administration "who were exceedingly jealous of any interference with the old system" and whose efforts had been successful in preventing any changes being made.¹ Although the regulations provided for the inspection of the *kuttābs*, it had so far not been exercised for fear of the storm which would be raised, and any attempt to interfere in the slightest with the hotbed of fanaticism in al-Azhar would be out of the question.²

The government Primary Schools drew their recruits from the *kuttābs* to which Cunynghame attributes the weakness of the system.³ He points out that the system of education was superficial,⁴ that the students were backward and ignorant and that there was a general lack of text-books.⁵

¹ Op. cit., p. 229.

² Op. cit., p. 231.

³ Op. cit., p. 233.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ Loc. cit.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT APPENDIX A.—STATISTICS FOR SCHOOLS, 1875

1875			Teachers	Boarders	Day Students	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous
SCHOOLS												
REMAINDER												
Armant	American	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Asyūt	"	girls	2	—	40	—	—	—	—	30	10	—
"	"	boys	2	—	65	—	—	—	—	25	40	—
"	"	Prot. "	6	76	29	—	—	—	—	103	—	—
"	"	Theol. "	3	12	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—
"	"	Train girls	5	24	18	—	—	—	—	23	19	—
"	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	Slav. "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	Coptic	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-'Aziziyah	American	"	1	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	15	—
al-Badārī	"	mixed	2	—	30	—	—	—	—	15	2	8
Bākūr	"	boys	1	—	12	—	—	—	—	12	—	—
Banī 'Adīn	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bānūb	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-Bayāḍiyah	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Farshūt	Pères Miss.	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-Faiyūm	American	"	1	—	45	—	2	13	—	—	30	—
"	"	girls	2	—	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	34
Girgā	Pères Miss.	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-Gīzah	Coptic	boys	1	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	10	—
Ikhmīm	Pères Miss.	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Isnā	American	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kāmūlah	Pères Miss.	mixed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kenā	"	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kūš	American	mixed	2	—	45	—	—	—	—	45	—	—
Kūšair	"	boys	1	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	20	—
Lūḡsur	"	mixed	1	—	15	—	—	—	—	4	11	—
Maidūm	"	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-Ma'sarah	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mallawī	"	"	2	—	48	—	—	—	—	12	36	—
Manfalūt	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minyā	"	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mishtah	"	"	1	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	18	—
al-Maṭī'ah	"	mixed	2	—	30	—	—	—	—	30	—	—
Nagādah	"	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	Pères Miss.	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nukhailah	American	mixed	3	—	58	—	—	—	—	58	—	—
Sanhūr	"	boys	1	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
Sinūris	"	"	3	8	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	36
"	"	girls	2	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Ṭahtā	"	mixed	2	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	30
"	Pères Miss.	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
at-Tawīlah	American	mixed	2	—	25	—	—	—	—	20	5	—
az-Zarābī	"	boys	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(Sh) Zain-addīn	Pères Miss.	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total			48	120	653	—	2	13	—	389	216	146

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APPENDIX A

1875	Teachers	Boarders	Day Students	Armenians	Austrians	Egyptians	English	French	Germans	Greeks	Italians
CAIRO SCHOOL											
Coptic Patriarchal boys	13	40	339	10	—	318	—	—	—	9	—
" H. Saḡkā'in boys	6	—	74	1	—	73	—	—	—	—	—
" " girls	8	—	80	—	—	80	—	—	—	—	—
" Azbakayah girls	5	—	45	—	—	45	—	—	—	—	—
" Theology	4	12	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—
" H. ar-Rūm boys	2	—	15	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—
" H. Saḡkā'in "	1	—	36	—	—	36	—	—	—	—	—
" H. Zuwallah "	1	—	16	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—
" D. al-Gunainah "	1	—	40	—	—	40	—	—	—	—	—
" D. ad-Duḡdarah "	1	—	16	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—
" H. al-Gabrūnī "	1	—	25	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	—
" D. al-Wāsi' "	1	—	20	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—
" Old Cairo "	1	—	25	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	—
Grat. libre et Univer. "	13	—	486	—	21	262	15	62	5	26	73
Greek Abet "	9	—	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" Hypapanti girls	4	—	128	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Italian Victor Emm. boys	3	—	68	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46
Jewish mixed	12	—	350	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
German boys	4	—	35	—	1	1	5	5	10	—	—
Frères gratuite "	10	—	120	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" St. Joseph "	15	28	68	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Franciscan girls	12	147	108	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" Būlāk "	2	8	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bon Pasteur Shubrā "	22	125	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" " Cairo "	?	—	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
American Azbak. "	5	—	85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" " boys	5	—	150	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" H. Saḡkā'in girls	3	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" " "	4	12	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
English Miss. mixed	14	158	150	—	—	38	—	—	—	—	—
Armenian boys	3	—	30	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tommasi mixed	4	6	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fichera boys	7	—	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bonola Miller mixed	5	2	34	—	1	2	—	—	3	4	—
Cartel "	8	—	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Berthy girls	3	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Andréadas mixed	8	—	68	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maison d'Éducation girls	?	7	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	15
Alexandria	220	545	3183	41	23	1024	20	67	18	79	134
Other Towns	138	273	3662	—	10	491	27	74	65	59	92
Remainder	32	83	490	—	40	52	2	62	4	26	68
	48	120	653	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	438	1021	7988	41	73	1567	49	203	87	164	294

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STATISTICS FOR SCHOOLS, 1875

Jews	Maltese	Poles	Persians	Russians	Portuguese and Spaniards	Swiss	Syrians	Turks	Miscellaneous	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous
1										7	1	16	13		302	
										1		2			71	
															80	
															45	
															12	
															15	
															36	
															16	
															40	
															16	
															25	
															20	
															25	
					3			3	13	148	62	217	34	6		19
					3				140							140
									22	1	13	4	109			1
350										46						22
	1							7			350					
		2				2			120						1	120
									96							96
									255							255
									26							26
									145							145
									180							180
										10		35	11	21	64	
												25		13	81	
										4			1	13	25	
										20		8			5	
															30	300
									33							
									29							33
	21				1				4	2		2		1		29
										37		8		3		31
									25							25
								10	10							
								24								
351	22		2	3	4	2		20	1122	276	426	317	168	57	909	1422
				3	4		8	12	1896	761	228	187	11	45	68	2000
9	20	1					5	3	260	126	11	15	14	8	19	247
											2	13		389	216	146
360	42	1	2	6	8	2	13	35	3278	1163	667	532	193	499	1212	3815

THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

APPENDIX A

1875		Teachers	Boarders	Day Students	Armenians	Austrians	Egyptians	English	French	Germans	Greeks	Italians
ALEXANDRIA												
SCHOOLS												
Italian boys		10	—	200	—	—	—	maj.	Italians of Jewish	—	—	—
Helleno-Egypt boys		8	—	430	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" girls		4	—	222	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
German mixed		6	—	210	—	—	23	4	13	64	10	5
Éc. Grat. libre, univ.		7	—	256	—	—	207	2	11	1	11	13
Soeurs girls		20	153	647	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Frères Ste Cath. boys		—	—	675	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" St. Jos.		38	80	270	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lazarists Ste Mar		—	40	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" St. Jos.		12	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
American		4	—	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" girls		4	—	64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scottish		7	—	95	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" boys		5	—	92	—	—	40	16	2	—	7	27
Jewish mixed		8	—	272	—	10	140	5	48	—	31	47
" Farag girls		3	—	55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Coptic Abu'l Mal. boys		1	—	29	—	—	29	—	—	—	—	—
" D' Murkusiyah		1	—	12	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—
Total		138	273	3662	—	10	491	27	74	65	59	92

1875		Teachers	Boarders	Day Students	Austrians	Egyptians	English	French	Germans	Greeks
OTHER TOWNS										
SCHOOLS										
Damietta	Franciscan boys	3	6	44	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ismā'iliyah	" girls	2	10	40	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kafr az-Zayyāt	" "	3	2	28	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-Manṣūrah	" "	4	15	78	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	American boys	2	—	50	—	26	—	—	—	6
Port Said (Orph.)	Bon Pasteur girls	—	31	—	9	5	—	4	1	3
"	" Pens.	7	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	" Day	—	—	36	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	" Grat.	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	Franciscan boys	2	—	76	13	7	—	19	—	5
"	Laique	1	—	37	7	8	—	19	—	6
"	" girls	2	—	32	—	—	—	—	3	—
Suez	Pères Miss. boys	2	—	30	—	3	2	5	—	6
"	Bon Pasteur girls	3	15	15	7	—	—	15	—	—
"	French Private boys	1	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total		32	83	490	40	52	2	62	4	26

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

STATISTICS FOR SCHOOLS, 1875

Jews	Maltese	Russians	Spaniards	Syrians	Turks	Miscellaneous	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous
faith	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	430	—	—	—	—	—	—	430
—	—	—	—	—	—	222	—	—	—	—	—	—	222
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	49	83	3	—	45	—	—
—	—	—	—	8	—	—	31	63	144	11	—	5	2
—	—	—	2	—	9	—	540	—	—	—	—	—	107
—	—	—	—	—	—	675	—	—	—	—	—	—	675
—	—	—	—	—	—	350	—	—	—	—	—	—	350
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	83	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	60	30	—	10	—	—	22	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	64	28	—	—	—	—	—	64
—	—	—	—	—	—	95	—	—	—	—	—	—	95
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	10	—	—	—	55
—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—
—	—	3	4	8	12	1896	761	228	187	11	45	68	2000

Italians	Jews	Maltese	Poles	Spaniards	Syrians	Turks	Miscellaneous	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	70
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	50
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	30
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	93	—	—	—	—	—	—	93
—	8	—	—	—	5	—	5	—	8	7	6	5	19	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	1	1	2	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	47	2	—	3	—	—	—
27	1	4	—	—	—	3	—	23	—	7	3	—	—	4
8	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	29	—	—	—	3	—	—
4	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
68	9	20	1	—	5	3	260	126	11	15	14	8	19	247

APPENDIX B
STATISTICS FOR SCHOOLS, 1878

1878			Boarders	Day Students	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous	Italians	Miscellaneous
SCHOOLS													
REMAINDER													
Armant	American	boys	—	10	—	—	—	—	3	7	—	—	—
Asyūt	"	girls	—	90	—	—	2	—	18	70	—	—	—
"	"	boys	—	80	—	—	—	—	20	60	—	—	—
"	" Prot.	"	60	36	1	—	2	—	50	43	—	1	1
"	" Theol.	"	—	7	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—
"	" Train	girls	25	37	—	—	4	—	31	27	—	—	3
"	"	"	—	25	—	—	12	—	2	11	—	—	—
"	"	boys	—	45	—	—	7	—	4	34	—	—	—
"	" Slav.	"	—	10	—	—	—	—	3	—	7	—	10
"	Coptic	"	—	250	—	—	—	—	—	250	—	—	—
"	"	"	—	150	—	—	—	—	—	150	—	—	—
al-'Azīziyah	American	"	—	16	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—
al-Badāri	"	mixed	—	9	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—
Bākūr	"	boys	—	9	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—
Banī 'Adīn	"	"	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	—
Bānūb	"	"	—	55	—	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
al-Bayāḍiyah	"	"	—	45	—	—	—	—	—	45	—	—	—
Farshūt	Pères Miss.	"	—	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
al-Faiyūm	American	"	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Girgā	Pères Miss.	boys	—	50	26	—	1	—	—	23	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	67	48	—	—	—	—	19	—	—	—
al-Gīzah	Coptic	boys	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—
Ikhmīm	Pères Miss.	"	—	83	37	—	21	—	—	25	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	63	29	—	6	—	—	28	—	—	—
Isnā	American	boys	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—
Kāmūlah	Pères Miss.	mixed	—	22	13	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—
Kenā	"	boys	—	33	18	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—
Kūṣ	American	mixed	—	65	—	—	2	—	35	28	—	—	—
Kūṣair	"	boys	—	8	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—
Lukṣur	"	mixed	—	45	—	—	5	—	10	30	—	—	—
Maidūm	"	boys	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	—	—
al-Ma'sarah	"	"	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	17	—	—	—
Mallawī	"	"	—	35	—	—	10	—	—	25	—	—	—
Manfalūt	"	"	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—
Minyā	"	"	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	—	—
Mishtah	"	"	—	17	—	—	—	—	17	—	—	—	—
al-Matī'ah	"	mixed	—	24	—	—	—	—	24	—	—	—	—
Nagādah	"	boys	—	35	27	—	2	—	3	30	—	—	—
"	Pères Miss.	"	—	138	27	—	—	—	—	111	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	93	22	—	5	—	—	66	—	—	—
Nukhailah	American	mixed	—	95	—	—	—	—	90	5	—	—	—
Sanhūr	"	boys	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—
Sinūris	"	"	—	52	—	—	—	—	—	67	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ṭahtā	"	mixed	—	30	—	—	—	—	2	28	—	—	—
"	Pères Miss.	boys	—	127	102	—	12	—	—	13	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	76	66	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—
aṭ-Ṭawilah	American	mixed	—	19	—	—	—	—	12	7	—	—	—
az-Zarābī	"	boys	—	20	—	—	2	—	12	6	—	—	—
(Sh) Zain-addīn	Pères Miss.	"	—	28	20	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—
Total			85	2288	446	1	93	—	389	1404	7	1	14

THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

APPENDIX B

1878			Boarders	Day Students	Armenians	Austrians	Egyptians	English	French	Germans	Greeks	Italians
CAIRO												
SCHOOL												
Coptic	Patriarch	boys	80	315	—	—	355	—	—	—	7	—
"	H. Sakka'in	"	—	153	—	—	137	—	—	—	5	—
"	"	girls	—	52	—	—	44	—	—	—	—	—
"	al-Azbak.	girls	—	120	—	—	120	—	—	—	—	—
"	H. ar-Rūm	boys	—	10	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—
"	H. Sakka'in	"	—	29	—	—	29	—	—	—	—	—
"	3	"	—	28	—	—	28	—	—	—	—	—
"	H. Zuwallah	"	—	17	—	—	17	—	—	—	—	—
"	2	D. Ibrāhīmī	—	107	—	—	107	—	—	—	—	—
"	D. Gunainah	"	—	11	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—
"	H. Gabrūnī	"	—	20	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—
"	Conv. Abū Zūr	"	—	17	—	—	17	—	—	—	—	—
"	D. al-Wāsi'	"	—	11	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—
"	Catholic	"	—	25	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	—
"	3	Ste M.G.	—	31	—	—	31	—	—	—	—	—
"	Old Cairo	"	—	35	—	—	35	—	—	—	—	—
"	Cath.	"	—	37	—	—	37	—	—	—	—	—
Greek	Abet	"	—	81	—	—	15	—	—	—	60	—
"	Hypapanti	girls	—	126	—	4	18	—	2	6	75	5
"	Catholic Shubrā	boys	—	100	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	10
"	Radwāniyah	"	—	72	—	—	21	—	—	—	7	—
Italian	Victor Emman.	"	—	80	—	10	10	—	—	—	—	—
Jewish		mixed	—	325	—	—	202	5	29	5	7	45
Frère gratuite		boys	—	144	—	—	112	—	4	1	—	26
"	St. Joseph	"	—	115	—	—	85	—	13	2	—	11
Franciscan		girls	—	100	—	4	10	—	20	10	24	20
"	Bulāk	"	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	Old Cairo	"	—	40	—	—	40	—	—	—	—	—
Bon Pasteur	Shubrā	"	20	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	Cairo	"	—	310	—	—	300	—	20	20	5	90
"	Mont Carmel	"	—	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
American	Azbak.	"	—	126	—	—	124	—	—	—	—	—
"	"	boys	—	147	—	—	134	—	1	—	6	1
"	H. Sakka'in	girls	22	50	—	—	51	1	2	—	3	2
Pères Missionaires		boys	—	117	—	5	90	—	—	—	19	—
English Mission		mixed	—	450	—	—	372	—	—	—	20	2
Armenian		boys	—	25	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tammasi		mixed	4	29	—	4	—	4	5	6	—	7
Fichera		boys	12	23	—	4	16	1	2	2	—	8
Berthy		girls	—	32	—	6	8	4	3	—	—	10
Andréades		mixed	—	48	—	5	—	—	7	—	11	6
Maison d'Éducation		girls	—	45	—	8	5	2	6	2	1	16
German		boys	—	84	—	3	—	6	10	12	3	21
"		girls	—	27	—	2	—	10	—	6	—	—
Grech		boys	—	21	—	3	4	—	3	1	3	—
Chauvin		girls	1	29	—	—	1	3	18	4	1	3
Crurda		"	—	16	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—
Crespin		"	—	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
De Bono		mixed	—	70	—	—	6	16	21	—	9	16
Marcel		"	—	85	—	—	9	3	8	—	1	11
Total			139	4190	25	58	2693	55	174	77	250	329

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

STATISTICS FOR SCHOOLS, 1878

Jews	Maltese	Poles	Persians	Russians	Spaniards	Syrians	Turks	Miscellaneous	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous
1	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	1	6	1	26	7	—	355	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	5	—	137	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	44	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	11	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	107	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	31	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	34	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	1	5	—	—	6	—	2	73	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	4	16	3	103	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	80	—	—	80	—	—	10	—	10	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	32	—	12	41	—	—	7	—	21	—
60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	30	10	—	—	—	—
—	20	—	—	—	4	—	—	8	—	325	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	126	15	3	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	76	22	17	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	76	4	10	—	10	—	—
—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	—	10	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	25	30	—	200	30	10	40	10	—	200
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	—	76	—	—	45	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	7	—	49	6	7	78	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2	2	6	2	10	3	25	26	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	5	8	—	4	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	24	32	—	40	1	162	21	—	208	18
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	15	—	—	2	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	15	12	3	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	17	2	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	11	10	—	—	—	—
—	—	6	—	—	—	3	10	—	20	12	5	5	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	26	2	3	50	10	24	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2	—	—	14	—	1
3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	13	1	1	3	—	3	—
—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	1	1	—	5	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	4	—	—	1	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	14	11	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	51	9	10	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	56	10	—	4	—	—
75	55	26	3	5	37	241	56	95	1257	629	491	286	85	1356	222

THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
APPENDIX B

1878		Teachers	Boarders	Day Students	Armenians	Austrians	Egyptians	English	French	German	Greeks	Italians	Jews
ALEXANDRIA													
SCHOOLS													
Italian	boys	—	—	340	—	23	24	14	5	—	37	227	—
Helleno-Egypt.	mixed	—	—	558	—	—	—	—	—	—	552	5	—
German	„	—	—	135	—	—	36	6	6	35	12	40	—
Grat. libre univ.	boys	—	—	259	—	6	68	4	16	—	12	34	—
Soeurs	girls	—	150	750	—	—	40	10	38	13	33	325	—
Frères Ste Cath.	boys	—	—	700	—	21	40	185	48	—	—	154	—
„ St. Jos.	„	—	—	300	—	—	40	58	36	32	44	90	—
Lazarists Ste Mar.	„	—	31	41	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ St. Jos.	„	—	—	23	—	3	24	8	23	—	13	19	—
American	boys	—	—	66	—	—	45	—	—	—	—	—	—
„	girls	—	—	129	—	—	63	—	—	—	—	—	—
Scottish	boys	—	—	191	—	—	71	29	12	5	27	—	—
„	girls	—	—	177	—	—	—	23	20	12	36	—	—
Jewish	mixed	—	119	140	—	2	152	—	18	6	41	30	—
Coptic D. Murk.	boys	—	—	20	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—
Goldstein	mixed	—	—	41	—	4	—	5	3	—	7	20	—
Cardahi	„	—	—	110	—	—	72	4	5	4	17	—	—
Cerioni	girls	—	—	45	—	—	16	22	4	—	—	3	—
Remy	„	—	9	31	—	—	8	4	17	—	—	—	11
Dominici	mixed	—	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—
Penso Morpurgo	„	—	—	83	—	—	36	3	—	5	9	27	—
Musso	girls	—	—	20	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	17	—
Kirby	mixed	—	—	37	—	2	—	5	5	—	3	17	—
Vallot	boys	—	—	84	—	—	84	—	—	—	—	—	—
		—	309	4304	—	62	839	380	258	112	843	1032	11
Cairo		—	139	4190	25	58	2693	55	174	77	250	329	75
Other Towns		—	83	1141	—	87	401	17	92	3	215	146	—
Remainder		—	85	2288	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Total		—	616	11923	25	207	3933	452	524	192	1208	1508	86

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT
STATISTICS FOR SCHOOLS, 1878

Maltese	Russians	Spaniards	Syrians	Turks	Miscellaneous	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous	Poles	Persians
—	—	5	—	3	2	182	151	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	5	—	1	552	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	33	64	5	—	33	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
149	—	3	127	12	—	615	60	3	40	20	—	12	—	—
252	—	—	—	—	—	700	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	163	23	14	54	30	16	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	1	—	—	4	76	—	—	14	3	2	—	—	—
—	—	—	16	—	5	—	4	20	16	—	21	5	—	—
—	—	—	50	—	16	2	11	37	47	2	26	4	—	—
28	—	—	19	—	—	23	45	31	39	29	24	—	—	—
39	—	—	47	—	—	40	114	—	—	23	—	—	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	—	45	35	132	40	—	6	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	1	9	28	—	3	1	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	8	—	—	65	12	15	10	8	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	30	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	3	—	—	—	—	22	8	4	—	6	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	3	—	—	—	5	74	—	1	—	—	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	3	—	2	20	11	—	2	4	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66	—	—	18	—	—	—
478	3	12	270	17	30	2079	795	335	818	159	133	25	—	—
55	5	37	241	56	95	1257	629	491	286	85	1356	222	26	3
26	—	5	35	4	5	583	39	220	228	19	119	6	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	14	446	1	93	—	389	1404	7	—	—
559	8	54	546	77	144	4365	1464	1139	1332	652	3012	260	26	3

THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
APPENDIX B

1878			Teachers	Boarders	Day Students	Austrians	Egyptians	English	French	Germans
OTHER TOWNS										
SCHOOLS										
Damietta	Engl. Miss.	boys	—	—	90	—	57	—	—	—
"	Franciscan	girls	—	—	53	—	50	—	—	—
Ismā'iliyah	Pères T.S.	boys	—	—	35	—	—	—	—	—
"	Franciscan	girls	—	—	43	6	1	—	11	—
"	Greek	mixed	—	—	40	—	—	—	—	—
Kafr az-Zayyāt	Franciscan	girls	—	—	54	—	37	—	—	1
al-Manṣūrah	"	"	—	—	91	—	—	—	4	—
"	American	boys	—	—	53	—	95	—	—	—
"	"	girls	—	—	59	—	—	—	—	—
"	Pères T.S.	boys	—	—	45	—	37	2	1	—
Port Said	Bon Past. Orph.	girls	—	52	38	20	18	3	18	—
"	" Pens	"								
"	" Day	"								
"	" Grat.	"								
"	Franciscan	boys	—	—	92	—	—	—	—	—
"	Laïque	girls	—	—	55	11	—	—	30	—
"	"	boys	—	—	81	40	—	4	12	1
"	Greek	girls	—	—	50	—	16	—	1	—
"	"	boys	—	—	80	—	3	—	1	—
Ramlah	Scalese	mixed	—	1	23	1	2	—	—	—
"	Magnani	"	—	—	7	2	—	2	2	—
"	de Bernardi	"	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—
Suez	Pères Miss.	boys	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—
"	Bon. Past.	girls	—	20	20	6	6	6	10	—
"	French Priv.		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ṭanṭā	Franc. Miss. Afr.	boys	—	—	46	1	42	—	2	—
Zakāzīk	" " "	"	—	—	54	—	37	—	—	1
Total			—	73	1141	87	401	17	92	3

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT
STATISTICS FOR SCHOOLS, 1878

Greeks	Italians	Jews	Maltese	Poles	Spaniards	Syrians	Turks	Miscellaneous	Catholics	Jews	Moslems	Orthodox	Protestants	Copts	Miscellaneous
19	1	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	14	—	45	19	—	12	—
—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	43	—	10	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	—	5	8	—	—	—
5	16	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	37	—	1	5	—	—	—
40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	—	—	—
8	2	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	19	2	8	8	1	16	—
10	34	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	42	—	39	10	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	2	10	8	23	5	9	57	—
2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	16	7	—	10	1	11	—
5	17	—	8	—	—	—	—	1	79	2	2	5	2	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	67	—	19	—	—	6	—
—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	10	—	—	—	2	—	4	—	36	4	35	—	—	—	6
31	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	6	1	12	31	—	—	—
75	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	75	—	1	—
1	17	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	20	1	2	1	—	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	6	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	—	1	—	—	—	—
3	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	2	6	3	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	4	2	—	—	—	—
8	2	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	19	2	8	8	1	16	—
215	146	—	26	—	5	35	4	5	583	39	220	228	19	119	6

GLOSSARY

<i>abnā' at-Turk</i>	Turks, (<i>lit.</i> the sons of Turks)
<i>al-Abniyā'</i>	Building (Dept.)
<i>Abū Libdah</i>	a soldier's song (<i>lit.</i> the father of the felt skull-cap)
<i>adab</i>	belles lettres
<i>ādāb al-baḥṭh</i>	controversy and discussion
<i>'adālah</i>	justice
<i>Aghā</i>	a Turkish officer; a eunuch
<i>ahli</i>	national
<i>ahwāl al-falāḥah</i>	<i>lit.</i> the conditions of agriculture
<i>'alā farīḥat al-mutaḥ-</i> <i>ḥadimīn</i>	according to the method of the ancients
<i>'ālim</i>	a learned man, usually a scholar who has graduated from al-Azhar
<i>'ālimiyah</i>	the name of the certificate given to graduates of the mosque of al-Azhar
<i>'almahs</i>	properly— <i>'ālimahs</i> ; the professional singers
<i>'amālah</i>	period of study
<i>amīrālāt</i>	more often— <i>mīrālāt</i> ; colonel
<i>amīlā' ad-dars</i>	to dictate a lesson
<i>'arif</i>	a <i>kuttāb</i> monitor
<i>'arūd</i>	prosody
<i>'askariyah</i>	military
<i>'aṣr</i>	the afternoon prayers
<i>badī'</i>	poetics; embellishment of speech
<i>balāghah</i>	rhetoric
<i>barakah</i>	blessing
<i>bāshkātib</i>	head-clerk
<i>bāsh shāwīsh</i>	sergeant-major
<i>baḥālāh</i>	period of vacation
<i>bayān</i>	figures of speech
<i>bimbāshī</i>	major
<i>birnāmij</i>	table or catalogue
<i>daftar</i>	register
<i>dā'irah</i>	private estate office
<i>dākhilīyah</i>	internal; boarders; Home Office
<i>dars</i>	lesson; lecture; class
<i>darskhānah</i>	school-house; civil school
<i>dhakara ma' ba'd</i>	to study together
<i>dhakara ma' fulān</i>	to study together
<i>dhikr</i>	religious ceremony
<i>diwān</i>	collection of poems
<i>diwānī</i>	council; administration; ministry
<i>efendī</i>	a kind of writing used for decrees
<i>efendīnā</i>	man of education
<i>faddān</i>	title used for the ruler of Egypt
<i>fajr</i>	Egyptian acre of land, 4,200.83 sq. metres
<i>fajr</i>	the early morning prayers
<i>fallāḥīn</i>	agricultural classes
<i>falak</i>	astronomy
<i>falakiyyāt</i>	astronomy
<i>farā'id</i>	the law of inheritance
<i>fariḥ</i>	lieutenant-general

GLOSSARY

<i>fatwa</i>	legal decision or opinion
<i>fiḥh</i>	jurisprudence
<i>fikr</i>	from <i>fakīh</i> ; <i>kuttāb</i> -master; also reciter of the <i>Qur'ān</i>
<i>fikriyah</i>	woman reciter of the <i>Qur'ān</i>
<i>firman</i>	imperial rescript
<i>fukarā'</i>	those who perform the <i>dhikrs</i> at the festivals of saints, etc.
<i>al-funūn al-gharibah</i>	esoteric arts
<i>ghilmān</i>	slave boys
<i>ḥaḍara 'alā</i>	to study under
<i>ḥadīth</i>	traditions of the prophet
<i>ḥāfiḥah</i>	a woman who has memorised the <i>Qur'ān</i>
<i>ḥai'ah</i>	astronomy
<i>ḥakimdar</i>	commandant; commanding officer
<i>ḥalḥah</i>	class; circle of students round a master
<i>ḥāyah</i>	quarter; lane
<i>ḥāshiyah</i>	marginal note or super-commentary
<i>ḥaud</i>	cistern
<i>ḥikmah</i>	philosophy
<i>ḥikmah khānah</i>	School of Pharmaceutics
<i>ḥirfah</i>	craft, profession
<i>ḥifz al-Qur'ān</i>	memorization of the <i>Qur'ān</i>
<i>ḥisāb</i>	arithmetic
<i>ḥukūmah</i>	government
<i>hurriyah</i>	freedom; liberty
<i>ibtidā'ī</i>	primary
<i>'Id al-kabīr</i>	Courban Bairam
<i>'Id as-saghīr</i>	Bairam
<i>ijāzah</i>	teaching licence
<i>—'ammah</i>	general teaching licence
<i>—khāṣṣah</i>	specific teaching licence
<i>—muṭlaqah</i>	teaching licence given by correspondence
<i>'ilm al-ausāk</i>	magic squares
<i>—-falak</i>	astronomy
<i>—-ghubār</i>	arithmetic
<i>—-hurūf</i>	divination
<i>—-jafr</i>	divination
<i>—-masāḥah</i>	surveying
<i>—-miḳāt</i>	calculation of the calendar, times of prayer
<i>—-nujūm</i>	astrology
<i>—-ramal</i>	geomancy
<i>—-rasm</i>	drawing, etc.
<i>—-rukkah</i>	science of the distaff
<i>—-tajwid</i>	art of Koranic recitation
<i>—-ṭibb</i>	medicine
<i>iltizāmāt</i>	concessions; monopolies; farming out of a lease
<i>imām</i>	one who leads in prayers
<i>—rātib</i>	ordinary imām
<i>inshā'</i>	epistolary art
<i>jabr wa'l-muḥābalah</i>	algebra
<i>jarāyah</i>	students' rations or bread allowance
<i>jāwara</i>	to attach one's-self to a mosque or <i>madrasah</i> for study
<i>jihād</i>	holy war
<i>jughrāfiyah</i>	geography
<i>al-jum'ah al-yatimah</i>	the last Friday in the month of Ramaḍān
<i>jūrnālāt</i>	reports
<i>ḥabaḍa 'alā</i>	to arrest; to press men into the service; to conscript
<i>ḥabbānī</i>	public weigher
<i>ḥādī</i>	judge
<i>ḥādī'l-ḥudāh</i>	chief judge
<i>ḥāfiyah</i>	rhyme

GLOSSARY

<i>kā'im-makām</i>	lieutenant-colonel; <i>locum-tenens</i>
<i>kalām</i>	theology
<i>kalām</i>	department of an administration
<i>kanūn-nāmāh</i>	code of regulations
<i>kara'a 'alā</i>	to study under
<i>karamāt</i>	miracles
<i>kāri'</i>	Qur'an reciter
<i>karra'ahu darsan</i>	to prescribe a text
<i>kāshif</i>	inspector; local governor
<i>kātib</i>	clerk; secretary
<i>khān</i>	inn; bazaar
<i>kharijiyah</i>	external; day students; (dept. of) foreign affairs
<i>khatama al-kitāb</i>	to recite the whole of the Qur'an
<i>khatib</i>	preacher
<i>khatmah</i>	a complete recitation of the Qur'an
<i>khatt-i-sharif</i>	imperial edict
<i>khulāsāt</i>	decisions
<i>khutbah</i>	sermon
<i>khiyā</i>	steward; for <i>kathkhudā</i>
<i>khiyā</i>	steward; for <i>kathkhudā</i>
<i>al-kimiya</i>	alchemy
<i>kirā'āt</i>	readings of the Qur'an
<i>kustān</i>	a long flowing robe worn by men
<i>Kumisiyūn</i>	Commission
<i>kutūb</i>	an elementary school where the elements of reading and writing are taught and the Qur'an if the school is Moslem; the Coptic <i>kutūb</i> taught arithmetic in addition to reading and writing
<i>kutubkhānah</i>	library
<i>lā'ihah</i>	regulation
<i>lajnah</i>	committee
<i>lawāzim al-maṣlaḥah</i>	exigencies of the service
<i>lāzama</i>	to attach one's-self to; to study under
<i>liwā'</i>	brigadier-general
<i>luḡah</i>	language
<i>al-luḡāt ath-thalāth</i>	the three languages, i.e., Arabic, Persian and Turkish
<i>ma'ānī</i>	kinds of sentences and their uses
<i>al-madhāhib</i>	name given to a scholar who is expert in all four schools of law
<i>madhhab</i>	rite; school of law
<i>madrasah</i>	a name formally applied to the schools attached to mosques or to the schools where Islamic science was taught; this name came to be used for all types of schools that were introduced after the French occupation
<i>maghrib</i>	sunset prayers
<i>maḥākim al-aḳālīm</i>	provincial law courts
<i>al-maḥākim ash-shari'iyah</i>	Moslem law courts
<i>majālis al-aḳālīm</i>	provincial councils
<i>majlis</i>	council; <i>séance</i>
<i>majlis al-maṣḥwarah</i>	advisory council
<i>milli</i>	religious council (for the Copts)
<i>maḥṣūrah</i>	the part of the mosque set aside for prayer
<i>maktab</i>	another name for <i>kutūb</i> or school; also office or administration
<i>maktabah</i>	library
<i>al-ma'kūl</i>	rational (science)
<i>ma'mūr</i>	superintendent, representative, official, officer
<i>manāḥib</i>	virtues
<i>al-manḥūl</i>	transmitted (science)
<i>manṭiq</i>	logic
<i>markaz</i>	district
<i>markūb</i>	a kind of shoe or slipper

GLOSSARY

<i>maṣāliḥ</i>	plural of <i>maṣlaḥah</i> , administration or department
<i>maṭn</i>	compendium used for study in the mosque-madrasahs
<i>mihrāb</i>	pulpit
<i>miḳāt</i>	calculations of the calendar, times of prayer
<i>mirāth</i>	inheritance
<i>mu'addib</i>	teachers
<i>mu'adhdhin</i>	caller to prayer
<i>mu'allim</i>	teacher; title given to a master of a trade; foreman
<i>mu'awin</i>	assistant, associate; a rank under the <i>ma'mūr</i>
<i>muṭtadiyān</i>	primary (school)
<i>muḍir</i>	governor, director or manager
<i>muḥattish</i>	inspector
<i>muḥṭayir</i>	a library assistant
<i>muḥaddithin</i>	story-tellers
<i>muḥandishkhānah</i>	School of Engineering
<i>muḥāsabah</i>	accountancy
<i>muḥimmāt</i>	munitions
<i>muḥrdār</i>	seal-keeper
<i>mu'rd</i>	<i>répétiteur</i> (i. e. <i>al-Azhar</i>)
<i>muḥawarin</i>	students of the mosque-madrasahs, (v. <i>jāwara</i>)
<i>muḥri'</i>	Kor'an reciter
<i>mulāzim</i>	lieutenant
<i>mulid</i>	properly <i>maulid</i> , anniversary birthday festival
<i>mulkiyah</i>	civil, used in combination with <i>majlis</i> , etc.
<i>multazim</i>	one who acquires a concession (v. <i>iltizām</i>)
<i>munshid</i>	singers of poetry (at <i>dhikrs</i>)
<i>muṣṭalah al-hadith</i>	terminology of the prophetic traditions
<i>mutawallī</i>	superintendent
<i>muwakkīt</i>	time-keeper
<i>nabbūt</i>	a long cudgel or quarter-staff
<i>naḥw</i>	syntax
<i>naḥib</i>	dean; superintendent; representative
<i>nashh</i>	a kind of calligraphy generally used for manuscripts
<i>nāzir</i>	administrator, director
<i>'umdah</i>	or <i>'umdah</i> ; village notable or head
<i>ra'is</i>	headman, foreman, chief
<i>rasūl</i>	messenger, envoy
<i>riḳ'a</i>	ordinary current handwriting
<i>riwāḳ</i>	a hostel in al-Azhar
<i>rizḳah sulṭāniyah</i>	gifts of land, made in the name of the Sulṭān, to various officers; the land thus granted was exempted from payment of the land tax
<i>ar-rūḥānī</i>	spiritual magic
<i>sabīl</i>	fountain
<i>ṣāghakūl aghāsī</i>	adjutant-major
<i>ṣahn</i>	courtyard
<i>sajjadah</i>	carpet; prayer-carpet; the prayer-carpet is considered the spiritual throne of a religious order and the <i>shaiḳh</i> of an order is called the occupant of the prayer-carpet
<i>ṣarrāf</i>	banker or money-changer
<i>shadd al-walad</i>	the initiation of a new member into a guild
<i>shāhid</i>	court expert or witness
<i>shaiḳh-balad</i>	head man of a village
<i>shaiḳhah</i>	a term used for a woman of some learning
<i>ṣarf</i>	morphology
<i>shari'</i>	Moslem law
<i>shishnaji</i>	mint-assayer
<i>shu'arā'</i>	poets or popular story-tellers
<i>sihr</i>	magic

GLOSSARY

as-simiyā'	..	..	natural magic
siṭrah	..	..	(siṭra) biography
ṣinf	..	..	guild (v. ḥirfah)
siṭdār	..	..	commander-in-chief of the army
siyāsah	..	..	the theory of government; politics
ṭabakāt	..	..	biographies
ta'bir ar-ru'yā	..	..	interpretation of dreams
tafsīr	..	..	Koranic exegesis
ṭā'ifah	..	..	a group, a party, a following
tajhīziyah	..	..	preparatory
takḥarrajā bihi fī	..	..	to terminate one's studies in a particular subject under a master
takiyah	..	..	dervish house, asylum, alms-house
takmilah	..	..	a supplement to a book
takrīr	..	..	commentary
taḥyid	..	..	a note which determines the correct reading or meaning of a word or phrase; dictation of a teacher to his students, hence the name of a book
ta'limī	..	..	instructor
ṭarīkah	..	..	religious order
taṣawwuf	..	..	sufism
tauhīd	..	..	theology
thanāwiyah	..	..	secondary
thukānāt	..	..	barracks
thuluth	..	..	large decorative calligraphy
'ulamā'	..	..	plural of alim; the learned scholars generally
'ulūm	..	..	those of al-Azhar
al-'ulūm al-'aqliyah	..	..	plural of 'ilm; sciences
gharibah	..	..	rational sciences
khārijīyah	..	..	esoteric sciences
naḥliyah	..	..	esoteric sciences
ummah	..	..	transmitted sciences
urjūzah	..	..	the nation, the people
uṣūl al-fikḥ	..	..	a poem in the <i>rajaz</i> metre composed on a subject to facilitate its being memorized by the students, e.g., the <i>Alfiyah</i> of Ibn Mālik; there are other uses
wāḍ'	..	..	fundamental principles
wā'iz	..	..	formation of words, etc.
wakālah	..	..	preacher
wakf	..	..	or <i>wikālah</i> ; inn or tenement house
wakīl	..	..	pious endowment
wasfāt	..	..	deputy, sub-director, sub-manager
waṭan	..	..	prescription
waṭaniyah	..	..	father-land, native country
waṭaniyāt	..	..	patriotism
yūzbāshī	national songs; patriotic poems
zār	captain
zāwiyah	exorcistic rite
zulm	small mosque
	oppression

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